COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

10

文化

KOREAN BUDDHIST CULTURE

ACCOUNTS OF A PILGRIMAGE, MONUMENTS, AND EMINENT MONKS

Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

VOLUME 10

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Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, Vol. 10

Korean Buddhist Culture: Accounts of a Pilgrimage, Monuments, and Eminent Monks

Edited by Roderick Whitfield
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Published by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
Distributed by the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
45 Gyeonji-dong, Jongno-gu, Seoul, 110-170, Korea / T. 82-2-725-0364 / F. 82-2-725-0365

First printed on June 25, 2012
Designed by ahn graphics ltd.
Printed by Chun-il Munhwasa, Paju, Korea

This project has been supported by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Republic of Korea.

ISBN: 978-89-94117-14-0
ISBN: 978-89-94117-17-1 (Set)

Printed in Korea

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EDITED BY

RODERICK WHITFIELD

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

MATTY WEGEHAUPT

MICHAEL FINCH

SEM VERMEERSCH

Preface to *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

At the start of the twenty-first century, humanity looked with hope on the dawning of a new millennium. A decade later, however, the global village still faces the continued reality of suffering, whether it is the slaughter of innocents in politically volatile regions, the ongoing economic crisis that currently roils the world financial system, or repeated natural disasters. Buddhism has always taught that the world is inherently unstable and its teachings are rooted in the perception of the three marks that govern all conditioned existence: impermanence, suffering, and non-self. Indeed, the veracity of the Buddhist worldview continues to be borne out by our collective experience today.

The suffering inherent in our infinitely interconnected world is only intensified by the unwholesome mental factors of greed, anger, and ignorance, which poison the minds of all sentient beings. As an antidote to these three poisons, Buddhism fortunately also teaches the practice of the three trainings: *śīla*, or moral discipline, the endurance and self-restraint that controls greed; *samādhi*, the discipline of meditation, which pacifies anger; and *prajñā*, the discipline of wisdom, which conquers ignorance. As human beings improve in their practice of these three trainings, they will be better able to work compassionately for the welfare and weal of all sentient beings.

Korea has a long history of striving to establish a way of life governed by discipline, compassion, and understanding. From the fifth century C.E. onward, the Korean saṅgha indigenized both the traditional monastic community and the broader Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Later, the insights and meditative practices of the Seon tradition were introduced to the peninsula and this practice lineage lives on today in meditation halls throughout the country. Korea, as a land that has deep affinities with the Buddhist tradition, has thus seamlessly transmitted down to the present the living heritage of the Buddha's teachings.

These teachings begin with Great Master Wonhyo, who made the vast and profound teachings of the Buddhadharma accessible to all through his

various "doctrinal essentials" texts. Venerable Woncheuk and State Preceptor Daegak Uicheon, two minds that shined brightly throughout East Asia, left us the cherished legacy of their annotated commentaries to important scriptures, which helped to disseminate the broad and profound views of the Mahāyāna, and offered a means of implementing those views in practice. The collected writings of Seon masters like Jinul and Hyujeong revealed the Seon path of meditation and illuminated the pure land that is inherent in the minds of all sentient beings. All these works comprise part of the precious cultural assets of our Korean Buddhist tradition. The bounty of this heritage extends far beyond the people of Korea to benefit humanity as a whole.

In order to make Korea's Buddhist teachings more readily accessible, Dongguk University had previously published a fourteen-volume compilation of Korean Buddhist works written in literary Chinese, the traditional lingua franca of East Asia, comprising over 320 different works by some 150 eminent monks. That compilation effort constituted a great act of Buddhist service. From that anthology, ninety representative texts were then selected and translated first into modern vernacular Korean and now into English. These Korean and English translations are each being published in separate thirteen-volume collections and will be widely distributed around the world.

At the onset of the modern age, Korea was subjected to imperialist pressures coming from both Japan and the West. These pressures threatened the continuation of our indigenous cultural and religious traditions and also led to our greatest cultural assets being shuttered away in cultural warehouses that neither the general public nor foreign-educated intellectuals had any interest in opening. For any people, such estrangement from their heritage would be most discomforting, since the present only has meaning if it is grounded in the memories of the past. Indeed, it is only through the self-reflection and wisdom accumulated over centuries that we can define our own identity in the present and ensure our continuity into the future. For this reason, it is all the more crucial that we bring to the attention of a wider public the treasured dharma legacy of Korean Buddhism, which is currently embedded in texts composed in often impenetrable literary Chinese.

Our efforts to disseminate this hidden gem that is Korean Buddhism

reminds me of the simile in the *Lotus Sūtra* of the poor man who does not know he has a jewel sewn into his shirt: this indigent toils throughout his life, unaware of the precious gem he is carrying, until he finally discovers he has had it with him all along. This project to translate and publish modern vernacular renderings of these literary Chinese texts is no different from the process of mining, grinding, and polishing a rare gem to restore its innate brilliance. Only then will the true beauty of the gem that is Korean Buddhism be revealed for all to see. A magnificent inheritance can achieve flawless transmission only when the means justify the ends, not the other way around. Similarly, only when form and function correspond completely and nature and appearance achieve perfect harmony can a being be true to its name. This is because the outer shape shines only as a consequence of its use, and use is realized only by borrowing shape.

As Buddhism was transmitted to new regions of the world, it was crucial that the teachings preserved in the Buddhist canon, this jewel of the Dharma, be accurately translated and handed down to posterity. From the inception of the Buddhist tradition, the Buddhist canon or "Three Baskets" (*Tripiṭaka*), was compiled in a group recitation where the oral rehearsal of the scriptures was corrected and confirmed by the collective wisdom of all the senior monks in attendance. In East Asia, the work of translating Indian Buddhist materials into literary Chinese –the lingua franca for the Buddhist traditions of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam– was carried out in translation bureaus as a collective, collaborative affair.

Referred to as the "tradition of multi-party translation," this system of collaboration for translating the Indian Sanskrit Buddhist canon into Chinese typically involved a nine-person translation team. The team included a head translator, who sat in the center, reading or reciting the Sanskrit scripture and explaining it as best he could with often limited Chinese; a philological advisor, or "certifier of the meaning," who sat to the left of the head translator and worked in tandem with him to verify meticulously the meaning of the Sanskrit text; a textual appraiser, or "certifier of the text," who sat at the chief's right and confirmed the accuracy of the preliminary Chinese rendering; a Sanskrit specialist, who carefully confirmed the accuracy of the language

of the source text; a scribe, who transcribed into written Chinese what was often initially an oral Chinese rendering; a composer of the text, who crafted the initial rendering into grammatical prose; the proofreader, who compared the Chinese with the original Sanskrit text; the editor, who tightened up and clarified any sentences that were vague in the Chinese; and finally the stylist, who sat facing the head translator, who had responsibility for refining the final rendering into elegant literary Chinese. In preparing these vernacular Korean and English renderings of Korean Buddhist works, we have thought it important to follow, as much as possible, this traditional style of Buddhist literary translation that had been discontinued.

This translation project, like all those that have come before it, had its own difficulties to overcome. We were forced to contend with nearly-impossible deadlines imposed by government funding agencies. We strained to hold together a meager infrastructure. It was especially difficult to recruit competent scholars who were fluent in literary Chinese and vernacular Korean and English, but who had with the background in Buddhist thought necessary to translate the whole panoply of specialized religious vocabulary. Despite these obstacles, we have prevailed. This success is due to the compilation committee which, with sincere devotion, overcame the myriad obstacles that inevitably arose in a project of this magnitude; the translators both in Korea and abroad; the dedicated employees at our committee offices; and all our other participants, who together aimed to meet the lofty standard of the cooperative translation tradition that is a part of our Buddhist heritage. To all these people, I would like to express my profound gratitude.

Now that this momentous project is completed, I offer a sincere wish on behalf of all the collaborators that this translation, in coming to fruition and gaining public circulation, will help illuminate the path to enlightenment for all to see.

Kasan Jikwan (伽山 智冠)
32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
October 10, 2009 (2553rd year of the Buddhist Era)

On the Occasion of Publishing *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, together with Buddhists everywhere, is pleased to dedicate to the Three Jewels –the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha– the completed compilation of the Korean and English translations of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*. The success of this translation project was made possible through the dedication of Venerable Kasan Jikwan, former president of the Jogye Order and president of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. Both the Korean and English translations are being published through the labors of the members of the Compilation Committee and the many collaborators charged with the tasks of translation, editing, and proofreading the compilation.

The thirteen volumes of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* are the products of nearly 1,700 years of Buddhist history in Korea. These Buddhist works are the foundation and pillar of Korean thought more broadly. This compilation focuses on four towering figures in Korean Buddhism: Venerable Wonhyo, posthumously named State Preceptor Hwajaeng, who was renowned for his doctrinal thought; Venerable Uisang, great master of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and pedagogical role model who was respected for his training of disciples; Venerable Jinul, also known as State Preceptor Bojo, who revitalized Seon Buddhism through the Retreat Society movement of the mid-Goryeo dynasty; and Venerable Hyujeong, also known as State Preceptor Seosan, who helped to overcome national calamities while simultaneously regularizing Korean Buddhist practice and education.

Through this compilation, it is possible to understand the core thought of Korean Buddhism, which continued unbroken through the Three Kingdoms, Goryeo, and Joseon periods. Included are annotated translations of carefully selected works introducing the Hwaeom, Consciousness-Only, and Pure Land schools, the Mahāyāna precepts, Seon Buddhism, the travel journals of Buddhist pilgrims, Buddhist cultural and historical writings, and the epitaphs of great monks.

This work is especially significant as the fruition of our critical efforts

to transform the 1,700 years of Korean Buddhist thought and practice into a beacon of wisdom that will illuminate possible solutions to the many problems facing the world today. Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings from 2,600 years ago were transmitted centuries ago to the Korean peninsula, where they have continuously guided countless sentient beings towards truth. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* contains a portion of the fruits realized through Koreans' practice of the Buddha's wisdom and compassion.

With the successful completion of this compilation, we confirm the power of the Jogye Order executives' devotion and dedication and benefit from their collective wisdom and power. So too can we confirm through the thought of such great masters as Wonhyo, Uisang, Jinul, Hyujeong and others a key feature of Buddhism: its power to encourage people to live harmoniously with each other through mutual understanding and respect.

The current strengthening of the traditions of Buddhist meditation practice and the revitalization of the wider Korean Buddhist community through education and propagation derive in large measure from the availability of accurate, vernacular translations of the classics of the sages of old, so that we too may be imbued with the wisdom and compassion found in their writings. When the lessons of these classics are made available to a contemporary audience, they can serve as a compass to guide us toward mutual understanding so that we may realize the common good that unifies us all.

Compilation of this thirteen-volume English-language edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* is an especially monumental achievement. To take on the task of translating these classics into English, global experts on Korean Buddhism were recruited according to their areas of expertise and were asked to consult with the scholars preparing the new Korean translations of these texts when preparing their own renderings. Though some English translations of Korean Buddhist texts have been made previously, this is the first systematic attempt to introduce to a Western audience the full range of Korean Buddhist writing. The compilation committee also sought to implement strict quality control over the translations by employing a traditional multiparty verification system, which encouraged a sustained collaboration between the Korean and English teams of translators.

This English translation of the *Collected Works* will serve as the cornerstone for the world-wide dissemination of knowledge about the Korean Buddhist tradition, which has heretofore not garnered the recognition it deserves. Together with international propagation efforts, Korean traditional temple experiences, and the temple-stay program, the English translation of the *Collected Works* will make an important contribution to our ongoing efforts to globalize Korean Buddhism. To facilitate the widest possible dissemination of both the Korean and English versions of this compilation, digital editions will eventually be made available online, so that anyone who has access to the Internet will be able to consult these texts.

Among all types of giving, the most precious of all is the gift of Dharma, and it is through sharing these teachings that we seek to spread the wisdom and compassion of Korean Buddhism, as well as the spirit of mutual understanding and unity, to people throughout the world. Our efforts to date have been to secure the foundation for the revitalization of Korean Buddhism; now is the time for our tradition to take flight. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* appears at an opportune moment, when it will be able to serve as a guiding light, illuminating the way ahead for Korean Buddhism and its emerging contemporary identity.

To all those who worked indefatigably to translate, edit, and publish this collection; to the compilation committee, the researchers, translators, proofreaders, editors, and printers; and to all the administrative assistants associated with the project, I extend my deepest appreciation and thanks. Finally, I rejoice in and praise the indomitable power of Venerable Jikwan's vow to complete this massive compilation project.

With full sincerity, I offer this heartfelt wish: may all the merit deriving from this monumental work be transferred to the Buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings.

Haebong Jaseung (海峰 慈乘)
33rd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
January 20, 2010 (2554th year of the Buddhist Era)

Preface to the English Edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

Buddhism has nearly a 1,700-year history in Korea and the tradition continues to thrive still today on the peninsula. Buddhism arrived in Korea from India and China by at least the fourth century C.E. and the religion served as the major conduit for the transmission of Sinitic and Serindian culture as a whole to Korea. But Korean Buddhism is no mere derivative of those antecedent traditions. Buddhists on the Korean peninsula had access to the breadth and depth of the Buddhist tradition as it was being disseminated across Asia and they made seminal contributions themselves to Buddhist thought and meditative and ritual techniques. Indeed, because Korea, like the rest of East Asia, used literary Chinese as the lingua franca of learned communication (much as Latin was used in medieval Europe), Korean Buddhist writings were disseminated throughout the entire region with relative dispatch and served to influence the development of the neighboring Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. In fact, simultaneous with implanting Buddhism on the peninsula, Korean monks and exegetes were also joint collaborators in the creation and development of the indigenous Chinese and Japanese Buddhist traditions. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* seeks to make available in accurate, idiomatic English translations the greatest works of the Korean Buddhist tradition, many of which are being rendered for the first time into any Western language.

The thirteen volumes of this anthology collect the whole panoply of Korean Buddhist writing from the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 57 C.E.–668) through the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). These writings include commentaries on scriptures as well as philosophical and disciplinary texts by the most influential scholiasts of the tradition; the writings of its most esteemed Seon adepts; indigenous collections of Seon *gongan* cases, discourses, and verse; travelogues and historical materials; and important epigraphical compositions. Where titles were of manageable length, we have sought to provide the complete text of those works. Where size was prohibitive, we have instead offered representative selections from a range

of material, in order to provide as comprehensive a set of sources as possible for the study of Korean Buddhism. The translators and editors also include extensive annotation to each translation and substantial introductions that seek to contextualize for an English-speaking audience the insights and contributions of these works.

Many of the scholars of Korean Buddhism active in Western academe were recruited to participate in the translation project. Since the number of scholars working in Korean Buddhism is still quite limited, we also recruited as collaborators Western specialists in literary Chinese who had extensive experience in English translation.

We obviously benefitted enormously from the work of our Korean colleagues who toiled so assiduously to prepare the earlier Korean edition of these *Collected Works*. We regularly consulted their vernacular Korean renderings in preparing the English translations. At the same time, virtually all the Western scholars involved in the project are themselves specialists in the Buddhist argot of literary Chinese and most already had extensive experience in translating Korean and Chinese Buddhist texts into English. For this reason, the English translations are, in the majority of cases, made directly from the source texts in literary Chinese, not from the modern Korean renderings. Since translation always involves some level of interpretation, there are occasional differences in the understanding of a passage between the English and Korean translators, but each translator retained final authority to decide on the preferred rendering of his or her text. For most of the English volumes, we also followed the collaborative approach that was so crucial in preparing the Korean translations of these *Collected Works* and held series of meetings where the English translators would sit together with our Korean counterparts and talk through issues of terminology, interpretation, and style. Our Korean collaborators offered valuable comments and suggestions on our initial drafts and certainly saved us from many egregious errors. Any errors of fact or interpretation that may remain are of course our responsibility.

On behalf of the entire English translation team, I would like to express our thanks to all our collaborators, including our translators Juhn Young

Ahn, Robert Buswell, Michael Finch, Jung-geun Kim, Charles Muller, John Jorgensen, Richard McBride, Jin Y. Park, Young-eui Park, Patrick Uhlmann, Sem Vermeersch, Matty Wegehaupt, and Roderick Whitfield; as well as our philological consultants Chongdok Sunim, Go-ok Sunim, Haeju Sunim, Misan Sunim, Woncheol Sunim, Byung-sam Jung, and Young-wook Kim. We are also appreciative to Ven. Jaseung Sunim, the current president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, for his continued support of this project. Our deepest gratitude goes to Ven. Jikwan Sunim (May 11, 1932–January 2, 2012), one of the most eminent monks and prominent scholars of his generation, who first conceived of this project and spearheaded it during his term as president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Jikwan Sunim's entire career was dedicated to making the works of Korean Buddhism more accessible to his compatriots and better known within the wider scholarly community. It is a matter of deep regret that he did not live to see the compilation of this English version of the *Collected Works*.

Finally, it is our hope that *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* will ensure that the writings of Korean Buddhist masters will assume their rightful place in the developing English canon of Buddhist materials and will enter the mainstream of academic discourse in Buddhist Studies in the West. Korea's Buddhist authors are as deserving of careful attention and study as their counterparts in Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism. This first comprehensive collection of Korean Buddhist writings should bring these authors the attention and sustained engagement they deserve among Western scholars, students, and practitioners of Buddhism.

Robert E. Buswell, Jr.
Distinguished Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
Chair, English Translation Editorial Board, *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*
May 20, 2012 (2556th year of the Buddhist Era)


Kazakhstan
Tajikistan
Uzbekistan
Kyrgyzstan
Caspian Sea
Kucha
Turkey
Afghanistan
Khotan
Syria
Iraq
Iran
Baghdad
Mediterranean Sea
Byzantine Empire
Arabia
B
Yangtong
Pakistan
Persia
Jalāndhara
Nepal
West India
Saudi Arabia
A
East India
West India
India
Turk
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan
Ferghāna
Uzbekistan
Huguo
Kashgar
Tajikstan
Congling Garrison
Shighnān
Khuttal
China
Tokhara
Wakhan
Kuwi
Lesser Bolor
Greater Bolor
Bāmiyān
Uḍḍiyāna
Lampāka
Gandhāra
Kashmir
Kāpiśī
Afghanistan
Sindh-Gujarāt
Suoboci
Zābulistān
Takshar
Pakistan
India
B
Nepal
Kapila
Śrāvastī
Central India
Vaiśāli
Kuśinagara
Vārāṇasī
Rājagaha
A
India



Rusia
Mongolia
Kharashar
China
Beijing
Korea
Chang'an
Japan
Gyeongju
West Sea
(Yellow Sea)
Shanghai
Suvarṇagotra
Chongqing
Guangzhou
Hong Kong
Myanmar
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
Andaman Sea
Vietnam
Malaysia
Indian Ocean
Indonesia
Australia
Map Key
Travelled area
Referenced area
Present-day name
Known route
Presumed route

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Translators' Preface

This volume brings together a number of texts that deal with the cultural aspects of Korean Buddhism. Although Buddhism is usually associated with its meditative practice or its doctrinal interpretation, in fact, as a living tradition it always had to find ways of dealing with the world. Monasteries function not only as places where monks study and practice in peace, they are also a focal point for the lay believers, who turn to monasteries for rituals, to make donations, to seek spiritual advice, or simply – as for most people who visit Korean temples these days – to see the beautiful cultural treasures or savor the unique temple food.

Many stories and memories have accrued around monks and monasteries; some of these serve to imprint on the faithful the greatness of certain monks; some of them impart basic teachings in a story format; some tell of the great miracles produced by faith in Buddhism; and some merely seem to entertain. The richest source of such Buddhist lore in Korea is the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), composed by the monk Iryeon (1206–1289) in the latter stages of his life. The work consists of nine sections, but the first three are mainly a chronology of Buddhist and other events, focusing mainly on miracles, while the last four are very short. The key sections regarding Buddhist culture – mainly of the Unified Silla era – are section 4 "Stūpas and Images" and section 5 "Exegetes." Section four contains invaluable information about the formative events of the main Buddhist monuments of Korea, and offers precious glimpses on how they functioned in people's religious lives. It has been translated in full by Michael Finch. Section five contains biographies of the most important Silla monks; some of the material was culled from Chinese biographies, but there is also much information that can only be found here. This section too has been translated in full – with the exception of some redundant material – by Sem Vermeersch.

These sections are translated in chapters 3 and 4 of this volume respectively. Chapter 2 contains the full translation of *Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon* (Memoirs

of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms), a record of the monk Hyecho's pilgrimage to India between 723 and 728. Although not directly concerned with Korea, it is a unique testament to the endeavors of Korean monks, who did not hesitate to brave insurmountable difficulties to bring back Buddhist knowledge to Korea. The memoirs have been translated here by Matty Wegehaupt.

All our translations are heavily indebted to the Korean translation prepared by Prof. Jung Byung-sam, whose interpretations we have mostly followed. Prof. Jung, together with his assistants, have prepared for the Korean edition of this series a truly outstanding, authoritative translation of this material that surpasses any Korean translation that has been done before. Although all the texts translated here into English are already available in English translation, thanks to the copious annotations prepared by Prof. Jung the English translations presented here contain many new insights and corrections that should help to raise the level of English-language scholarship on Korean Buddhism. The introduction, translated by Michael Finch, was also prepared by Prof. Jung. While chapters 2 and 3 follow his translation closely, chapter 4 is based on an original translation from the source text that was later compared with Prof. Jung's translation.

The translators would like to thank the Jogye Order, in particular the late Ven. Jikwan, and all the other translators and collaborators for making this project possible. We would also like to thank the editor, Prof. Roderick Whitfield, for his meticulous reading of our drafts and for the many corrections he provided.

Matty Wegehaupt
Michael Finch
Sem Vermeersch

文化

KOREAN BUDDHIST CULTURE

ACCOUNTS OF
A PILGRIMAGE, MONUMENTS,
AND EMINENT MONKS

I

INTRODUCTION

Memoir of a Pilgrimage Introduction by Byung-sam Jung
Translated by Matty Wegehaupt

Samguk yusa Introduction by Byung-sam Jung
Translated by Michael Finch

Open Road to the World
- *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* -

1. The Dunhuang Manuscripts and the Discovery of the *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*

Some 1300 years ago, a monk from the Korean Silla kingdom (668–935) went off on a journey to India and made a record of his travels. He was of a broad mind and open to receiving many different cultures. His name was Hyecho (700–780 or 704–787). The journal he left behind is the *Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon* (往五天竺國傳), translated here as *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms.*

In the western reaches of China, at the near end of the grand Taklamakan desert, is the oasis city of Dunhuang. Dunhuang was the first step that Chinese civilization took in its march towards Central Asia and the first gateway for Western civilization to enter China via the Silk Road. In 111 BC, Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (r. 140–87 BC), established a military garrison at Dunhuang. From the mid-fourth century onwards, the first caves, intended for Buddhist meditation, were cut in the long cliff at Mogao, some fifteen kilometres as the crow flies over the sand dunes from the town. Over 700 caves still remain, beginning with the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–589), through the Sui and Tang (589–907), and continuing until the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), after which time no further caves were constructed, although graffiti show that Chinese visitors continued to make occasional visits.[1]

1 See R. Whitfield, Dunhuang*: Caves of the Singing Sands*, 2 vols. London: Textile and Art Publications, 1996; R. Whitfield et al., *Cave Temples of Mogao*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2000.

In the spring of 1900, the Daoist master Wang Yuanlu (1849–1931), the monk then resident in the complex, discovered a crack in the wall of the entrance passage of a large ninth-century cave. Breaking through the doorway that had been plastered over and concealed by mural paintings in the eleventh century, he discovered a small room 2.8 m wide, 2.7 m deep, and 3 m high, stacked full of bundles of manuscripts. The space, built to one side of the passage leading into Cave 16, was originally intended as a memorial chapel to monk Hongbian (d. 862), the patron of the large cave beyond, but had been appropriated, early in the eleventh century, to store an enormous number of manuscripts and a smaller number of paintings on silk and hemp, that were apparently no longer in use, but which were too precious to destroy.

Very soon Dunhuang became known to explorers and scholars in the West, taking advantage of the lack of Chinese government control in the distant northwest. Alerted to the importance of the site by his compatriot Ferdinand de Loczy, who had visited the caves in 1879, as well as by the rumours of a hidden library, the Hungarian Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943) arrived in 1907, soon followed by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) from France, Sergei Oldenburg from Russia, and others. Between them, they removed thousands of texts and artworks back to institutions in their home countries.

Pelliot, a scholar of Chinese traditional culture, caused a sensation among Chinese scholars by exhibiting some of his share of the manuscripts in Beijing in 1909. By his making the existence of these manuscripts known, Dunhuang gained renown as a true treasure trove. The small cave was left empty, but became known throughout the world as the Library Cave (藏經洞), and was numbered by the Dunhuang Institute (now Academy) as Cave 17. Eventually, Hongbian's portrait statue was identified and restored to its rightful position, facing the entrance that had been sealed up for eight centuries or more.

Pelliot, well-versed as he was in the world of Asian culture, and fluent in Chinese, made a more intelligent selection than had been possible for Aurel Stein, just one year earlier. Sorting through many thousands of manuscripts in a mere fifteen days, he selected all the manuscripts written in non-Chinese scripts, while among those written in Chinese, he picked out all those that

dealt with secular topics, and of manuscripts whose content was Buddhist, only those bearing the date of their creation. Thus it was that he found amongst this vast collection the work of Hyecho, the *Wang o cheonchukguk jeon*. The manuscript was comprised of a single scroll, incomplete both at the beginning and the end, and what remains today is a record of 227 columns, with upwards of 30 characters per column. It is 28.5 cm high and each of its nine sheets is a standard 42 cm in length, pasted together to form a scroll that in its remaining form is 358.6 cm long.[2]

With the beginning and end of the manuscript missing and its author and title unknown, Pelliot confirmed that it shared a similar phraseology to Huilin's *The Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures*[3] (慧琳, 一切經音義, hereafter *Sounds and Meanings*), and eventually verified its true nature as Hyecho's *Memoirs*. Then, with the help of the great Chinese scholar Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), he was able to fully grasp its significance and have it published in *Lost Books from the Stone Caves of* Dunhuang (Dunhuang shishi yishu 敦煌石室遺書, 1909). With the help of Takakusu Junjirō (高楠順次郎, 1866–1945), it was also published in the *Japanese Edition of Collected Buddhist Works* (大日本佛教全書), making the work better known in Japan as well. Later scholars, such as Fujita Toyohachi (藤田豐八, 1869–1929), Walter Fuchs (1891–1957), and other Japanese and European scholars would analyze the contents of the manuscript, and their research would further elevate the value of this work.[4]

Determining the identity of the author was itself a task. Hyecho's name in Chinese was 慧超, but it could also be written 惠超, as it was in *Sounds and Meanings*. However, it was known for certain that Hyecho was from the

2 Kuwayama Shōshin, trans., *Research on Hyecho's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*. Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1992, 1.

3 Huilin (慧琳, 737–820), *The Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures* (一切經音義), T 2128.54. 311a–933b.

4 Ko Pyŏng-ik, "A Brief History of Hyecho's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to Five Indian Kingdoms" in *A Collection of Papers in Commemoration of the Career of Dr. Baek Seong-uk*. Seoul: Dongguk University Committee on Commemorative Works, 1959, 302–307.

Silla kingdom, owing to the will left behind by Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong, 不空, 705–774), where he listed "Silla Hyecho" (新羅慧超) among his six superior disciples to whom he had transmitted the dharma. Moreover, a detailed examination of the text revealed certain passages where the syntax and grammar were not in line with standard Chinese. Numerous parts stood out, with the flow of the text seeming somewhat unnatural, adding further supporting evidence that the author of the text was Hyecho, the foreign monk from Silla.[5]

From early on, monks from Silla went to China to study Buddhism, making a significant contribution to the development of Buddhism at home. Though there were no more than sixteen *gudoseung* (求道僧, "monks in search of the dharma") studying abroad by the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties, this number increased greatly during the Sui and Tang dynasties, rising to more than 185. Of these, 43 went in the seventh century, 41 in the eighth century, and in the ninth century, when the Chan/Seon/Zen school was taking shape, 98 Korean monks went to China to study the dharma and become pioneers in the understanding and development of Buddhism in their native land.[6]

This fervour to study abroad did not cease and indeed, their area of interest spread to include India, the birthplace of Buddhism. There were two Korean monks who went to India to study Buddhism in the sixth century, nine in the seventh century, and then four in the eighth century. Of these fifteen, ten died either in India or on the road there or back, three returned to China, and only two actually ever returned home to Silla.[7] Ready to give their own lives, these *gudoseung* infused Silla Buddhism with vitality and passion through their travels on the road in search of the dharma.

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5 Takata, Tokio "Linguistic Aspects of Hyecho's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms and Characteristics of the Dunhuang Manuscript," in Kuwayama 1998, 205–209.

6 Chen Jingfu (陳景富), *Zhong Han fojiao guanxi yiqiannian* (中韓佛教關係一千年, The One Thousand Year Chinese–Korean Buddhist Relationship). Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1999, 22–23.

As for Hyecho, his particular focus was on the study of the Esoteric school of Buddhism, *mijiao* (密教). Already in China at the same time were two Indian masters: the pioneer of late esoteric studies in India, Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), who went to Chang'an in 716, and another patriarch of the Esoteric school, Vajrabodhi (671–741), who arrived in Guangzhou in 719 and began propagating the teaching in Luoyang in 720. Hyecho, having directly experienced the practice of the Esoteric school in India during his travels, returned to Tang and took successive turns serving as a disciple to both Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. This made Hyecho an esteemed monk within the school. Using the teachings of his masters and the Sanskrit he had learned on his own, he worked on tackling the translation of the *Mañjusrī with a Thousand Arms and Thousand Bowls Sutra*. He spent some eight years studying its contents in preparation, but this period proved insufficient, and he ended up spending a total of nearly forty-eight years passionately devoted to this pursuit.[8]

2. The Career of Esteemed Esoteric Master Hyecho

Born in Silla, Hyecho left for Tang China at an early age, immersing himself in his spiritual quest. Though there is no evidence to provide exact dates regarding his birth and death, it is surmised that he was born around 700 and died in 780. If he did indeed live until 780, this means that he was merely in his twenties when he was possessed with the intense spiritual consciousness

7 Sixth century: Gyeom-ik (謙益) and Uisin (義信). Seventh century: Ariyabalma (阿離耶跋摩), Hye-eop (慧業), Hyeontae (玄太), Hyeongak (玄恪), Hyeryun (慧輪), Gubon (求本), and two unknown monks (see Yijing 義淨, *Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Travelled to the West Seeking the Dharma*, 大唐西域求法高僧傳). Eighth century: Hyecho (慧超), Muru (無漏), Wonpyo (元表), Ojin (悟眞). See Chen 1999, 44–54.

8 Jung Byung-sam, "Hyecho and Vajrayāna Buddhism in Eighth-century Silla." *Research in Ancient Korean History* 37 (2005): 162.

that led him on his pilgrimage to India.

It is thought that his itinerary was as follows. He departed from Guangzhou in 723 and travelled by sea via Sumatra to the east coast of India. From here, he travelled to each region of India, visiting the various Buddhist historical remains, and then continued via the land route to the western regions of China and beyond. He finally returned to the Tang capital Chang'an in 728.

Around 733, some five years after his tour of India, he studied in the Esoteric school under Vajrabodhi at Dajianfu Monastery in Chang'an. There he took on a central role in the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, receiving an imperial commission to serve in the position of *bishou* (筆受),[9] an official scribe and translator. This was a sign of the recognition paid to his fluent command of Sanskrit, developed in his travels in India, as well as to his practice of Esoteric Buddhism.

From this point on until 774, in Hyecho's thirty-some years of work there were no materials beyond his capability to appraise. We can only assume that after 774 he he took up work in the Palace Shrine (內道場, Neidaochang) or Prayer Hall inside the Palace, dedicating himself entirely to Esoteric practice.

It was in this capacity working for the Neidaochang that in the second lunar month of 774 Hyecho undertook the supervision of a ceremony praying for rain at the sacred "Pool of the Jade Maiden" where he penned an address to the emperor.[10] This pool was located 80 km west of Chang'an, at Zhouzhixian (盩厔縣, present day Zhouzhi County, Shaanxi Province) in front of Xianyou Monastery (仙遊寺). Tanzhen (曇貞), another monk

9 As a member of a translation team, a *bishou* "noted down in writing" or "took down in writing" the text of a Buddhist sutra as it was orally conferred by a foreign master. See Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden: Brill, 1959, vol. 1, p. 31; and Daniel Boucher, Buddhist Translation Procedures in Third-century China: a study of Dharmarakṣa and his Translation Idiom, PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996, 63 and passim.

10 Hyecho, "Message of Congratulations on Praying for Rain at the Jade Maiden Pool," (賀玉女潭祈雨表) in Daizong zhaozeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzangheshang biaozhi ji (代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集, hereafter Biaozhiji). T 2120.52.855a.

practising in the Esoteric school at the same time as Hyecho, was also resident at Xianyou Monastery, and it was here that the ceremony was held. This temple was founded during the reign of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty and in 601, the Renshou stūpa (仁壽塔) was erected here. In 725, the Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 721–756) commissioned repairs of the site. However in 1998, when a dam was built nearby, the entire site was submerged and the monastery was moved to a neighbouring location. It was at this time that a record of the naming of the stūpa and relics of the Buddha were excavated from the stūpa.[11]

Receiving the imperial order, Hyecho went to the Jade Maiden Pool, installed an altar for his ritual and made his prayers. It is said that a sound then rose from the valley and sheets of rain began to fall. All through the night, the trees and plants came to life, the streams were swollen with flowing water, and the long-dry earth became abundant. Receiving this answer to his prayers, Hyecho felt it was not through his sincerity, but in response to the emperor's virtue that the skies had moved. He wrote to the emperor to congratulate him on his virtue that had caused the rains fall. The emperor who made Hyecho so happy also sent a message in reply. Such an event serves to indicate that in working for the Neidaochang, Hyecho was tasked with a key role addressing issues of national importance.[12]

In the tenth lunar month of 774 at Da Xingshan Monastery, Hyecho again took up the study of the *Mañjusrī with a Thousand Arms and Thousand Bowls Sutra*, inquiring with Amoghavajra about its contents and collating the text. Hyecho wrote the preface to this sutra translation, and given that the content of the preface was very similar to the contents of the introduction to this sutra, it is clear that Hyecho had a firm understanding of the sutra's essential meaning. Because Amoghavajra was Vajrabodhi's disciple, he was Hyecho's fellow disciple. Given that we know that Hyecho went to India in the 720s, and that Amoghavajra was born in 705, it is assumed that Hyecho was his

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11 Zhao Keli (趙克禮) *Shaanxi guta yanjiu* 陝西古塔研究 (Research on Ancient Stūpas of Shanxi). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007, 163–164.

12 Jung Byung-sam 2005, 163–174.



Site of Xianyousi, Shaanxi sheng Zhouzhi xian, China

elder. Yet in regard to the patriarchal succession of the Esoteric school, he is said to have been Amoghavajra's disciple. Indeed, in his will Amoghavajra listed very clearly among his six outstanding disciples, "Silla Hyecho."[13]

The others listed together with Hyecho as disciples of Amoghavajra were all masters of Esoteric Buddhism. Third in the list, after Hyecho who was second, was Huiguo (惠果, ?–805), a patriarch of the school, steeped in all of its teachings. Listed side by side amongst these esteemed Chinese Esoteric masters, Hyecho possessed an unshakeable trust amongst the contemporary monks of his age. As a result, in 774, when Amoghavajra made a request to his twenty-one most trusted disciples to perform a prayer service for the benefit of the nation shortly before his death, Hyecho's name was the second to appear.[14]

In 780, when it is assumed that he would have been over eighty, Hyecho

13 Amoghavajra, "Bequeathed Writings of a Tripitaka Master," (三藏和上遺書一首) in *Biaozhiji*, T 2120.52.844b.

14 Amoghavajra, "A poem requesting the monks at Da Xingshan Monastery to hold a recitation of sutras" (請於興善當院兩道場各置持誦僧制一首), in *Biaozhiji*, T 2120.52.845b.

went into the mountains of Wutaishan to fully engage in spiritual practice. Amoghavajra had long resided in Wutaishan and had founded an Esoteric seminary where many students resided, establishing the area as sacred ground for the dissemination of their teachings. Given his advanced age at that time, it is assumed that Hyecho passed away not long thereafter.

3. The Structure of the *Memoirs* and the Course of Hyecho's Journey

Though there is now only one fragmentary manuscript of Hyecho's *Memoirs*, it is thought that the work originally comprised three volumes. In Huilin's *Sounds and Meanings* that Pelliot used to determine the identity of the *Memoirs*, there is a key entry explaining that Hyecho's account was split up into three volumes.[15] Given this, it seems that the extant version of the *Memoirs* would correspond to volumes two and three.

However, there are numerous entries that do not exist in the extant manuscript but that do appear in *Sounds and Meanings*. Based on this fact, some researchers think that this is an abridged version of the original three-volume manuscript.[16] Others have argued that the extant manuscript was originally a "draft manuscript," from which Hyecho would be assumed to have then compiled the three-volume official version that Huilin spoke of.[17] Yet another theory has it that the current manuscript is not an "abridged manuscript" of a three-volume original, but rather a "copied manuscript"

15 T 2128.54.726c–927c.

16 Chŏng Su-il, *Hyech'o ŭi Wang o ch'ŏnch'ukkuk chŏn*. *Munmyŏng kihaeng* 1, (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2004), 48–49; 57–64.

17 Takata 1998, 207–209. If there was a "reduced manuscript," the expressions of the original would have been kept as is, and there would be no reason for any discrepancy between the *Memoirs* and *Sounds and Meanings*. However, a draft manuscript would go through an embellished expansion to create the final larger manuscript, and this would thus be a reason for the differences between the two.



Manuscript of *Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon*

that transcribed an original that was never divided into three volumes.[18] However, the sequence of entries in *Sounds and Meanings* does not accord with the sequence in *Memoirs*. As an example, the extant manuscript lists the head of the Four Garrisons of Anxi simply as Lord Zhao (趙君, Zhao jun), while *Sounds and Meanings* also provides his given name Yizhen (頤貞).[19] From this, we are led to assume that the missing sections of text were indeed included in the three-volume manuscript.

If we take account of this fact, then according to the travel itinerary, the extant copy is a draft with abbreviated records. Following this assumption, there seems to be a greater possibility that a more detailed three-volume manuscript of the *Memoirs* was written. The substance of the extant manuscript focuses less on Buddhist subjects, but instead offers brief descriptions of the main points regarding the conditions and customs of various countries. Yet the fact that among these notes he composed five or more poems to capture the great inspiration he felt in various locations offers

18 Ōtani, Shōshin, "Some problems in Hyecho's Memoirs," in *Festschrift for Professor Oda: Papers on Korea*. Seoul, 1934, 143–160.

19 Zhao Yizhen was Protector General of Anxi from 726 to 728.

another hint towards the possibility that the extant manuscript was a draft.[20] Moreover, when looking at the structure of the *Memoirs*, the descriptions of the Five Indian Kingdoms are not consistent. The descriptions of the kingdoms as a whole are scattered here and there, and the fact that they have not yet been systematized lends more credence to this theory. The manuscript found in the Library Cave, therefore, transcribed not the original three-volume work, but was rather a draft or an incomplete copy.[21] It should also be noted that in the manuscript, there are ten places where editing marks note that characters are transposed, and other instances of corrections, additions, and duplications.[22]

To ascertain the original appearance of the incomplete extant manuscript, *Sounds and Meanings* offers much assistance. It provides a list and brief explanations of 85 headings in total: 39 in vol. 1 (T 2128.54.0926 c06 to 0927 a24), 18 in vol. 2 (T 2128.54.0927 b01 to 0927 b19), and 28 in vol. 3 (T 2128 54.0927 b20 to 0927 c24). Of these, the heading for Varāṇasī (波羅痆斯), which appears in the middle of vol. 2 of Sounds and Meanings, shows up in the present manuscript in column 10 as the first of four entries from

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20 Jung Byung-sam, "Hyecho and Eighth-century Silla Buddhism," in *The Great Korean World Explorer – Hyecho*, ed. Kasan Buddhist Culture Research Institute. Seoul: Kasan Buddhist Culture Research Institute, 1999, 24.

21 It is well to bear in mind that the contents of the Library Cave represent not a complete library, but a store of manuscripts and other materials no longer in use, that had been gathered, most likely from different places, and representing only a fraction of the total that once existed in the monasteries of Dunhuang. They vary from top-quality copies of Buddhist sutras written and cross-checked in the imperial scriptoria of the Tang capital, to secular documents such as legal contracts and even schoolchild writing exercises. Although the *Memoirs* is an incomplete copy, its fragmentary condition shows that it has lost sections, notably at the beginning, so that originally it may have sought to transcribe the whole text; it is even possible that other copies of Hyecho's account once existed at Dunhuang. The editorial marks found on the manuscript (see following note) are evidence of contemporary interest and critical evaluation of the work (RW).

22 There are editorial marks noting mistakes in ten places: columns 23, 48, 52, 72, 93, 122, 147, 148, 167, and 170; editorial amendments in nine places: columns 20, 44, 52, 58, 122, 138, 173, 191, and 210; insertions in four places: in columns 44, 54, and two in column 195. There are also two duplications, on columns 96 and 156.

that second volume. From vol. 3, fourteen entries are included in the present manuscript, beginning with Suoboci (娑播慈) in column 103 and Five yakśas (餧五夜叉) in column 130, all the way to Mingyun (明惲) in column 220, comprising eighteen entries in total.[23]

If we compare just the portion from Varāṇasī to Mingyun, of the 34 headings that appear in *Sounds and Meanings*, only 18 appear as entries in the manuscript. The remaining 16 are absent. From *Sounds and Meanings*, we

23 The following variant readings can be observed:

Memoirs entry no.	Memoirs column no.			Sounds and Meanings juan # (I, II, III)	characters
3	(col. 10)	Varāṇasī	彼羅痆斯	II 0927b12	波羅痆斯
	(col. 28)		土鍋	II 0927b19	土堝
	(col. 89)	wool blankets	毛毯	II 0927b17	一毯
	(col. 108)	woolen tents	毛褐	II 0927b18	毛褐
	(col. 103)	Suoboci	娑播慈	III 0927b21	婆簸慈
	(col. 106)		氈帳	III 0927c09	氈裝
	(col. 107)	yaks	猫牛	III 0927b22	犛牛
	(col. 111)		蟣虱	III 0927b23	牙齧蟣蝨
	(col. 130)	five yakśas	餧五夜叉	III 0927c03	餧五夜叉
	(col. 147)		謝颶	III 0927c07	謝颶
	(col. 171)		匙筋	III 0927c10	匙箸
	(col. 193)		胡蜜	III 0927c11	胡篾
	(col. 195)		峭巇	III 0927c13	峭巇
	(col. 196)		擘地烈	III 0927c14	擘地裂
	(col. 197)		爆布	III 0927c15	瀑布
	(col. 209)		播蜜	III 0927c12	播蔑
	(col. 212)		伽師祇離	III 0927c18	迦師佶黎
	(col. 220)	Ming Yun	明惲	III 0927c22	明惲

While the manuscript has 彼羅痆斯 (col. 10), 土鍋 (col. 28), 毛毯 (col. 89), 毛褐 (col. 108) in that order, the order in vol. II of *Sounds and Meanings* is 波羅痆斯, 一毯, 毛褐, 土堝. In vol. III as well, 氈帳 appears between 謝颶 and 匙箸 and 播蔑 appears between 胡蔑 and 峭巇, showing another difference. Also, while *Sounds and Meanings* places 參差 in vol. I (T 2128 54.0926c24), it appears in a different place in the manuscript (col. 20). Takata notes that the characters 憔杌 in col. 114 of the manuscript can be understood as the 磽磕 that *Sounds and Meanings* places in vol. III (Takata 1998, 206). However, although the order varies, most of the differences in the headings are simply variant orthographies of the characters.

can also know that though half of the first portion of the extant manuscript was lost, the second half remained largely intact.[24] If we consider the present manuscript to be a portion of the three-volume original, running from the second half of volume two to the second half of volume three, we can assume that the original version was at least twice as long as the text extant today.

As for Hyecho's route, it is generally known that he left for India by sea, and returned to Tang China via the land route after passing through the western regions beyond Tang. Yet, as the *Memoirs* ends at the Anxi Protectorate in Kucha, we cannot know the exact route he took beyond there to Tang. The beginning of his trip, as well, is not clear, as it begins when he is already in India. *Sounds and Meanings*, in describing the first volume of the Memoirs, notes numerous items regarding the island regions of the South Seas, including entries on unique indigenous specialties, such as terms related to sea turtles like daimao (玳瑁), guibie (龜鼈), and yuantuo (黿鼉), as well as descriptions of the topography and housing conditions in the region. Such information provides clear evidence that Hyecho made his passage by sea. Pelliot quickly built on this foundation, inferring that Hyecho's route went from China via the South Sea to India, then returned to China via Turkestan, modern Xinjiang.[25]

Hyecho's exact route is thought to have proceeded along the following route. He boarded a ship in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou and set sail towards India.[26] Depending on the monsoon winds, he probably departed sometime between October and December, sailing for roughly one month until he arrived in Sumatra. Monks on pilgrimage are often presumed

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24 This presumption is based on the fact that the beginning of the extant manuscript corresponds to roughly the middle of the text referred to in *Sounds and Meanings*. Because each volume does not have a fixed ratio of entries, and because the itinerary that remains, in India and the western regions, is more important and he had many countries to pass through on his journey, this may not represent the true amount. However, if we want to make a rough guess, this estimate is possible.

25 Ko Pyŏng-ik, 303.

26 We know that there was a preference to take the sea route rather than the land route to India based on Yijing's (義淨) *Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Travelled to the West*

to have gone by this route, to the present-day regions of Palembang and Jambi on Sumatra, staying for a fixed period to acclimate to the tropical climate as well as to learn Sanskrit and other native languages. Following the lead of other pilgrims, Hyecho is then thought to have gone on from here and disembarked in India at Tamralipti (present-day Tamluk), a town southwest of Calcutta (modern Kolkata).[27]

Passing through eastern India, Hyecho began his pilgrimage visiting the Buddhist sites along the Ganges and Yamuna rivers.[28] Following this, there is the strong possibility that he visited the country of Magadha, the region containing the most important Buddhist historical sites. The fragmentary beginning of the extant manuscript is presumed to be the end of an entry about Śrāvastī (or, less likely, Vaiśālī). Following this, he left Kuśinagara and passed through Varāṇasī, travelling for two months before arriving at the royal city of Kanauj in Central India, where he made a pilgrimage to numerous Buddhist remains. This was thought to have been in 724. Leaving Central India, he travelled for three months and arrived in South India (present-day Nasik). From here, he walked for two more months until he arrived in Sind, a region that had by this time already been invaded by the Arabs.

Seeking the Dharma (大唐西域求法高僧傳). He notes that 40 out of 65 monks travelling to study in India left by sea.

27 Ko Pyŏng-ik, "Research on Hyecho's Indian Journey," in *Buddhism and Multi-disciplinary Studies* (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Kaegyo P'alsipchunyŏn Kinyŏm Nonch'ong P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1987), 873–887.

28 In the manuscript, the descriptions of Varāṇasī (record 3) and Central India (record 4) state that Hyecho visited four pilgrimage sites (the Jetavana in Śrāvastī; the Āmrapālī in Vaiśālī; the Lumbinī Garden in Kapilavastu, site of the Buddha's birth; and Saṁkāśya, where the Buddha returned from the Thirty-Three Heavens). Hyecho also mentions the four sacred stūpas in Magadha, site of the First Sermon (record 3); Kuśinagara, site of the Parinirvana (records 2, 3); Rājagṛha, where the Buddha preached the Lotus Sutra (record 3); and the Mahābodhi Temple (record 3). Judging from this, it is possible to assume the existence of entries that come before the previously extant first record, that of Kuśinagara. These earlier accounts addressed the historical sites at Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī. The standard route goes from Rājagṛha to Kuśinagara via Vaiśālī and thence to Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu and Varāṇasī.

Travelling for three more months, he came to North India and Jālaṇḍhara in the Punjab region. It is here that he passes on information about Suvaraṇagotra. Moving on for another month, he passed through Takshar (present-day Sialkot, Pakistan), and a month later still, passed through Sindh-Gujarāt (present-day Poonch), and half a month after that, he entered the region of Kashmir. In Kashmir, he offered information about Tibet and the countries then under its rule, including Greater Bolor (present-day Baltistan), Yangtong (楊同, in southeastern Pakistan and western Tibet), and Suoboci (娑播慈, present-day Ladakh). After one more week of travel, he went to Lesser Bolor (present-day Gilgit), a nation under the control of Tang.

Crossing the mountains of Kashmir again, he arrived in Gandhāra (present-day Peshawar) after one month, and stayed there from the autumn of 725 until the spring of 726. Three days' travel north of there, he came to Uḍḍiyāna (present-day Swat, Pakistan), and then, leaving from Gandhāra again, he travelled for fifteen days and arrived in Kuwi (present-day Chitral). Again departing from Gandhāra, he went west for seven days, going to Laṃpāka (present-day Laghman). From Laṃpāka, he travelled eight days, arriving in Kāpiśī (present-day Kabul), then left here and travelled for seven days, passing through Zābulistān (present-day Ghazni), after which seven more days travel brought him to Bāmiyān. From here, he took twenty days to reach Balkh in Tokhara. It was now winter in late 726 or early 727.

One month west of Balkh, he arrived in Persia (present-day Shiraz in the Fars Province of Iran). Then he turned north, travelling for ten days to Arabia (in the location of present-day Kufa in southern Iraq).[29] It is here that Hyecho made note of the Byzantine Empire and the Sogdian oasis city-states in eastern Arabia, entities he described with the term Huguo

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29 This is some dispute about the regions described in the entries on Persia and Arabia. Persia had fallen to Arabia in 651 and governor-generals had been dispatched to the various regions of ancient Persia, such as Fars and Khorāsān. The central Tokharan city of Balkh was also within Khorāsān. If Hyecho's record noting "one month's travel west from Tokhara" is changed to "two months to the southwest" this would have brought him near the centre of the Persian kingdom in Fars. From here if "ten days to the north" is changed to "twenty days to the northwest," he would be in Kufa on the

(胡國). These six countries that comprised Huguo are Bukhārā (Anguo, 安國), in present-day Uzbekistan, Kabūdhan (Caoguo, 曹國), Kish (Shiguo, 史國), Tashkent (Shiluoguo, 石騾國), Penjikent (Miguo, 米國), and Samarkand (Kangguo, 康國). He also added to this record further information about Ferghāna, in present-day Uzbekistan, Khuttal, in present-day Khatlan, Tajikistan, and about the Turks, in present-day Kazakhstan. Leaving Tokhara, he travelled seven days to the east, until arriving in Ishkāsim, the capital of Wakhān (present-day Pakistan). Here he offered information about the nine countries of Shighnān, present-day Tajikistan, and then proceeded for half a month, entering Chinese territory again at Tashkurghan.

He left here and travelled another month, arriving at Kashgar (present-day Kashi), one of the four Anxi Garrisons, and then went another month, arriving at Kucha, site of the Anxi Protectorate, in the eleventh lunar month of 727. He then offered information about Khotan (present-day Hetian), located across the Taklamakan desert, south of Kucha. From Kucha, he travelled one month onward to Karashahr, at which point the extant manuscript of *Memoirs* draws to a close.[30] However, if we consider that *Sounds and Meanings* next mentions “the family name Qu” (姓麴), namely, the surname of the royal family of Gaochang, we can infer that his way home took him along the Northern Silk Road, from Kashgar, through Kucha and Karashahr, on to Gaochang, Dunhuang and, finally to Chang’an around 728.

Altogether, Hyecho refers to 36 separate regions, among which he visited

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shores of the Euphrates, the Arab heartland of the mid-seventh century. Yet there is also speculation that the area of Persia and Arabia that Hyecho said he went to was actually Nishapur in Khorāsān, in present-day eastern Iran (Chŏng, 99). Chŏng Su-il places the westernmost point of the pilgrimage in Arabia as Nashpur. He also argues that “Persia” can be seen as Nashpur as well (*ibid*., 343). Though this argument is problematic in that it differs from Hyecho’s records, even considering the record for the Byzantine Empire that follows the one for Arabia, it is natural to consider the focus of the description of Arabia to be on its most important region.

30 The presumed names for these regions are given in accordance with the Chinese characters Hyecho used to name them. As to determining what modern-day regions correspond to these ancient place names, modern research has been very fruitful: the work of Shōshin Kuwayama in particular has been most helpful (Kuwayama, 4–10).

26 directly. The other ten, namely Suvarṇagotra [record 8]; Greater Bolor [with Yangtong and Suoboci, record 12]; Tibet [record 13]; Byzantine Empire [record 25]; Hu Nations [record 26]; Ferghāna [record 27]; Khuttal [record 28]; Turks [record 29]; Shighnān [record 31]; and Khotan [record 35] he describes from other sources he obtained along the way.[31]

There is much debate regarding just how far Hyecho's western journey took him. Based on his itinerary or travel goals, there are many scholars of the opinion that he did not go as far as Persia or Arabia. However, given that the descriptions he offers for these regions are in line with those he gave for places he visited in person, and that the information in those accounts was correct, if we acknowledge that his awareness of Arabia was so precise, there is definitely a great possibility of his actually having travelled to Arabia.[32]

4. The Contents and Unique Characteristics of the *Memoirs*

The name of this work, *Wang o cheonchukguk jeon*, literally "Record of Travel to and from Five Indian Kingdoms." *O cheonchukguk* (五天竺) means "the five (*O*) kingdoms of India (*Cheonchuk*)" and was the name used at the time in Tang China for India in general. In such Chinese history books as the Tang History, this region spanning eastwards from the Pamirs in the northwest for some 30,000 li was dealt with as five countries: Central, East, South, West, and North India.[33] Hyecho thus followed the naming convention of his age in describing the destination of his pilgrimage. However, the extant

31 It is also asserted that he offered descriptions of Persia and Arabia, as well as South and West India (Kuwayama, 4).

32 Chŏng Su-il, 89–99. Kim Sang-yeong argues for the possibility that he went to Persia and Arabia, and also to one of the Hu Nations, namely Samarkand. See his "Investigation into Hyecho's Indian Pilgrimage," in *The Great Korean World Explorer – Hyecho*, 46–48. Here, Arabia would refer to their governor-general located in the farthest western region of Khorāsān. This "Arabia" could also refer to Iraq.

manuscript does not go beyond describing only three of these kingdoms before continuing on to a description of the western regions. Even if records on Central and East India were in the portion of the extant text that has been lost, if we use *Sounds and Meanings* for comparison and assume that records for southeast Asia were also in that portion, the relative importance of Hyecho's writing about India would be even less. In regard to this point, this would mark a great difference between Hyecho's account of India and those of other pilgrims, such as the *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguoji:* 佛國記) by Faxian (337?–422?) and the *Record of the Western Regions* by Xuanzang (600?–664).[34]

Faxian of the Eastern Jin went to India in 399 via the land route through the western regions of China and beyond. After studying the Buddhist historical remains there, he returned to China by sea in 412. Among the places that appear in his *Record of Buddhist Countries*, there were four regions in China, six countries in the western regions, ten countries in North India, fourteen regions in Central India, one country in East India, and then a few other regions, including Sri Lanka, for a combined total of thirty-seven.[35] Xuanzang set off for India via the land route in 627 or 628, passing through the western regions, returning again via the land route in 645 after spending seventeen years on pilgrimage and study of the dharma. In his travel record, the longest of all accounts of pilgrimages to India, Xuanzang himself divided the countries he had seen in person among the five kingdoms of India. Thirty of these countries were in Central India, six in East India, fifteen in South India, ten in West India, and nineteen in North India. The rest of Central Asia and beyond accounted for 58 other countries, for a combined total of

33 *Old Tang History* (Jiu Tangshu: 舊唐書), Biographies – Western Rong, vol. 198, pp. 5308ff; *New Tang History* (Xin Tangshu: 新唐書), Biographies – Western Regions, vol. 221.

34 For a comparison and concise discussion on the significance of Faxian and Xuanzang's itineraries see Kazutoshi Nagasawa, *Silk Road History and Culture*, trans. Lee Jaeseong (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1990), 89–105.

35 Faxian, *Biography of Faxian* (高僧法顯傳), T 2085.51.857–866.

138 countries.[36] In 750, some 30 years after Hyecho, Wukong (?–812) from Tang went to India as part of an ambassadorial delegation via Anxi. On the way, he traversed the Congling Mountains, passing through Wakhān, Kuwi, Laṃpāka, Uḍḍiyāna, and West India on the way to Gandhāra. In India, he came down with a serious illness upon which he became a monk, trained in the dharma, and then finally returned home in 790. In his travel journal, edited by Yuanzhao, *Wukong ruzhuji* (悟空入竺記, *Record of Wukong's Journey to India*), he offered a rough sketch of his itinerary and the regions he visited.[37]

In comparison with these pilgrimage journals, the *Memoirs* is notable for its original distinction. It offers a unique first-hand account of India and the western regions during the first half of the eighth century, the only one of its kind recounting a pilgrimage that departed by sea and returned by land.

The extant manuscript contains information about 36 regions.[38] The following table organizes them in order of his itinerary, their present-day locations, and the time it took for each leg of the journey.

	Record in Manuscript	Present-day region	Journey time	Number of columns of Text
1	Vaiśālī	India – Vaiśālī	-	3
2	Kuśinagara	India – Kuśinagara	One month	6
3	Varāṇasī Magadha	India – Varāṇasī India – Bodh gayā, etc.	"A few days"	7 4
4	Central India	India – Kanauj	2 months west of Varāṇasī	28
5	South India – Chālukya	India – Nasik	3 months south of Central India	11

36 Xuanzang, *Record of the Western Regions* (大唐西域記), T 2087.51.868–947.

37 *Yuanzhao* 圓照 trans., T 2089.51.979b–981b.

38 Not all of the 36 regions are separate countries. There are regions of China included, for example. There are also singular regions that possess numerous countries within them. As a result, it is not suitable to say that this is a travelogue of numerous nations. To confuse matters, at the time of his writing, Hyecho would sometimes use the word "country" when he was talking about a region.

6	West India – Sind	Pakistan – Sind	2 months north of South India	7
7	North India – Jālaṇdhara	India – Jālaṇdhara	3 months north of West India	6
8	*Suvarṇagotra	Tibet – Suvarṇagotra	1 month east	2
9	Takshar	Pakistan – Sialkot	1 month west of Jālaṇdhara	3
10	Sindh-Gujarāt	Pakistan – Poonch	1 month west of Takshar	-
11	Kashmir	India – Kashmir	15 days to the north	9+7
12	*Greater Bolor, Yangtong, Suoboci	India – Baltistan, Ladakh, Sa spo rtse	15 days east of Kashmir	4
13	*Tibet	Tibet – Xinjiang	East	6
14	Lesser Bolor	Pakistan – Gilgit	7 days west of Kashmir	5
15	Gandhāra	Pakistan – Peshawar	1 month west of Kashmir	16
16	Uḍḍiyāna	Pakistan – Swat	3 days north of Gandhāra	4
17	Kuwi	Pakistan – Chitral	15 days east of Uḍḍiyāna	2
18	Laṃpāka	Afghanistan – Laghman	7 days west of Gandhāra	2
19	Kāpiśī	Afghanistan – Kabul	8 days west of Laṃpāka	8
20	Zābulistān	Afghanistan – Ghazni	7 days west of Kāpiśī	5
21	Bāmiyān	Afghanistan – Bāmiyān	7 days north of Zābulistān	5
22	Tokhara	Afghanistan – Balkh	20 days north of Bāmiyān	6
23	Persia	Iran – Fars	1 month west of Tokhara	6
24	Arabia	Iraq – Kufa	10 days north of Persia	6
25	*Byzantine Empire	Turkey – Byzantine Empire	West of Lesser Byzantium	3
26	*Hu Nations (Bukhārā, Kabūdhan, Kish, Tashkent, Penjikent) Sogdiana	(Uzbekistan)	East of Arabia	7
27	*Ferghāna (Samarkand)	Uzbekistan – Farghona	East of Samarkand	2
28	*Khuttal	Tajikistan – Khatlon	East of Ferghāna	5
29	*Turks	(Kazakhstan)	North of Huguo	4
30	Wakhān	Afghanistan – Wakhān	7 days east of Tokhara	10
31	*Shighnān	Tajikistan – Shighnān	In the mountains north of Wakhān	6
32	Tashkurghan (Pamirs)	China – Tashkurgan	15 days east of Wakhān	3
33	Kashgar	China – Kashi	1 month of Tashkurghan	2
34	Kucha	China – Kucha	1 month east of Kashgar	2

35	*Khotan	China – Hetian	2000 li south of Kucha	2+7
36	Karashahr	China – Yanqi	(half a month) east of Kucha	4

* An asterisk indicates countries Hyecho is only reporting on, but had not visited directly. The last column, Text, indicates the number of columns of text devoted to each region in the manuscript.

Parts of the extant manuscript lack a systematic organization. Excluding the portion of the text regarding the five Indian kingdoms that is considered to have been lost, thought to be the record on East India, there are descriptions of Central, North, South, and West India. However, in the description of the region surrounding the Central Indian royal city of Kanauj, there is a mention of the four great stūpas in the Central Indian territory, namely, the sites at Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Kapila, and Saṁkāśya. Before these, however, following the record for Varāṇasī, is an introduction to the four sacred stūpas of Magadha. These regions are generally classified as all being within Central India. As Magadha is the kingdom with the largest number of the most important Buddhist sites, the failure to offer a separate record[39] for this region, and the mere naming of the four great stūpas is an unsuitable structure for any Buddhist pilgrimage journal.

In the case of North India, Hyecho sees this as being comprised not only of Jālaṇdhara, but also Takshar, Sindh-Gujarāt, and Kashmir. We know this because he states clearly in the description of Kashmir, "the country of Kashmir is also with North India." Moreover, it is after his description of Kashmir that he offers information about the general composition of monasteries in North India. Within the record on Sindh-Gujarāt as well, there is the description that states, "As with others in the five Indian kingdoms" and a further note that "there is another temple in North India," offering clear evidence that this region is seen to be within North India. Finally, there is the fact that discussions of the general culture, clothing,

39 Unlike the *Record of the Western Regions*, which was quite clear in stating the precise location of sites, the *Memoirs* lack this precise demarcation.

language, law, customs, and punishments of the five kingdoms are generally included with individual entries on Central India, but for North India, this information comes after the entries for Takshar, Sindh-Gujarāt, and Kashmir.

Seen this way, North and Central India are shown to have numerous countries within them, while South and West India end with the introduction of only one country. Taking the five kingdoms in their entirety, Central India, the area with the most Buddhist historical sites, and North India, the Buddhist heartland leading to China's western regions, are given a detailed treatment, while South and West India have generalised descriptions. There are also descriptions about the five kingdoms as a whole scattered here and there. These serve to illustrate the lack of systematic organization within the extant manuscript.[40] In the entry on Varāṇasī, we can find this tendency as well. After the description of the site of the first "Turning of the Dharma Wheel" (i.e. the First Sermon) at the Deer Park in Varāṇasī, he notes that the Magadha king Śīlāditya (r. 590–647) made the Buddha statue enshrined inside the temple. Immediately after this, beginning with Deer Park, he lists the four great sacred stūpas of Magadha, and notes at this time that he had arrived at the Mahābodhi Temple. Thus, this record makes no division between Varāṇasī and Magadha. Of course, not every account in the *Memoirs* provides a sharp division between different countries. However, for those countries that he visited directly, he includes a set phrase regarding from where he left, in what direction he went and for how long, and where he arrived. It is based on this set phrase that the countries can be divided.[41] This translation follows that system and numbers the countries accordingly in its presentation of the text.

40 Our understanding of this incomplete systemization further raises the possibility that the extant manuscript is not, in fact, the original manuscript of *Memoirs*, but rather an abridged or draft version.

41 To distinguish between countries he had seen directly and those he was only relaying information about, Hyecho had a set pattern to indicate the former, saying "From X, I travelled in such-and-such a direction for such a period of time and arrived at country Y" (從 – 國 – 行 – 日至 – 國). The only countries to lack this set phrase are Persia and Arabia, leading to doubts as to whether he travelled there in person.

The information provided in the entry for each country describes the location, political state of affairs, climate, topography, regional specialties, daily customs, attitudes towards Buddhism, and other facts and figures.[42] Hyecho makes a division among Buddhist followers between those who follow the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. Among the 36 countries he describes, seven are Hinayāna, four are Mahāyāna, ten have a mix of both, four are said only to have monasteries and monks, seven are said to be without Buddhism, and four make no mention of Buddhism at all. From this we can determine that in Hyecho's time, India was seen generally to have both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, though in some regions Hinayāna was more prevalent. It was within China's sphere of influence that only Mahāyāna was practised. This differs from the state of affairs described by Xuanzang a century earlier, leading us to presume that the Buddhist world was undergoing a state of transformation at the time of Hyecho's visit.[43] Looking at India as a whole, we can see the trend of Hinduism's expansion and Buddhism's general decline, but in North India and the western regions, Buddhism was gradually gaining popularity. The *Memoirs* thus offers a snap-shot chronicle of the general state of transformation in the transmission and prevalence of Buddhism.

The significance of the *Memoirs* lies precisely in the vivid depiction it offers us of life in later eighth-century India and Central Asia. India at the

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42 Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* provides a very summarized description of each country's political climate, landscape, and religious state of affairs, together with a very detailed account of local Buddhist historical relics and popular legends. The *Memoirs*, on the other hand, except for Central India, has descriptions more about the general state of affairs in each country, rather than Buddhist historical sites. Thus, with the significant differences seen in the entries on the same countries, the disparity in generational background and perspective becomes an important point for our consideration.

43 Of the 100 countries described in the *Record of the Western Regions*, 25 were Mahāyāna, 60 were Hinayāna, and 15 were both. Based on Xuanzang's regional breakdown: western regions (5:12:1), North India (9:7:1), Central India (7:26:6), East India (1:2:0), South India (1:7:5), and West India (2:7:2), Mahāyāna seemed to be flourishing in North India, while Hinayāna flourished in Central, South, and West India, as well as in the western regions. See Mizutani Shinjō, trans. *Record of the Western Regions* (大唐西域記) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 417–420.

time of his visit was reeling in a state of division and dissolution following the collapse of the Harṣavardhana dynasty (ca. 606–647). Following the fall of the Gupta dynasty in the mid-sixth century, the Harṣavardhana dynasty arose in the early seventh century, with its capital in Kanauj, where it enjoyed a position at the heart of North Indian politics. However, the death of Harṣavardha (c.590–647) aroused brutal factional strife over the succession, bringing about the independence of numerous provincial powers, and the dissolution of the dynasty. Thereafter, in the later eighth century, North India was split between three powers, the Pratihara of Kanauj, the Pala of Bengal, and the Rashtrakuta of Deccan. In the wake of the competition this provoked, we can understand how, with the power of seventh and eighth century North India now gone, numerous countries seceded to form their own independent states. As such, it was entirely suitable for Hyecho to use the word "nation" or "country" (國, Ch. guo, K. guk) when he described these various regions. This political detail also took a more human form. One example of this is his detailed description, steeped as it is in the ambiance of its day, about royal audiences and the settlement of disputes in Central India.

There is also great significance in the information he provides in his records about Arabia. The Middle East at that time had seen the Persian Sassanid Empire (224–651) fall to the Arabs who were ruled by the Umayyad caliphate centered around Damascus and led by Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (724–743). Their rule extended throughout the region with the dispatch of numerous governor-generals. Hyecho's account allows us to verify the extent of their influence, extending east to the Indus River valley and into Central Asia, including present-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In leaving us his observations about Persia and Arabia, Hyecho played a pioneering role in marking the important traces of interaction between Central Asian and Islamic culture.[44]

Though it may bear some relation to the fact that the extant manuscript is not the original copy, the fact is that the descriptions that we do have from

[44] Chŏng, 91–100.

Hyecho are quite objective. He does not mix emotion in with the facts of each region as he describes them, simply recording things "as they are" and moving on. Yet there are five places in the *Memoirs* where he does pause for a moment, offering poetry as an expression of the moods inspired by the sites he visited. These pauses allow the reader also to reflect upon the fact that in the face of the many difficulties prevalent during a pilgrimage, this spiritual seeker found plenty of inspiration to overcome the obstacles in his way. Speaking to his sincere desire to fulfil the vow of his pilgrimage, his writing here is steeped in the frank depiction of the vivid emotions of a pilgrim, and is left to us as exquisite lyrical poetry.[45]

With a rigid separation between his objective viewpoint and subjective emotions, his account as a whole is judged by some to possess a perfect composition for a travel journal.[46] On one hand, his prose places more importance on presenting the various data about a region in an encompassing manner, rather than on his own experiences in each place. He is faithful to objective descriptions and realistic portraits. On the other hand, his poetry draws out his individual experience, an expression of his emotion as he faced the hardships of travel and a deep longing for home.

The account of the regional cultures of India and Central Asia left to us in the *Memoirs* is brief. However, as an accurate record of his age, it provides critical research material. Moreover, imbued as it is with the warm mind and lively emotions of a spiritual seeker on a life-threatening journey, it is handed down to us as a genuine chronicle of a true pilgrim. Thus, the *Memoirs* is a unique record of one man's personal experience, a cultural inheritance possessed of an inimitable charm.

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45 Im Gijung, "The Cultural Significance of Record of Travels to Western Lands and Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to Five Indian Kingdoms," *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 31 (1994): 26.

46 Lee Jinoh, "The Writing Style and Purpose of Hyecho's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to Five Indian Kingdoms," in *Research on Ancient Prose*, ed. Society of Korean Language and Literature (Seoul: Taehaksa, 1998), 183–194.

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The Cultural-Historical Significance of the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)

The invaluable history book *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), which provides us with abundant materials for research into Korea's ancient culture, was compiled by Iryeon (一然, 1206–1289) in the wake of a series of military rebellions and the establishment of the Choe military regime at a time when Goryeo had experienced the suffering of the Mongol invasions and was entering into an age of Mongol oppression.

As the base of the hereditary aristocratic system, Scholastic Buddhism, centered on the Avataṃsaka school (K. Hwaeomjong, C. Huayanjong) and the Dharma-Character school (K. Beopsang jong, C. Faxiang zong), was intimately connected to society and vigorously active within society, but after Uicheon (義天) the number of Seon (C. Chan, J. Zen) and Cheontae (C. Tiantai) schools increased. When the military rebellion of 1170 broke out, the basic system of government by aristocratic civilian officials was annulled, and changes arose throughout the whole of society. At the beginning of the period of military rule the Goryeo Buddhist sphere of the Scholastic and Seon schools appeared to be coexisting on equal terms, but after the seizure of power by the Choe clan, the Buddhist sphere was reformed so that the Seon school took the lead. The Choe regime favored the Samādhi and Prajnā approach to Buddhist practice (*jeonghye ssangsu*: 定慧雙修) and took an interest in and lent its support to the Buddhist teachings of Jinul (知訥), who founded a new religious community (*gyeolsa*) at Suseonsa. By having Seon Master Jigyeom (志謙), who was installed as the royal preceptor (*wangsa*: 王師) in 1212, take control of the Two Orders and Five Schools (Yangjong ogyo: 兩宗五敎), the Choe regime put the Seon order firmly in charge of Buddhism in Goryeo. Around 1211 the Baengnyeon Community under the leadership of Yose (了世) established Pure Land belief (Jeongtogwan: 淨土觀) and repentance practice (*chamhoe suhaeng*: 慙悔修行) in harmony at Suseonsa and thus initiated a new Buddhist movement.

The Life of Iryeon

Iryeon was born in 1206 (the second year of Huijong's reign) during the Choe Chungheon regime in Jangsan-gun (章山郡), a prefecture of Gyeongju, which is thought to be present-day Dongbu-dong (東部洞 – originally Yugok-dong [油谷洞], Seo-myeon [西面], Jain-gun [慈仁郡]) in the city of Gyeongsan (慶山市). Iryeon's father was Gim Eonpil (金彦弼), who is thought to have been a member of the class of regional functionaries (*hyangni*: 鄉吏), and his mother was from the Yi clan. Iryeon's original name was Gyeonmyeong (見明), and his courtesy name was Hoeyeon (晦然). At the age of nine he entered Muryang Monastery (無量寺) in Haeyang (海陽; present-day Gwangju [光州]) and began to study the Buddha dharma. At the age of fourteen he received the full precepts (*gujokgye*: 具足戒) from the senior monk Daeung (大雄) at Jinjeonsa (陳田寺). This monastery has a long and significant history insofar as it was here that the founder of the Gaji Mountain School (Gaji sanmun: 迦智山門), Seon Master Doui (道義), dwelt in seclusion when the first orthodox Southern School of Chan (K. Seon) began to spread during the period of the transmission of the Seon School in late Silla. Accordingly Iryeon is recorded as belonging to the Gaji Mountain School.

Iryeon, who practiced while traveling around many different monasteries, demonstrated outstanding ability, and his reputation was so high that he was selected as first among the "four selections of the Nine Mountains" (Gusan saseon). At the age of twenty-two Iryeon took the *saṅgha* examination (*seunggwa*: 僧科) and achieved the top grade (*sangsanggwa*: 上上科). He also engaged in contemplative meditation while staying at Bodang Hermitage (寶幢庵) on Mt. Po (包山), which is present-day Mt. Biseul (毘瑟山), Hyeonpung-myeon (玄風面), Dalseong-gun (達城郡), Daegu.

From 1231 (the eighteenth year of Gojong's reign), when Iryeon was twenty-six years of age, the ordinary people and ruling class of Goryeo vigorously resisted the Mongol invasions for thirty years. For twenty-two years during the period of the Mongol invasions of Goryeo Iryeon visited various monasteries on Mt. Po and practiced there. Located on Mt. Po were

Okcheon Monastery (玉泉寺), which belonged to the Hwaeom school and had been established by an Amitābha religious society (*gyeolsa*), and also Bodang Hermitage, where *Lotus Sūtra* worship and esoteric Buddhism were practiced. Iryeon's experience of the varied Buddhist faiths on Mt. Po is clearly reflected in his writings, including *Samguk yusa*, which are not restricted to any particular faith or school but provide a comprehensive view of Buddhism's various schools, faiths and ideologies.

While Iryeon was active at Mt. Po, during the period of resistance to the Mongol invasions by the regime of Choe I, Goryeo Buddhism was undergoing changes. Suseonsa and Baengnyeonsa, which had initiated a new spirit through the Buddhist religious society (*gyeolsa*) movement, on the one hand were patronized and regulated by the Choe regime, while on the other hand cautiously participated in the resistance against the Mongols. In 1232 when the capital was moved to Ganghwa Island in response to the Mongol invasion of that year, the woodblocks of the first Tripiṭaka Koreana, which were kept at Buin Monastery (符仁寺) were destroyed by fire, and the will to resist the Mongols grew even stronger. The "Samantabhadra enlightenment site" (Bohyeon doryang: 普賢道場) was established at Baengnyeonsa, and in 1236 work was started on the woodblocks for the second Tripiṭaka Koreana, which took sixteen years to complete.

Because of the continual resistance in the Gyeongsang Province region to military rule after the military rebellion, Buddhism in this region was greatly weakened. In this atmosphere Iryeon also remained in obscurity in Mt. Po. Once when he was on the run from the invading Mongol army, he had a miraculous encounter with the "transformation body" (*hyeonsin*: 現身) of Mañjuśrī while he was chanting the *Five-Character Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī* (*Munsu ojaju*: 文殊五字呪).

While staying at Myomun Hermitage (妙門庵) on Mt. Po in 1273, Iryeon attained enlightenment through engaging in *hwadu* meditation practice. Iryeon's penchant for "phrase-observing meditation" (*ganhwaseon*: 看話禪) grew stronger after his exposure to the philosophical tradition of Suseonsa. Nevertheless, Iryeon did not devote himself exclusively to the Seon School, but also made a deep study of scholastic Buddhism and adopted a

balanced attitude to the Seon and Scholastic traditions. Not only that but he was also widely read in the Confucian classics and was thoroughly familiar with the various schools of Chinese philosophy, which provided him with a broad foundation in both domestic and foreign systems of thought. Iryeon's ideological tendencies, together with his broad interest in the various beliefs within Buddhism, enabled him to develop a wide ranging philosophical system. In 1237 Iryeon attained the rank of Samjung daesa (三重大師) and in 1246 was promoted to the rank of Seon Master (Seonsa: 禪師).

In 1249 Iryeon founded Jeongnimsa (定林社) in Namhae (南海), which was built by Jeongan (鄭晏, ?–1251), who donated his house for this purpose. As the father-in-law of Choe I, Jeong An had close ties with the Choe military regime, but repelled by Choe I's selfish concern for his own regime, Jeong retired to Namhae. Immersing himself in Buddhism, Jeong even took part in the publication of the *Tripiṭaka Koreana* and formed a deep friendship with Hyesim (慧諶), the second abbot of Suseonsa. It is thought that due to the relationship that Iryeon formed with Jeong An at this time, he was able to receive his help in acquiring many of Hyesim's writings, including *Seon Stories and Comments* (*Seonmun yeomsong*: 禪門拈頌). Through these works Iryeon was directly exposed to the philosophical tradition of Suseonsa, and he became even more deeply devoted to phrase-observing meditation. As a consequence he compiled *Garden of Seon Stories and Comments* (*Seonmun yeomsong sawon*: 禪門拈頌事苑) in thirty volumes, continuing the tradition of Hyesim's *Seon Stories and Comments*. In 1256 he published the *Augmented Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Jungpyeon jodong owi*: 重編曹洞五位) at Gilsang Hermitage on Mt. Jiri after spending four years on its compilation.

In 1259 at the age of fifty-four Iryeon attained the rank of Great Seon Mentor (Daeseonsa: 大禪師), and in 1261 he was invited by royal command to Ganghwa and was active at Seonwolsa (禪月社). The fact that Iryeon was able to practice at the temporary capital on Ganghwa Island during the upheaval of the collapse of the Choe regime and the surrender of the government at Ganghwa to the Mongols was possible because of the support of such powerful figures as Yi Jangyong (李藏用: 1201–1272) and Bak

Songbi (朴松庇: ?–1278). As a member of the eminent, civil official lineage of the Inju Yi clan, Yi Jangyong was the leading figure of the regime that came into being during the reign of King Wonjong after the collapse of the Choe regime while Bak Songbi, a general from the class of regional functionaries (*hyangni*), together with Yugyeong Gim Jun took part in the removal of Choe Ui.

Iryeon, who had been vigorously active in Ganghwa retired to Oeo Monastery (吾魚寺) in Yeongil, North Gyeongsang Province in 1264 when Bak Songbi fell from his position of influence. Soon afterwards Iryeon moved again to Inhongsa (仁弘社) on Mt. Po. When Gim Jun was executed in 1268, Iryeon, in compliance with a royal command, headed a meeting of eminent monks from the Seon and Scholastic schools of Buddhism known as the Daejang Nakseonghoe (大藏落成會). In 1274 he restored Inhong Monastery and renamed it Inheungsa (仁興社) and then restored Yongcheonsa (湧泉寺) on the eastern side of Mt. Po, changing its name to Burilsa (佛日社).

In 1277 under orders from the king, Iryeon stayed at Unmunsa (雲門寺), where he made a great impact, and in 1278 he published the *Table of a Chronology of Successive Monarchs* (*Yeokdae yeonpyo*: 歷代年表), which laid the foundation for the "Chronology of Monarchs" (Wangnyeok: 王曆) chapter in *Samguk yusa*. In 1281 he gained even more respect when was summoned to meet King Chungnyeol when the latter came to Gyeongju to encourage the Eastern Expeditionary Army (Dongjonggun: 東征軍). In the following year the king received Iryeon in the inner palace, listened to his sermon and arranged to have him installed at Gwangmyeong Monastery (廣明寺) in Gaegyeong (Gaeseong). In 1283 when Iryeon was seventy-eight, he was invested as "one honored by the nation" (*gukjon*: 國尊). Iryeon requested leave to depart from Gaegyeong because he had to take care of his elderly mother and returned to his former home. When his mother passed away in the following year, the court ordered Iryeon to go to Ingaksa (麟角寺) and recuperate there and had the monastery restored and bestowed it with agricultural land. At Ingaksa Iryeon twice held Nine Mountain Sect Assemblies (Gusanmun dohoe: 九山門徒會), and centering on the

Gaji Mountain School, he gave the Seon precepts and strove to ensure the ecclesiastical authority of all the Buddhist schools in Goryeo. At this time many monks were accepted as Iryeon's disciples.

When Iryeon was not meditating, he read the *Tripiṭaka* and deeply studied the commentaries of the Chinese masters. He also read Confucian works extensively and was well versed in the works of the Chinese philosophers (*zhuzi baijia*: 諸子百家). His memorial stela, therefore, records that he made all things beneficial and demonstrated a miraculous insight into everything. This kind of assessment of Iryeon's life shows that even though Iryeon placed importance on meditation practice (*suseon*: 修禪), he was thoroughly familiar with a wide variety of different schools of thought. Iryeon's own meditation practice was based on "phrase-observing meditation" (*ganhwaseon*: 看話禪), using the *hwadu* (話頭) meditation method.

While residing at Muju Hermitage at the age of thirty-one Iryeon attained enlightenment through meditating on a *hwadu*. While meditating continuously on the statement, "The world of sentient beings does not increase while the world of Buddha does not decrease (*saenggye budam Bulgye bujeung*: 生界不減 佛界不增)," one day he attained enlightenment in an instantaneous moment of spiritual awakening. At that time Iryeon said to the people around him, "Today I realise that the three realms of *samsāra* (*samgye*: 三界) are like a phantasm or a dream and there is not even so much as a fine hair ensnaring the great *bhūmi*" (*daeji*: 大地 – the tenth of the ten bodhisattva grounds). This shows how deeply devoted Iryeon was to "phrase-observing meditation (*ganhwaseon*: 看話禪)," as it was through using this method of meditating on a *hwadu* that he gained enlightenment.

Also, just before Iryeon passed away, he left behind three Seon dialogues in written form. The first of these dialogues is as follows:

A monk asked, "As Śākyamuni, the honored one, entered Nirvāṇa at Śāla Forest (Hangnim: 鶴林), while master (*hwasang*: 和尙) is returning to the original reality (*bonje*: 本際) at Ingansa (麟角寺), I do not understand how far apart these two places are." Striking the person who said this once, Iryeon replied, "This kind of annoyance relates to the past and present, but there is no loss. It is clearly in front of your eyes." Then hitting him once again,

Iryeon added, "It is clearly before your eyes." The monk then went forward and spoke again, "The three-horned giraffe has entered the sea so the remaining moons come out of the waves in vain." Iryeon replied, "I will come back another day and have fun together with you all."

This record, which provides a final adornment to his life, shows how deeply devoted Iryeon was to the method of "phrase-observing meditation" (*ganhwaseon*: 看話禪).

At the age of fourty-four in 1249, Iryeon, who had attained enlightenment by meditating on a *hwadu*, went to reside at Jeongnimsa (定林社) in Namhae at the invitation of Jeongan (鄭晏), and it was here that he had the opportunity to connect to the new spiritual developments that were taking place at Suseonsa (修禪社). Suseonsa had adopted the phrase-observing meditation method of the Linji Chan lineage and systematized it. This led to Iryeon being even more strongly influenced by this method of meditation practice.

At Gilsang Hermitage (吉祥庵) in 1256 at the age of fifty-one, Iryeon started work on supplementing the *Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Cao-Dong wuwei*: 曹洞五位), which had already been transmitted from China during the Goryeo dynasty, and in 1260 he published the first edition of the *Augmented Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Jungpyeon Jodong owi:* 重編曹洞五位). *Cao-Dong wuwei* was a version of *Exposition on the Biased and Right Five Positions* (*Pianzheng wuwei shuo*: 偏正五位說), written by Dongshan Liangjie (洞山良价: 807–869) of the Cao-Dong School, which was annotated by his disciple Caoshan Benji (曹山本寂: 839–869). This work became the central ideological text of the Cao-Dong School. In the title "*Pianzheng wuwei shuo*," "*zheng*" refers to the original substance (*bonche*: 本體) of "*thusness*" (S. *tathatā*, K. *jinyeo*: 眞如), while "*pian*" refers to the condition of birth and death (*saengmyeol*: 生滅). By conducting meditation practice on the basis of the principle that in correctness there is partiality (*jeongjungpyeon*: 正中偏) and in partiality there is correctness (*pyeonjunghan*: 偏中正), this work argues that a condition of perfect freedom can be attained. Hyeha (慧霞) edited the *Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Cao-Dong wuwei*), Gwanghwi (光輝) annotated it, and Iryeon supplemented it to produce the

Augmented Five Positions of Chashan and Dongshan (*Jungpyeon Jodong owi*: 重編曹洞五位) in three volumes. At the beginning of each of these three volumes is the statement, "Edited by Hyeha after Caoshan (門人後曹山慧霞編), annotated by Gwanghwi (門人廣輝釋), and supplemented by Hoeyeon (後學晦然補)." Hoeyeon is, of course, Iryeon's courtesy name.

Even though Iryeon participated in the publication of the *Augmented Five Positions of Chashan and Dongshan*, his own Seon ideology was not wholly focused on that of the Cao-Dong School. It may have been that by using such different Seon traditions as that of the Cao-Dong School, Iryeon was seeking to unite and harmonize all the various Seon traditions within the context of the dominant phrase-observing meditation tradition (*ganhwaseon*) of that time centered on Suseonsa. Nevertheless, Iryeon was unable to establish an ideological foundation derived from Cao-Dong Seon to counter the influence of Neo-Confucianism that subsequently became the mainstream ideology in Joseon.

Iryeon not only attempted to comprehend the various Seon traditions centering on phrase-observing meditation but also had a broad interest in scholastic Buddhism and other beliefs within Buddhism. The fact that Iryeon's faith had a composite character is demonstrated by his emphasis on the merit of the Avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* (*jineon*: 眞言) after his spiritual encounter with Mañjuśrī. This type of faith had an epochal significance insofar as it provided the people of Goryeo, who were exhausted from a long period of war, with a way forward on the basis of the energy of faith.

In the spring of 1289 (the fifteenth year of King Chungnyeol's reign), Iryeon ordered the publication of *Incheon bogam* (人天寶鑑) at Ingaksa and passed away in the seventh month of that year at the age of eighty-four, having spent seventy-one years as a Buddhist monk.

The king mourned the passing of Iryeon and bestowed on him the posthumous name Bogak (普覺: Universal Enlightenment) and the stūpa name Jeongjo (靜照: Tranquil Illumination). In 1295 (the twenty-first year of King Chungnyeol's reign) six years after Iryeon passed away, an epitaph entitled "Goryeo Gukhwasan Jogyejong Ingaksa Gajisan ha Bogak Gukjon bimyeong" (高麗國華山曹溪宗麟角寺迦智山 下普覺國尊碑銘), composed

by Minji (閔漬), based on a biography of Iryeon by Hongu (混丘)—also known as Cheongbun (淸玢)—and using the calligraphic style of Wang Xizhi (王羲之) was inscribed on a memorial stela erected at Ingaksa. On the reverse of the stela, Great Seon Master Jinjeong Cheongbun recorded the circumstances behind the making of the stela and provided a list of Iryeon's disciples and donors, which was also engraved in the calligraphic style of Wang Xizhi.

As well as writing *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) in 5 volumes and compiling the *Augmented Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Jungpyeon Jo-Dong owi*) in 2 volumes and *Garden of Seon Stories and Comments* (*Seonmun yeomsong sa won*: 禪門拈頌事苑) in 30 volumes, Iryeon also wrote *Gesong japjeo* (偈頌雜著) in 3 volumes, and compiled *Jopado* (祖派圖) in 2 volumes, *Daejang sujirok* (大藏須知錄) in 3 volumes, *Jeseung beopsu* (諸乘法數) in 7 volumes, *Jojeongsawon* (祖庭事苑) in 30 volumes and so on. In total Iryeon published more than 100 volumes which were reputed to have been popular throughout Goryeo.

Before passing away Iryeon wrote letters to the king and Yeom Seungik (廉承益). This suggests that Iryeon had a close relationship with such court officials as Yeom Seungik. Also, before his death Iryeon engaged in long dialogues with various monks through which we can clearly see his penchant for phrase-observing meditation (*ganhwa seon*).

Because the inscription on Iryeon's stela, which was erected in 1295, was written by Minji (閔漬) using the calligraphic style of Shusheng (書聖) Wang Xizhi (王羲之), countless people subsequently took rubbings of the stela inscription in order to obtain examples of characters in Wang's style. Unfortunately, this became one of the main reasons that Iryeon's stela has not been preserved in a good condition. On the other hand due to the creation of numerous rubbings of the inscription as well as the existence of a copy of the inscription at Woljeongsa, we fortunately know the full content of the stela inscription. However, there is no complete rubbing of the inscription on the reverse of the stela (*eumgi*: 陰記), which was written by Sallip (山立), also using Wang Xizhi's calligraphic style. Although there have been many attempts to reconstruct the inscription, therefore, there is still no completely

satisfactory version. As the wording of the inscription on the reverse of the stela is connected to the text on the stela's obverse, a reconstruction should not be too difficult, but because at least half of the reverse inscription is made up of a list of disciples, it is not possible to detect any consistent flow in the structure of the sentences.

1. Iryeon's Perception of History

Iryeon's perception of history was based on an awareness of and reflection on the social confusion that ensued after the rebellion of the military officials against the civil officials in Goryeo. His approach to history, therefore, was oriented towards finding a spiritual basis with which to overcome such social contradictions in the context of a cultural trend spreading throughout Goryeo society in which people were seeking to discover a new understanding of the traditions of the past.

The main content of *Samguk sagi* (三國史記: Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms), an "official history" compiled 150 years before the *Samguk yusa* when Goryeo was at its zenith, is concerned with practical problems related to the political system. The historical consciousness of Gim Busik (金富軾), who was in charge of the compilation of the *Samguk sagi*, was a Confucian view of political history based on Confucian political ideology. From the beginning to the end of the Goryeo dynasty this was the main historical trend and focused mainly on officially compiled works of history. As well as the positive aspect of the pursuit of rationality demonstrated by these official histories, as can be seen in *Samguk sagi*, they also reveal various weaknesses such as a reduction of the breadth of understanding of ancient traditional culture and the evasion of recognizing social contradictions.

With the arrival of an era when the Mongols were actively interfering in Goryeo politics, however, the Confucian view of political history alone became unable to provide the ideological strength necessary to overcome the contradictions facing Goryeo society. Consequently, when the nation was encountering an extremely difficult situation, a spiritual view of

history (*jeongsin sagwan*: 精神史觀) was required to overcome the pressure from outside the nation by emphasizing the spiritual aspect of historical consciousness. The history book that most strongly reflects this spiritual view of history is the *Samguk yusa*.

Iryeon saw Korea's historical tradition as being centered on Buddhism. In the section entitled "The Nine-story Stūpa at Hwangnyong Monastery" (Hwangnyongsa gucheung tap), he emphasized that it was only through the power of Buddhism that the Three Kingdoms were unified into one country and the whole world could enjoy peaceful coexistence. What we see in this section is Iryeon's emphasis on the virtuous influence that Buddhism exerted on Korean history. In the section entitled "Old Joseon" (Go Joseon), in the process of relating the myth of Dangun (檀君), Iryeon explains that Hwanin (桓因) is the same as Indra (Jeseok: 帝釋) in Buddhism. Such content, which is considered to be a later Buddhist embellishment of the original myth, is also closely related to a historical consciousness centered on Buddhism.

This type of Buddhist-centered historical consciousness does not only appear in the work of Iryeon. From the time when the royal families at the top of society accepted Buddhism until the faith reached the ordinary people at the bottom of society, Buddhism had been the central ideology, leading society from the beginning to the end of the Goryeo dynasty. If we accept that Goryeo society's cultural base was provided by Buddhism, we should also accept that Iryeon's Buddhist-centered, traditional consciousness and his Buddhist view of history would not only have been held by a Buddhist monk. It would be more appropriate to see his views as being integral to the general consciousness of Goryeo culture.

Iryeon's historical consciousness originates from his effort to gain a new understanding of traditions of the past in order to overcome the social contradictions of his day. From this standpoint it would wrong to think of the Buddhist view of history, which formed the core of Iryeon's historical perception, as being a denial of the Confucian view of political history. In various places in the *Samguk yusa* the historical theory of the *Samguk sagi*, which is typical of histories compiled in accordance with the Confucian view of history, is quoted directly. This clearly shows that Iryeon had no intention

of ignoring the Confucian view of history. The fact that Iryeon compiled a new version of *Five Positions of Caoshan and Dongshan* (*Cao-Dong wuwei*: 曹洞五位), which explains the meaning of the "five positions" (*wuwei*: 五位) in accordance with the example of a monarch and his ministers, shows that Iryeon's Seon ideology also entailed a clear consciousness of politics and the state. Not only that but the fact that half of the content of *Samguk yusa* is taken up by the chapters "Chronology of Monarchs" (Wangnyeok: 王曆) and "Wonders" (Gii: 紀異), clearly demonstrates Iryeon's interest in society and the state.

We can glimpse Iryeon's primary motivation for compiling *Samguk yusa* in the term "*yusa*" (遺事) itself. This term generally refers to records that have either been left out by the official historians (*saga*: 史家) or which have never been recounted in detail. It can be said, therefore, that the primary intention of *Samguk yusa* was to supplement such existing historical texts as the *Samguk sagi* and the *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseung jeon*: 海東高僧傳:). We know that Iryeon accepted the *Samguk sagi* as being authentic history (*jeongsa*: 正史) because in the *Samguk yusa* he refers to this work as the "national history" (*guksa*: 國史) and the "original history" (*bonsa*: 本史). He also quotes passages from the *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseung jeon*) in more than ten places and in this way shows a respectful attitude towards the historical works of his predecessors.

By collecting additional materials from a wide variety of sources Iryeon intended to supplement such existing historical works, which had overlooked many aspects of the ancient history and Buddhist history of Korea. But *Samguk yusa* should not be undervalued as being simply a supplementary history, because it was only accomplished through Iryeon's immense effort based on his firm historical consciousness.

On the other hand it is also difficult to view the *Samguk yusa* as being a complete work of history. For example, if we examine the section entitled "Wonhyo the Unbridled" (Wonhyo bulgi: 元曉不羈:), after providing a brief biography of Wonhyo, Iryeon states that because the precise details may be found in the *Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Tang gaoseng chuan*: 唐高僧傳) and in Wonhyo's "Obituary" (*haengjang*: 行狀), he would not include

them again, but instead would only add one or two "unusual events" (*isa* 異事) that had been recorded in local legends (*hyangjeon*: 鄉傳). As a result we are only provided with an incomplete biography of Wonhyo on the basis of these records. Therefore, it is clear that from the outset that Iryeon had no intention of providing a comprehensive biography of Wonhyo but simply intended to present material that had been omitted from such pre-existing and widely recognized works as monks' biographies or obituaries and in this way provide supplementary details about his life. In this respect the term "*yusa*" (遺事: 'overlooked events') is particularly appropriate for this type of historical work.

Iryeon compiled the *Samguk yusa* with a deep affection for the ancient culture of Korea, and particularly ancient culture centered on Buddhism, that does not appear in the *Samguk sagi*. Nevertheless, Iryeon's interests were not limited to Buddhism alone. He not only collected a wide variety of source materials such as ancient records (*gogi*: 古記), monastery records (*saji*: 寺誌), epigraphy (*geumseok mun*: 金石文), ancient documents (*gomunseo*: 古文書), history books, monks' biographies (*seungjeon*: 僧傳), anthologies, and so on, but he also presented as important sources countless legends and tales that had been passed down orally by the ordinary people and that he had discovered and heard directly. For this reason *Samguk yusa* is not a purely Buddhist history or history of Buddhist culture but is a genuinely comprehensive history. The oral folk materials that Iryeon recorded had an immense significance for the ordinary people in Goryeo society at that time. Under the tyrannical rule of the Mongols such materials gathered together the capabilities of the common people by invigorating their ardent faith and enabling them to accumulate the strength necessary to throw off the oppressive interference of a foreign race and reassert Goryeo's own cultural potential.

Iryeon responded positively to his connections with the royal family and was very active both when the capital was at Ganghwa and when it was in Gaeseong. He was also invested with the title "one honored by the nation" (*gukjon*: 國尊) and had the leading, powerful personages of his day as patrons of Buddhism. Such people had a deep affection for the common people, and

there are various obituaries testifying to their efforts to reinvigorate them by inspiring them with an ardent faith. We can see that Iryeon's interest in the common people in the later part of the Goryeo dynasty was in accordance with a change of consciousness that came about as the whole of society became more interested in the ordinary people due to the conspicuous movement of the regional functionary (*hyangni*) class toward the center and the dynamism of the commoner class. Iryeon responded positively to this change and included many historical facts relating to the commoner class in *Samguk yusa*.

The clearest expression of Iryeon's perception of history is in the introduction to the "Wonders" (Gii) section of *Samguk yusa*, in which he explains its purpose, stating openly that "In general the ancient sages founded nations through courtesy and music, bestowing teaching with humanity and righteousness and nowhere did they speak of strange powers or disorderly spirits. Nevertheless, whenever emperors were about to arise, they received omens and auspicious auguries showing that they were undoubtedly different from ordinary people, after which they would ably adapt to the changing situation and seizing the imperial regalia would be able to accomplish great things." Iryeon continues, "Therefore, why should it be strange that the founding ancestors of the Three Kingdoms all appeared under marvelous circumstances?" The most important aspect of Iryeon's perception of history are the "wonders" (*sini* 神異) that form the basis of this section of *Samguk yusa*. This historical consciousness also became the original source of the consciousness that Korean culture exists on equal terms with Chinese culture.

Iryeon's perception of "wonders" (*sini* 神異) is particularly important. By breaking down and rewriting many of the ancient materials, which were passed down in the form of mythology, the *Samguk sagi* changes them to such an extent that it is impossible to grasp their substantial character or historical significance. Iryeon, however, presents such myths in their original form and makes an effort to interpret them not as being historically factual but as containing symbolic meaning. Because Iryeon had this kind of perception, it is possible for us to have an in-depth encounter with the

ancient culture of Korea through the materials that have survived in the pages of the *Samguk yusa*.

In the introduction to *Augmented Five Positions of Caosgan and Dongshan* (*Jungpyeon Jo-Dong owi*: 重偏曹洞五位), Iryeon explains that his work is "not for the sake of flowery language but to preserve the jade of which only half remains" and by "following the flow discover the source and by tasting sea water be able to recognize fresh water." That is to say, Iryeon was not simply trying to supplement the original work, but through his efforts he wished to create an entirely new result. Such was Iryeon's attitude to historical compilation, and it was with this attitude that he compiled the *Samguk yusa*.

In the chapters entitled, "Chronology of Monarchs" (Wangnyeok) and "Wonders" (Gii) general history is at the forefront, but in the chapter entitled "The Raising of the Dharma" (Heungbeop) and the subsequent seven chapters the contents are entirely devoted to Buddhism. *Samguk yusa*, therefore, greatly expanded the range of Buddhist history in comparison with its predecessors. Iryeon's view of Buddhist history, which encompassed a broad range of materials and organized them into a coherent narrative, was intended to harmonize the Seon and Scholastic schools together with other Buddhist ideologies and faiths. This was made possible through Iryeon's high level of social consciousness and his strong awareness of traditional culture.

2. The Structure of *Samguk yusa*

Iryeon's historiographical approach can be clearly seen in the *Samguk yusa*.

The *Samguk yusa* comprises nine chapters in a total of five volumes. The first volume contains the chapters entitled, "Chronology of Monarchs" (Wangnyeok: 王曆) and "Wonders" (Gii: 紀異), and the second volume contains a continuation of the "Wonders" chapter. The third volume contains the chapters entitled, "The Raising of the Dharma" (Heungbeop: 興法) and "Stūpas and Images" (Tapsang: 塔像), and the fourth volume contains the chapter "Exegetes" (Uihae: 義解). The fifth volume contains the remaining chapters entitled, "Supernatural Spells" (Sinju: 神呪), "Bohisattvas' Responses

to Sentient Beings" (Gamtong: 感通), "Hermits' Lives" (Pieun: 避隱) and "Filial Piety" (Hyoseon: 孝善). Unlike standard histories or biographies of monks, the structure of *Samguk yusa* demonstrates a certain flexibility but at the same time a uniquely detailed organizational structure.

The *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Liang gaoseng chuan*: 梁高僧傳) or the Tang and Song dynasty biographies of eminent monks in China were generally organized under such headings as the following: Sūtra Translation (Yijing: 譯經), Anecdotes of Eminent Monks (Yijie: 義解), Wonders (Shenyi: 神異), Practicing Meditation (Xichan: 習禪), Clear Rules (Minglu: 明律), Protecting the Dharma (Hufa: 護法), Bohisattvas' Responses to Sentient Beings (Gantong: 感通), Relics (Yishen: 遺身), Recitation of the Scriptures (Dusong: 讀誦), Promoting Blessings (Xingfu: 興福), Scripture Masters (Jingshi: 經師), and Conversion through Preaching (Changdao: 唱導). We can see, therefore, that the chapter headings in *Samguk yusa* were composed with reference to the headings in these biographies of eminent monks. Nevertheless, we cannot find any biography of eminent monks in which half of the total work is taken up with a "Chronology of Monarchs" and "Wonders" as is the case in *Samguk yusa*. It is in these two chapters that materials relating to general history are collected without being limited to Buddhism. It is in this unique emphasis that the originality of *Samguk yusa* appears most clearly.

Buddhist historical works such as *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseung jeon*: 海東高僧傳) that preceded *Samguk yusa* were unable to transcend the format of "monks lives" (*seungjeon*: 僧傳), which were generally collections of biographies of eminent Buddhist monks, and later collections of accounts of miracles (*yeongheomjip*: 靈驗集) that placed emphasis on Buddhist faith, such as *Tales of Dharma-flower Miracles* (*Beophwa yeongheom jeon*: 法華靈驗傳). In comparison with such works there is a clear difference in the *Samguk yusa's* original form and broad treatment of Buddhism and general history.

The "Chronology of Monarchs" (Wangnyeok: 王曆) chapter presents in tabular form a list of the monarchs of the Three Kingdoms, Garak (Gaya), the Later Three Kingdoms and China from the time of Hyeokgeose the

founder of Silla down to the time of Taejo the founder of Goryeo, when the Later Three Kingdoms were reunified. The chronology is organized in five rows with the first row providing a list of the monarchs of the successive dynasties of China, including era names (*yeonho*: 年號) and reign dates. The four rows beneath the first row present information about the monarchs of Silla, Goguryeo, Baekje and Garak (駕洛) in that order. Later Baekje (Hu Baekje: 後百濟) and Later Goguryeo (Hu Goryeo: 後高麗) are also included. By comparison, although the *Samguk sagi* also contains a chronology of monarchs, it only records the reign dates of the monarchs. Furthermore, the chronology of monarchs in the *Samguk yusa* also includes a chronology of the monarchs of the Garak (Gaya) Kingdom, which is not included in the *Samguk sagi*, as well as details about the monarchs' lineage (*segye*: 世界), reign (*ginyeon*: 紀年), a summary of their administrative accomplishments and other important historical facts. The chronology also contains many historical materials such as the lineage of monarchs that are absent from the *Samguk sagi*, making this chapter of the *Samguk yusa* an extremely important source for research on such areas as the royal succession in ancient Korea.

There are, however, a considerable number of details in the "Chronology of Monarchs" chapter which are subsequently contradicted in the "Wonders" chapter. Fifteen differences between the two chapters have been identified, including inconsistencies in the two different methods of calculating the year of accession whereby a monarch is considered to have ascended the throne in the year following the year of the death of his predecessor (*yu nyeon*: 逾年) or the actual year of ascending the throne (*jeugwi nyeon*: 卽位年), as well as differences in the dating of the first use of a posthumous royal title (*siho*: 諡號), the uses of the royal title "*maripgan*" (麻立干) instead of the title "*wang*" (王) in Silla, and the existence or non-existence of King Mu (武王) of Baekje. There are also differences between the Garak chronology of monarchs in the "Chronology of Monarchs" chapter and the records in the "Garak Annals" (Garak gukgi: 駕洛國記). These discrepancies have led to speculation that even though the "Chronology of Monarchs" chapter appears to have been a supplement to the main text, if it was in fact carried out in connection with the prior publication of the *Table of the Chronology of Successive Monarchs*

(*Yeokdae yeonpyo*: 歷代年表), Iryeon and his disciples must have carried out this project according to a very detailed plan.

The second chapter entitled "Wonders" (Gii) covers the broad range of ancient Korean history from Old Joseon (Go Joseon) to Later Baekje based on unusual events and is organized under 59 headings. After the "Wonders" chapter there are 138 more headings, which take up almost half of the book. There are also unusual events in the other chapters, but the title of the "Wonders" chapter, as Iryeon points out in his introduction, refers to his perception of the unusual events and supernatural forces that are at work behind the rise and fall of nations.

The fifty-nine headings of the "Wonders" chapter are as follows: 1. Old Joseon (Go Joseon: 古朝鮮), 2. Wiman Joseon (Wiman Joseon: 魏满朝鮮), 3. Mahan (Mahan: 馬韓), 4. The Two Prefectures (Ibu: 二府), 5. The Seventy-two States (Chilsibi guk: 七十二國), 6. Nangnang State (Nangnangguk: 樂浪國), 7. Northern Daebang (Bukdaebang: 北帶方), 8. Southern Daebang (Namdaebang: 南帶方), 9. Malgal and Balhae (Malgal Balhae: 靺鞨渤海), 10. Iseo State (Iseoguk: 伊西國), 11. The Five Gaya States (O Gaya: 五伽倻), 12. Northern Buyeo (Bukbuyeo: 北扶餘), 13. Eastern Buyeo (Dongbuyeo: 東扶餘), 14. Goguryeo (Goguryeo: 高句麗), 15. Byeonhan and Baekje (Byeonhan Baekje: 卞韓 百濟), 16. Jinhan (Jinhan: 辰韓), 17. The Lodges of the Four Seasons (Sajeol yutaek: 四節遊宅), 18. King Hyeokgeose, the Founding Ancestor of Silla (Silla sijo Hyeokgeose wang: 新羅始祖 赫居世王), 19. King Namhae (Namhae wang: 南解王), 20. King Norye (Norye wang: 弩禮王), 21. King Tarhae (Tarhae wang: 脫解王), 22. Gim Alji (Gim Alji: 金閼智), 23. Gentleman Yeono and Lady Seo (Yeonorang Seonyeo: 延烏郎細烏女), 24. King Michu and the Bamboo-Leaf Army (Michu wang jugyeopgun: 味鄒王 竹葉軍), 25. King Naemul and Gim Jesang (Naemul wang Gim Jesang: 奈勿王 金堤上), 26. King Silseong (Silseong wang: 實聖王), 27. Shooting the Geomungo Case (Sageumgap: 射琴匣), 28. King Jicheollo (Jicheollo wang: 智哲老王), 29. King Jinheung (Jinheung wang: 眞興王), 30. Lady Dohwa and Gentleman Bihyeong (Dohwanyeo Bihyeongnang: 桃花女 鼻荊郎), 31. The Heaven-sent Jade Belt (Cheonsa okdae: 天賜玉帶), 32. Queen Seondeok Predicts Three Events (Seondeok wang jigi samsa: 善德王知幾三事), 33.

Queen Jindeok (Jindeok wang: 眞德王), 34. Gim Yusin (Gim Yusin: 金庾信), 35. Lord Chunchu, King Taejong (Taejong Chunchu gong: 太宗春秋公), 36. Hwarang Jangchun and Hwarang Pa (Jangchullang Parang: 長春郎罷郎), 37. Beommin, King Munmu (Munmu wang Beommin: 文虎王法敏), 38. The Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves (Manpasikjeok: 萬波息笛), 39. Hwarang Jukji in the Reign of King Hyoso (Hyoso wangdae Jukjirang: 孝昭王代竹旨郎), 40. King Seongdeok (Seongdeok wang: 聖德王), 41. Lady Suro (Suro buin: 水路夫人), 42. King Hyoseong (Hyoseong wang: 孝成王), 43. King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam and Venerable Pyohun (Gyeongdeok wang Chungdam sa Pyohun daedeok: 景德王 忠談師 表訓大德), 44. King Hyegong (Hyegong wang: 惠恭王), 45. Great King Wonseong (Wonseong daewang: 元聖大王), 46. Early Snow (Joseol: 早雪), 47. King Heungdeok and the Parrots (Heungdeok wang aengmu: 興德王 鸚鵡), 48. Great King Sinmu, Yeomjang and Gungpa (Sinmu daewang Yeomjang Gungpa: 神武大王 閻長 弓巴), 49. Great King Gyeongmun (Gyeongmun daewang: 景文大王), 50. Hwarang Cheoyong and Manghae Monastery (Cheoyongnang Manghaesa: 處容郎望海寺), 51. Great Queen Jinseong and Geotaji (Jinseon yeodaewang Geotaji: 眞聖女大王 居陀知), 52. King Hyogong (Hyogong wang: 孝恭王), 53. King Gyeongmyeong (Gyeongmyeong wang: 景明王), 54. King Gyeongae (Gyeongnae wang: 景哀王), 55. Great King Gim Bu (Gim Bu daewang: 金傅大王), 56. Former Baekje (Jeon Baekje: 前百濟), 57. King Mu (Mu wang:武王), 58. Later Baekje and Gyeonhwon (Hu Baekje Gyeonhwon: 後百濟 甄萱), 59. The Garak Annals (Garak gukgi: 駕洛國記).

Iryeon's organization of ancient history, as revealed in the structure of the "Wonders" chapter, begins with Old Joseon (Go Joseon: 古朝鮮), namely Dangun Joseon (檀君朝鮮), which was founded by Dangun, who descended from the lord of heaven according to the *Samguk yusa* account. Old Joseon is then followed by Wiman Joseon (衛满潮線) and Mahan (馬韓) in that order. Although Iryeon adds a Chinese record about Gija (Ch. Jizi: 箕子), he makes no claim that there was a separate Gija Joseon, which clearly demostrates that he intended to organize Korean history from an independent standpoint. But from Mahan (馬韓), Sai (四夷), Gui (九夷), Guhan (九韓), and Yemaek (濊貊) to the Two Prefectures (Ibu: 二府), Seventy-two

States (Chilsibi guk: 七十二國), Nangnang guk (樂浪國), Northern Daebang (Bukdaebang: 北帶方), Southern Daebang (Namdaebang: 南帶方), Malgal (靺鞨), Balhae (渤海), Heugsu (黑水), Okjeo (沃沮), Iseoguk (伊西國), the Five Gaya (Ogaya: 五伽倻), Northern Buyeo (Bukbuyeo: 北扶餘), and Eastern Buyeo (Dongbuyeo: 東扶餘), there is no evidence of an organizational structure grouping them together to suggest that they were not just states but also independent political entities.

Thereafter the structural organization of *Samguk yusa* is such that Mahan (馬韓) leads to Goguryeo, Byeonhan (弁韓) leads to Baekje, and Jinhan (辰韓) leads to Silla. This shows that Iryeon compiled the "Wonders" chapter on the foundation of a clear historical framework, in which Gojoseon led to the Three Han (Samhan), which led to the Three Kingdoms (Samguk). To that foundation he added various states, counties and prefectures that appear in Chinese historical records. Although Iryeon's view of the succession of states from the Three Han to the Three Kingdoms differs from the view of scholars today—who hold the view that Mahan became Baekje, Jinhan became Silla and Byeonhan became Gaya—Iryeon points out that in Silla times Choe Chiwon (崔致遠) was also of the opinion that Goguryeo had descended from Mahan.

The chapters concerning the founding of the Three Kingdoms are arranged in the following order: Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla. But in the case of Baekje, there is a section about Baekje that precedes the sections concerned with Silla and further information about Baekje is also included in the section dealing with Southern Buyeo, which appears after the end of the final section on the Silla kingdom, entitled "Great King Gim Bu."

More than half of the two "Wonders" chapters are taken up with sections dealing with the successive monarchs of the Silla dynasty from Bak Hyeokgeose onwards, and the contents of these sections are all focused on the monarchs of Silla. The thirty sections from "Bak Hyeokgeose" to "Great King Bu" (King Gyeongsun) are all related to Silla, and in fact even the two sections before the "Hyeokgeose" section, namely, "Jinhan" (辰韓) and "Lodges of the Four Seasons" (Sajeol Yutaek: 四節遊宅) are also records about Silla. At the end of the section on Jinhan, Silla's villages (*bangni*: 坊里) and thirty-

five wealthy residences (*geumiptaek*: 金入宅) are also enumerated because they are related to the section on the "Lodges of the Four Seasons," which follows immediately after the Jinhan section.

The section entitled "The Lodges of the Four Seasons" (U sajeol yutaek: 又四節遊宅) is not in fact an independent section but is a continuation of the enumeration of the thirty-five wealthy residences that concludes the "Jinhan" section. Therefore, unlike the other sections it simply lists the names of the "lodges" without any form of description. So the total number of sections dealing with Silla is thirty-two (in fact thirty-one). Also the number of sections in the "Wonders" chapter would appear to be fifty-eight rather than fifty-nine. In relation to this readjustment of the headings in *Samguk yusa*, an authoritative version of the titles of each section also needs to be made. This is because although there is the problem of various characters that were carved wrongly during the process of the making of the wooden printing blocks, just as there are cases where the king's reign dates are included in the title, there are many other cases where the title includes a phrase that should be the beginning of the main text of the section.

The Silla monarchs that were omitted from the "Wonders" chapters in *Samguk yusa* are as follows: King Pasa (fifth generation), King Jimi (sixth generation), King Ilseong (seventh generation), King Beolhyu (ninth generation), King Nahae (tenth generation), King Jeomhae (eleventh generation), King Yurye (fourteenth generation), King Girim (fifteenth generation), King Heurhae (sixteenth generation), King Nulji (nineteenth generation), King Jabi (twentieth generation), King Beopheung (twenty-third generation), King Seondeok (thirty-seventh generation), King Soseong (thirty-ninth generation), King Huigang (forty-third generation), King Minhae (forty-fourth generation), King Heonan (forty-seventh generation), King Jeonggang (fiftieth generation), and King Sindeok (fifty-third generation). This means that one third of the history of Silla is missing from the *Samguk yusa*. Nevertheless, as in the case of King Beopheung, who has a section in the "The Raising of the Dharma" chapter, some of these kings are dealt with in other sections.

Also the founding legend of Baekje, which should have been included in

the section on Baekje, is in fact included in the section on Southern Buyeo that follows the sections related to Silla. This is followed by sections on King Mu (武王) of Baekje and Gyeonhwon (甄萱) of Later Baekje and concludes with the "Annals of Garak (Garak gukgi: 駕洛國記)," which were compiled during the middle period of Goryeo.

From the chapter entitled "The Raising of the Dharma" onwards, all the sections are concerned with Buddhist history. The seven headings in "The Raising of the Dharma" are as follows: 1. Shundao First Brings Buddhism to Goguryeo (Sundo joryeo: 順道肇麗), 2. Nantuo Opens the Way for Buddhism in Baekje (Nanta byeokje: 難陁闢濟), 3. Ado Lays the Foundation for Buddhism in Silla (Ado gira: 阿道基羅), 4. Wonjong Promotes the Dharma and Wichok Sacrifices Himself (原宗興法 猒髑滅身), 5. King Beop Prohibits Killing (Beopwang geumsal: 法王禁殺), 6. Bojang Worships Laozi and Bodeok Moves His Hermitage (Bojang bongno Bodeok iam: 寶藏奉老 普德移庵), 7. The Ten Saints in the Main Hall of Heungnyunsa in the Eastern Capital (Donggyeong Heungnyunsa geumdang sipseong: 東京興輪寺金堂十聖). "The Raising of the Dharma" chapter comprises sections on the transmission of Buddhism to Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla, the reception of Buddhism by King Beopheung and Ichadon, the prohibition of killing by King Beop of Baekje, the flight of Bodeok from Goguryeo, and the ten saints of Heungnyunsa.

The following chapter entitled, "Stūpas and Images" (Tapsang: 塔像) contains sections on various Buddhist artifacts, including Buddha images and stūpas as well as Buddha halls (Buljeon: 佛殿), Buddhist bells, *śarīra* (*sari*: 舍利), and Buddhist sūtras (Bulgyeong: 佛經).

The headings of the sections in "Stūpas and Images" are as follows: 1. The Rock on which Kāśyapa Buddha Sat in Meditation (Gaseopbul yeonjwaseok: 迦葉佛宴坐石), 2. King Aśoka's Pagoda at Liaodong Fortress (Yodongseong Yugwang tap: 遼東城育王塔), 3. The Pasa Stone Pagoda at Geumgwan Fortress (Geumgwanseong Pasa seoktap: 金官城婆娑石塔), 4. The Goguryeo Monastery Yeongtapsa (Goryeo Yeongtapsa: 高麗靈塔寺), 5. The Sixteen-foot Buddha Statue at Hwangnyongsa (Hangnyongsa jangnyuk: 皇龍寺丈六), 6. The Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa (Hwangnyongsa

gucheungtap: 皇龍寺九層塔), 7. The Hwangnyongsa Bell, Bunhwangsa's Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha Statue and the Bongdeoksa Bell (Hwangnyongsa Bunhwangsa Yaksa bongdeoksang: 皇龍寺鐘 芬皇寺藥師 奉德寺鍾), 8. The Sixteen-foot Statue at Yeongmyosa (Yeongmyosa jangnyuk: 靈妙寺丈六), 9. Mt. Sabul [Four Buddhas Mountain], Mt. Gulbul [Unearthing Buddha Mountain], and Mt. Manbul [Ten Thousand Buddhas Mountain] (Sabulsan Gulbulsan Manbulsan: 四佛山 萬佛山 掘佛山), 10. The Stone Maitreya Buddha Image at Saenguisa (Saenguisa seok Mireuk: 生義寺石彌勒), 11. The Mural of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva at Heungnyunsa (Heungnyunsa byeokhwa Bohyeon: 興輪寺壁畫普賢), 12. Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara – Jungsaengsa (Samso Gwaneum Jungsaengsa: 三所觀音衆生寺), 13. Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara – Baengnyulsa (Baengnyulsa: 栢栗寺), 14. Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara – Minjangsa (Minjangsa: 敏藏寺), 15. A Chronological Account of the Transmission of Buddhist Relics (Jeonhu sojang sari: 前後所將舍利), 16. Maitreya Daoist Flower Misi-rang and the Monk Jinja (Mireuk seonhwa Misirang Jinjasa: 彌勒仙花 未尸郎 眞慈師), 17. The Two Saints of Mt. Nambaegwol, Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak (Nambaegwol iseong Bohil Budeuk Daldal Bakbak: 南白月二聖 努肹夫得 怛怛朴朴), 18. The Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara at Bunhwangsa Causes a Blind Child to Regain Its Sight (Bunhwangsa Cheonsu Daebi maeng a deug an: 芬皇寺千手大悲 盲兒得眼), 19. Josin and the Two Great Saints of Naksansa, the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Jeongchwi (Naksan idaeseong Gwaneum Jeongchwi Josin: 洛山二大聖 觀音 正趣 調信), 20. The Buddha's Shadow on Mt. Eo (Eosan Bul yeong: 魚山佛影), 21. The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddha's of Mt. Odae (Daesan oman jinsin: 臺山五萬眞身), 22. Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo at Mt. Odae in Myeongju (Myeongju Odaesan Bojildo Taeja jeongi: 溟州五臺山寶叱徒太子傳記), 23. The Five Classes of Saintly Hosts of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae (Daesan Woljeongsa oryu seongjung: 臺山月精寺五類聖衆), 24. Mt. Namwol (Namwolsan: 南月山), 25. Cheollyong Monastery (Cheollyongsa: 天龍寺), 26. The Amitābha Buddha Hall at Mujangsa (Mujangsa Mitajeon: 鍪藏寺彌陁殿), 27. Baegeom Monastery's Stone Stūpa and Relics (Baegeomsa seoktap sari: 伯嚴寺石塔舍利), 28. Yeongchwi

Monastery (Yeongchwisa: 靈鷲寺), 29. Yudeok Monastery (Yudeoksa: 有德寺), 30. The Inscription on the Stone Stūpa at Munsusa (Mañjuśrī Monastery) on Mt. Odae (Odaesan Munsusa seoktap gi: 五臺山文殊寺石塔記).

The above sections in the "Stūpas and Images" chapter focus on accounts of the karmic causes (*yeongi*: 緣起) behind the creation of Buddhist cultural artifacts with an emphasis on faith.

The fourteen sections in the following chapter entitled, "Exegetes" (Uihae: 義解), provide an account of how doctrines were understood and disseminated through biographies of eminent Buddhist monks. The section headings in this chapter are as follows: 1. Wongwang Studies in the West (Wongwang seohak: 圓光西學), 2. Boyang and the Pear Tree (Boyang imok: 寶壤梨木), 3. Yangji Sets His Staff to Work (Yangji saseok: 良志使錫), 4. The Masters Who Sought Refuge in India (Gwi Chuk jesa: 歸竺諸師), 5. Hyesuk and Hyegong Identify with the Realm of the Senses (Yi Hye dongjin: 二惠同塵), 6. Jajang Establishes the Vinaya (Jajang jeongnyul: 慈藏定律), 7. Wonhyo the Unbridled (Wonhyo bulgi: 元曉不羈), 8. Uisang Transmits the Teachings (Uisang jeongyo: 義湘傳教), 9. Snake Boy Does Not Speak (Sabok bul eon: 蛇福不言), 10. Jinpyo Transmits the [Divination] Strips (Jinpyo jeon gan: 眞表傳簡), 11. The Inscription on the Stone Monument in Baryeon Forest on Mt. Pung in Gwandong (Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi: 關東楓岳鉢淵藪石記), 12. Seungjeon and the Skulls (Seungjeon chongnu: 勝詮髑髏), 13. Simji Continues the Work of the Patriarchs (Simji gyejo: 心地繼祖), 14. The Yogācāra of Daehyeon and the Hwaeom of Beophae (Hyeon Yuga Hae Hwaeom: 賢瑜珈 海華嚴).

The three sections in the chapter "Supernatural Spells" are as follows: 1. Milbon Exorcizes Evil (Milbon choesa: 密本摧邪), 2. Hyetong Subjugates a Dragon (Hyetong hangnyong: 惠通降龍), 3. Myeongnang Founds the Divine Seal Sect (Myeongnang sinin: 明朗神印). These sections focus on the miracles associated with esoteric Buddhism.

The ten sections of the chapter entitled "Bohisattvas' Responses to Sentient Beings" (Gamtong: 感通) are as follows: 1. The Sacred Mother Seondo Takes Delight in Buddhism (Seondo seongmo suhui Bulsa: 仙桃聖母隨喜佛事), 2. Ungmyeon the Female Slave Prays to Buddha and Ascends in

the West (Ungmyeon bi yeombul seoseung: 郁面婢念佛西昇), 3. Gwangdeok and Eomjang (Gwangdeok Eomjang: 廣德 嚴莊), 4. Gyeongheung Encounters a Holy Man (Gyeongheung u seong: 憬興遇聖), 5. The True Body of the Buddha Receives an Offering (Jinsin su gong: 眞身受供), 6. Master Wolmyeong's Song of the Tuṣita Heaven (Wolmyeongsa Dosol ga: 月明師兜率歌), 7. Seonyul Returns to Life (Seonyul hwansaeng: 善律還生), 8. Gim Hyeon Touches the Heart of a Tigress (Gim Hyeon gam ho: 金現感虎), 9. Master Yungcheon's Comet Song (Yungcheon hyeseong ga: 融天師彗星歌), 10. Master Jeongsu Saves a Freezing Woman (Jeongsusa gu bingnyeo: 正秀師救氷女). These sections contain miracles of faith that occur in the context of a variety of social classes.

The ten sections in the chapter "Hermits' Lives" (Pieun: 避隱) are as follows: 1. Nangji Rides a Cloud and Samantabhadra's Tree (Nangji seungun Boyeon su: 朗智乘雲普賢樹), 2. Yeonhoe Avoids a Title and Mañjuśrī Ridge (Yeonhoe domyeong Munsujeom: 緣會逃名文殊岾), 3. Hyehyeon Seeks Tranquility (Hyehyeon gujeong: 惠現求靜), 4. Sinchung Leaves Public Office (Sinchung gwae gwan: 信忠掛冠), 5. The Two Saints of Mt. Po (Posan iseong: 包山二聖), 6. Yeongjae Encounters Brigands (Yeongjae u jeok: 永才遇賊), 7. Mulgyeja (Mulgyeja: 勿稽子), 8. Master Yeongyeo (Yeongyeosa: 迎如師), 9. Mt. Pocheon's Five Monks (Pocheonsan obigu: 布川山五比丘), 10. Master Yeombul (念佛師). These sections contain accounts of the life of faith of hermits (*eunil*: 隱逸) and eminent monks (*gosa*: 高士).

The five sections in the chapter "Filial Piety and Goodness" (Hyoseon: 孝善) are as follows: 1. Master Jinjeong Whose Filial Piety and Goodness Were Both Beautiful (眞定師孝善雙美), 2. Daeseong Served His Parents with Filial Piety in Two Lifetimes (Daeseong hyo ise bumo: 大城孝二世父母), 3. Saji Hyangdeuk Serves Flesh from His Thigh to His Parents (Hyangdeuk saji halgo gong chin: 向得舍知割股供親), 4. Sonsun Buries His Child (Sonsun mae a: 孫順埋兒), 5. A Poor Woman Serves Her Mother (貧女養母). The materials in this chapter deal with faith related to Buddhistic filial piety in which both filial piety (*hyo*: 孝) and goodness (*seon*: 善) are emphasized.

In this way from "The Raising of the Dharma" onwards all the chapters deal with the transmission of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms and the

process whereby it spread and became established. Each of the chapters' sections focuses on miracles in a systematic way, and only two of the sections are not concerned with Buddhism. Also "The Raising of the Dharma," which deals with the Three Kingdoms, focuses mainly on Silla. Except for three sections, the following chapter "Stūpas and Images" also deals solely with Silla. From "Exegetes" (Uihae) to the final chapter "Filial Piety and Goodness" (Hyoseon) all the sections except for one are concerned with Silla. The reason this historical narrative focused mainly on Silla was primarily due to the basic limitation that the historical materials that were still extant in Iryeon's time were largely concerned with Silla. Also, despite his zeal for collecting source materials, it is clear that in *Samguk yusa* Iryeon was unable to achieve a balanced account of the history of the Three Kingdoms because the area in which he was active was generally limited to the Gyeongsang Province region.

As *Samguk yusa* provides many materials relating to various different types of research into ancient culture, first of all we will examine research into social and political history. In the case of the founding legend of Silla, we are not only presented with the legend of the founding ancestor of the dominant Pak clan, which is also found in the *Samguk sagi*, but also with a legend about the various influential tribes that participated in the founding of the Saro state (Saroguk: 斯盧國). In this legend we learn that six tribes united to form Saro, which is a valuable key to understanding how the ruling authority of Silla was established. Furthermore, the accounts of important political events from the middle period of Silla onwards and the independent content that explains the political system all help to deepen our understanding of Silla's political history as well as enriching the narrative of Korean political history as a whole. The materials concerned with social history are even more abundant, revealing the actual lifestyle of the ruling class, which enjoyed such privileges within the bone-rank system as private manors (*jangwon*: 莊園). The materials also provide us with an insight into the daily lives of members of the lower classes, such as the widespread class of hired laborers (*yongjak*: 傭作), and their firm faith in Pure Land Buddhism. By using regional historical materials, which are not found in the *Samguk sagi*, the *Samguk yusa*

provides us with a broader understanding of Silla society.

More than anything else the most fertile area of research within the pages of the *Samguk yusa* pertains to ancient Buddhist history. Although the materials collected by Iryeon are largely related to Silla, he strove to present a comprehensive and systematic history of ancient Korean Buddhist history that included Baekje and Goguryeo as well as Silla. In the chapter "The Raising of the Dharma" Iryeon correctly describes the transmission of Buddhism as beginning with Goguryeo followed by Baekje and then Silla. In other sections he also included materials he had uncovered about Buddhism in Gaya. In the accounts contained in the chapter "Stūpas and Images" the author shows a greater interest in the karmic causes (*yeongi*: 緣起) behind the construction of such artifacts as Buddhist stūpas and images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas than in the material objects themselves. Through the accounts of miracles attributed to these artifacts and the faith that they encouraged, we are able to delve into the history of a Buddhist culture that is a synthesis of artistic objects and religious belief. The chapter "Exegetes" is similar in content to other standard biographies of famous Buddhist monks and provides material with which we can construct a history of Buddhist thought by investigating such aspects as how Buddhist ideology spread and became established. By presenting a wide variety of historical materials relating to miracles of religious faith in the contents of "Supernatural Spells" and the remaining chapters, the *Samguk yusa* provides us with a vivid and accurate portrayal of the life of faith of the common people, who sought salvation through faith in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and Pure Land Buddhism. Also, by revealing the methods used by Buddhism as it took its place in the consciousness of society to overcome the problem of filial piety (*hyo* 孝), which had to be solved before Buddhism could become widely accepted, the *Samguk yusa* broadens the analytical framework of social history.

Iryeon's own opinions appear in the *Samguk yusa* in the form of panegyrics (*chan*: 讚), and a total of forty-seven panegyrics appear throughout the whole work. The main thrust of these panegyrics is to briefly eulogize the content of the main text on the basis of Iryeon's own faith, and they generally express an emotional response to the power of the Buddha or to miracles and

wonders. These panegyrics are highly valued for their tranquil expression of the Buddha mind, and they must be thoroughly examined in future for the insights that they provide into Iryeon's perception of history.

Iryeon tried his utmost to understand historical facts accurately by recording many materials, after collecting them with great effort, and providing a historical narrative that makes a clear distinction between cited materials and the author's own opinions. Iryeon's efforts to achieve a precise account of history and to maintain an objective attitude to his narrative can be seen in his investigations into discrepancies between source materials, the addition of the results of his own historical research, and his quoting of contradictory sources without editorial bias, while reserving his own judgment on obscure or doubtful incidents. We can also see that Iryeon was aware of the organic relationship between each of the sections of his historical narrative. On the other hand he also omitted overly complex material as well as materials that were difficult to obtain at that time and the sources for nearly half of the 130 quotations in the text are not made known, showing that Iryeon's approach to the historical narrative was not always consistent. The fact that Iryeon also recorded many legends is significant insofar as these legends provide valuable insights into ancient society as well as making up an important part of Korea's literary heritage. The historical value of legends is limited, however, and they must be evaluated separately from objective historical facts

3. The Historiographical Significance of the *Samguk yusa*

The historiographical significance of *Samguk yusa* can best be ascertained by comparing it with other historical works from the historical periods that preceded and followed the period in which it appeared.

Published in 1145 (the twenty-third year of Injong's reign), the *Samguk sagi* (三國史記), which dealt with the history of the Three Kingdoms from the viewpoint of Goryeo's aristocratic culture, is a strikingly rational and

realistic work of history that emphasizes both the independence and adaptability of the Three Kingdoms in relation to China. So even though the work is Sino-centric in its view of history, it nevertheless expresses a strong national consciousness. In 1215 (the second year of Gojong's reign) by royal command the monk Gakhun (覺訓) compiled *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseung jeon*: 海東高僧傳) based on the format of Chinese biographies of eminent monks. This work conceived of Korean Buddhist history as being equal to that of China and emphasized spiritual miracles (*yeongi*: 靈異) that were intended to arouse religious fervour and promote the spread of Buddhism. The objective reliability of this work is weakened by the fact that its source materials are not mentioned. Consequently there is no clear documentary evidence or scrutiny of sources to lend authority to the historical narrative.

Yi Gyubo's "Lay of King Dongmyeong" (Dongmyeong wang pyeon (東明王篇), which appeared in 1193 (the twenty-third year of Myeongjong's reign), is an epic poem that through the founding legend of Goguryeo creates a bond of sympathy among the people of Korea and, expressing a strong political ethic, reawakens their self-respect. In 1287 (the thirteenth year of Chungnyeol's reign), at almost the same time as the *Samguk yusa*, the "Songs of Emperors and Kings" (Jewang ungi: 帝王韻紀) by Yi Seunghyu appeared. This long, national epic poem tells the history of Korea and China and places emphasis on the national founding ancestor Dangun and an account of Balhae, showing that the author took an independent line and conceived of Korean history as being on a par with that of China. For these reasons the work has attracted favourable attention, but it is undermined by its unquestioning acceptance of the Mongol control of Goryeo. There were also Buddhist histories, such as the *Korean Lotus Record* (*Haedong beophwa jeonhongnok*: 海東法華傳弘錄), which was compiled by Cheonchaek (天頙: 1206–?) of Baengnyeonsa and is thought to have been a historical work comprising a collection of miraculous legends. Also, the Tiantai School's Mugi (無寄), who founded a "religious society" (*sinang gyeolsa*: 信仰結社) and provided spiritual leadership for the common people, felt an urgent sense of crisis, and so in 1328 (the fifteenth year of King Chungsuk's reign) he

composed a long poem entitled, *In Praise of the Achievements of Śakyamuni Buddha* (*Seokga yeorae haengjeok song*: 釋迦如來行蹟頌). The historical consciousness of the author is clearly revealed in this work, which was composed with the intention of awakening the Goryeo Buddhist world to examples of China's suppression of Buddhism.

But the "wonders" (*sini*: 神異) emphasized by Iryeon in the first chapter of *Samguk yusa* are there to demonstrate national independence and cultural superiority. These "wonders" powerfully reasserted the indigenous traditions of the Korean people by providing a source of new energy with which to resist the oppression of a foreign power and overcome it. In this way the primary significance of the *Samguk yusa*, which deals with an extremely wide range of history and Buddhism from the perspective of spiritual history viewed as national history, is the fact that it is the product of its age, reflecting the culture of late Goryeo under Mongol oppression.

Another point that could be considered to be particular to the *Samguk yusa* is that it broadened the range of Buddhist history. Through the *Samguk yusa* Iryeon expressed a deep interest in both the scholastic and meditation schools of Buddhism, and by comprehensively emphasizing practical faith, he was able to create a varied and expansive field of Buddhist history. The defining characteristic of Iryeon's view of Buddhist history was the emphasis that he placed on the "Buddha Land" (Bulgukto: 佛國土) and "state-protection Buddhism" (hoguk Bulgyo: 護國佛教). By emphasizing the idea that Korea had already been a Buddha Land in the time of the Buddhas that had preceded Śakyamuni Buddha, Iryeon was asserting the superiority of Goryeo culture over that of the invading Mongols. Such an assertion had its origins in Iryeon's strong consciousness of resistance, with which he sought to instill an ardent and robust faith in the hearts of the people. Furthermore, Iryeon believed that because the land of Goryeo had a long-standing karmic affinity with Buddhism, it would necessarily be protected by the power of Buddha. This view that Goryeo would come under Buddha's protection as a matter of course because it was a Buddha Land in which Buddha resided was connected to the belief in state-protection Buddhism. The emphasis on these ideas of the Buddha Land and state-protection Buddhism in Iryeon's view

of Buddhist history was intended to instill an independent spirit and self-respect in the people of Goryeo.

A strongly critical stance toward the contradictions in Buddhism and society in the author's time is also to be found within the pages of *Samguk yusa*. Immoral monks who were attached to fame and fortune or who took wives and indulged in extravagant lifestyles are fiercely criticized and even the Goryeo royal family, which was in the habit of holding disorderly dharma assemblies with feasts for Buddhist monks (*banseung*: 飯僧), became an object of criticism. At the same time Iryeon's affection for the common people and popular Buddhism can clearly be seen. The various examples in *Samguk yusa* of slaves becoming practicing Buddhist monks and entering Nirvāṇa as a result are only there because of Iryeon's clear awareness that the primary task of Buddhism was to provide salvation for all sentient beings. Also, the fact that the largest number of examples of Buddhist faith in *Samguk yusa* are related to belief in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who provided practical help for people facing difficult situations, is primarily due to the fact that Iryeon had a clear awareness of the common people and the suffering that they were enduring. In its emphasis on national independence and its expression of the consciousness of the ordinary people, *Samguk yusa* provides us with an insight into the prevalent consciousness of Goryeo society at that time.

The effort that was put into the collection, selection and recording of source materials in the *Samguk yusa* is of great significance in relation to the legends (說話) and *hyangga* (鄉歌: Korean lyric poems) that appear within its pages. It is true that such materials are limited in terms of historicity. Nevertheless, through these varied legends, which were recorded with the intention of discovering the meaning of spiritual history, Iryeon pioneered the way for the in-depth analysis of ancient culture and research on early Korean literature. The fourteen *hyangga* in the *Samguk yusa*, as well as the *hyangga* which are only mentioned by name, are mainly included in the chapters entitled, "Wonders" (Gii) and "Bohisattvas' Responses to Sentient Beings" (Gamtong). These *hyangga*, which are lyrical poems that deal mostly with mysterious and wonderful events were transmitted orally and therefore

had an intimate relationship with the common people.

The author of the *Samguk yusa* places greater relative importance on ancient documents, private records and legends originating in Korea than on records in the standard works of history in China. In his approach to compilation and writing, Iryeon sought to elucidate his sources while eliminating his own subjective judgments. After collecting his materials with painstaking effort, Iryeon identified his sources in simple language and corroborated them with personal visits to examine historical sites. The variety and accuracy of the numerous lists of historical materials in the *Samguk yusa* are far better than the lists found in the *Samguk sagi*, and the former's value as a historical source is that much higher because of the amount of historical materials that are presented in their original form. Iryeon had an objective attitude toward his historical narrative and a clear intention to attain a precise understanding of historical facts through his compilation and writing. Consequently, the *Samguk yusa* is of immense historiographical significance, particularly because it enables us to get closer to the original form of ancient Korean culture through its preservation of numerous oral and written materials that were passed down among the people.

By recording historical marvels in the chapter "Wonders," *Samguk yusa* reveals its author's effort to understand ancient Korean culture from a new, independent perspective. Iryeon's clear, systematic view of Korea's ancient history that traces the historical origins of the Three Kingdoms back to Old Joseon by way of the Three Han was subsequently adopted by such representative histories from the Joseon era as the *Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom* (*Dongguk tonggam*: 東國通鑑) and the *Annotated Account of Korean History* (*Dongsa gangmok*: 東史綱目) and remained the dominant narrative of Korean history for a long time. In this respect also *Samguk yusa* has an extremely valuable historiographical significance.

In this book only the "Stūpas and Images" (Tapsang) and "Exegetes" (Uihae) chapters of *Samguk yusa* have been translated. This is because the editors believe that Iryeon's intention in compiling and writing the *Samguk yusa* of illuminating the foundations of Buddhist culture is clearly demonstrated in the "Stūpas and Images" chapter and that by understanding the "Exegetes"

chapter, it is possible to conduct cultural research into the history of Buddhist thought in Silla. Through these two chapters we can carefully examine the ideology, sculptural forms and faith of Silla's Buddhist culture.

Among all the content related to Buddhism in the *Samguk yusa*, the "Stūpas and Images" chapter occupies the most important position, particularly in terms of its position in the book and the quantity of its content. The accounts of the creation of such Buddhist works of art as stūpas, monastery buildings, statues, paintings and ritual implements together with the karmic causes behind the creation of these works of art are of great interest, and the accounts of the miracles related to these objects encourage faith in Buddhism.

The content of "Exegetes" is similar to the content of standard biographies (*jeongi*: 傳記) of eminent monks (*goseung*: 高僧). As such the work enables us to formulate a history of Buddhist thought through which we can see how Buddhist thought was spread and established during the Three Kingdoms era. Of course the "Supernatural Spells" chapter deals with esoteric Buddhism and the content of the "Bohisattvas' Responses to Sentient Beings" (Gamtong) and subsequent chapters, insofar as they all deal with Buddhist faith and practice, all constitute aspects of the history of Buddhist thought, but we can construct a history of Buddhist thought in Silla, in the narrow sense of the term, based on "Exegetes" alone. In the middle period the history of Buddhist thought in Silla unfolded centering around the ideas of the Consciousness-Only School as expressed in such works as the *Summary of the Great Vehicle* (C. *She Dasheng lun*, K. *Seop Daeseung non*: 攝大乘論) and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (C. *Dazhi du lun*, K. *Daeji do ron*: 大智度論). These ideas were joined by those of the Contemplating Emptiness School and the Vinaya School to form the mainstream of Silla Buddhism. If we accept that after the unification of the Three Kingdoms under Silla, the mainstream of Buddhist thought was occupied by Wonhyo's One Mind philosophy, the Consciousness-Only philosophy of the Yogācāra School together with Avataṃsaka thought and esoteric Buddhism, we can also say that the accounts in the "Exegetes" chapter provide an accurate reflection of this situation. The monks Wongwang, Jajang, Hyegong, Wonhyo, Uisang,

Jinpyo, Taehyeon, as well as Seungji, Simji and Beophae all belong to this mainstream of Silla Buddhist thought. If to these accounts of monks in the "Exegetes" chapter we also add the records concerning esoteric Buddhism in the three sections entitled, Milbon, Hyetong and Myeongnang in the "Supernatural Spells" chapter, we can see Iryeon's intention of providing a comprehensive overview of the different branches of Buddhist scholastic thought that are considered to have been active during the Silla period. If we go further and include Bodeok's Nirvāṇa philosophy from the "The Raising of the Dharma" chapter, Iryeon's account is even more comprehensive. As has been mentioned previously, with the notable exception of Seon Buddhism, which was only accepted and became extremely influential in late Silla, the primary intention behind the compilation of *Samguk yusa* was to provide a systematically organized history of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms and Silla.

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II

MEMOIRS OF A PILGRIMAGE TO THE FIVE INDIAN KINGDOMS

1. [Śrāvastī][1]

[*The text preceding this point is missing*].[2]

[The three] jewels ... [*text missing*].
Their feet and bodies naked, the heretics[3] here wear no [clothes] ...[4] [*sixteen*

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* The footnotes to this text are based on the established scholarship in the field, most notably Kuwayama Shōshin, "*Echō ō go Tenjūkoku den* kenkyū," *Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* (Kyōto: Rinsen Shoten, 1998). In addition, the following have been very helpful in providing further material to understand this work: Zhang Yi, "Wang wu Tianzhuguo zhuan jian shi," *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), 9; Chŏng Su-il, *Hyech'o ŭi Wang o ch'ŏnch'ukkuk chŏn*, Munmyŏng kihaeng (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2004), 1; Kim Jeong-ui, *History of the Middle East* (Seoul: Taehan Kyogwasŏ Chusik Hoesa, 2005); and Takao Moriyasu, "Buddhist Geography and the Meaning of Hu (胡) in Tang China," in *Life and Religion on the Silk Road*, ed. Committee on Central Asian Studies (Paju, Korea: Sagyejeol, 2006), 132–155.

1 When citing the names of countries, if the regional appellations of that time are relatively clear, then the original name will be given precedence. In situations where the original name is uncertain or where there is some disagreement on the issue, the name will be given in accordance with Hyecho's rendering in Chinese characters.

2 Though we cannot be absolutely certain what region is spoken of in this missing portion, the reference to those who wore no clothes is at first glance suggestive of Vaiśālī, where both Buddhism and Jainism were present at this time, and which is described in Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* as a place where "there are dozens of Brahminical temples and non-believers dwelling together, with many groups who have their naked bodies exposed" (天祠數十, 異道雜居, 露形之徒, 寔繁其黨). However, the one-month travel time from Vaiśālī to the place described in the next section, Kuśinagara, seems to be too long. The alternative is Śrāvastī, described by Xuanzang as having "one hundred Brahminical temples and many heretics" (天祠百所, 外道甚多). When Hyecho refers to the "four great stūpas" of India (see note 28, below), given that he clearly states that he had seen Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī , Kapila, and the stūpa at Saṃkāśya, we must take this to mean that he himself saw these places, and did not report on them from hearsay.

3 Skt.: tīrthaka or tīrthika. The term used here, 外道 (*waidao*), refers to the entirety of religions other than Buddhism. Though at first it simply referred to other religious groups, it gradually took on a more pejorative definition, coming to mean "teachings that perverted the truth."

4 In translating the text as it appears in the fragmentary manuscript, the focus has been to recover

characters missing]. As soon as they [encounter][5] food, they eat it. Nor do they follow the eight prohibitions. The land here is completely flat ... [*sixteen characters missing*]. There are [no][6] slaves. They think of selling a person to be the same as murder ... [*fifteen characters missing*].

上缺
寶. 赤足祼形, 外道不着[衣]<下缺> [逢]食卽喫, 亦不齋也. 地皆平<下缺>. (無)有奴婢, 將賣人罪, 与煞人罪不殊<下缺>

characters from areas where the text is incomplete. Where characters in the manuscript are assumed to be mistakenly written (scribal errors, substitutions or transpositions) the correct character has been inferred from the context or from editorial marks found on the manuscript. Such words will be expressed in brackets [ ] in the translation, and the characters provided in the footnotes: in parentheses ( ), as written, and in brackets [ ], as reconstructed. In the specific case here, the character for 'clothes' [衣] in the original is faint, but is assumed to be present. As the text is written in Chinese, where romanizations are provided, these are in Chinese pinyin.

5 The radical 辶 appears in the manuscript, [逢] is assumed.

6 Based on context, the missing character is assumed to be [無].

2.
Kuśinagara

[*text missing*] ... one month, I arrived at Kuśinagara.[7] This is the place where Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*. As for the city, it is in ruins, and no one lives there. There is a stūpa[8] constructed on the site where Buddha entered *nirvāṇa* and a master tends to it, keeping the area clean. Every year on the eighth day of

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7 Kuśinagara: in the fragmentary manuscript of Hyecho's *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms* (hereafter *Memoirs*), this is rendered Jushina (拘尸那), and in Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions*, it is Jushinajieluo (拘尸那揭羅). This refers to the capital city of Central India, or to the name of the country itself, and is the site of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa (the term used for the Buddha's death). It is located in the present day city of Kasia, Uttar Pradesh, 35 km northeast of Deoria and 55 km east of Gorakhpur. Though it was already in a state of ruin at the time of Xuanzang's visit, a stūpa erected by Aśoka and a statue commemorating the Buddha's death were there. After the tenth and eleventh century it fell into ruin completely, to be recovered only with its discovery as the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* during an excavation in 1861 by General Sir Alexander Cunningham. Beginning in 1904, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) undertook further excavation work here, uncovering the remains of the original temple. This, with the ASI's continuing work on the parinirvāṇa temple and stūpa, as well as other relics in the surrounding area, has contributed greatly to bringing about the full recovery of the ruins to their present state.

8 Built by King Aśoka, the Mahāparinirvāṇa Stūpa exists to this day. From an inscription at Nirvāṇa Mandir (涅槃寺), a monastery built on the site of the Buddha's death, we know that it was donated in the early fifth century AD by a monk named Haribala. The present-day temple was excavated in 1876 and reconstructed in 1956 through the efforts of Burmese monks. Constructed lengthwise on a north-south axis, it is narrow from east to west, with its entrance in the middle of the western side. It is constructed with cement and painted white. The lower portion of the inner walls is covered in marble. Inside the temple grounds, there is a 6.2 m long *parinirvāṇa* statue made of sand and clay. The great Parinirvāṇa Stūpa located behind the temple has been enlarged numerous times. In 1876, at the time of its excavation by Cunningham's assistant, Archibald Carlyle, atop a round mound of bricks stood other piles of bricks, rising to a height of 7.5 m. After restoration work by Burmese monks in 1927 and 1972, it took on its present appearance, rising to a height of 15 metres. During the 1911 excavation survey, a terracotta statue of the Buddha was discovered in an alcove of the altar and inside the stūpa, a model of the original stūpa's shape was also found, together with burial accessories and a copper plate with an inscription that said "Mahāparinirvāṇa-*caitya*," offering further confirmation that this was indeed the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*.



Reclining Buddha of Parinirvana Temple, Kushinagar, India

the eighth lunar month,[9] monks, nuns, laywomen, and laymen gather here and present a grand offering. On that [day][10] countless flags appear in the sky around the stūpa. As a host of people see them, there are many who commit themselves to the dharma. There is a river to the west of the stūpa

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9 According to the Sarvāstivāda school of the Nikāya period of Indian Buddhism, the day of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* was on the eighth day of the eighth month in the lunar calendar. In the second fascicle of the precepts collection of the Sarvāstivāda, the *Sarvāstivāda vinaya-vibhāṣā*, it states "Buddha achieved enlightenment on the eighth day of the second month, when the constellation Puṣya was ascendant. He was also born on the eighth day of the second month, when Puṣya was ascendant. On the eighth day of the eighth month, again when Puṣya was ascendant, the Buddha first set the dharma wheel in motion, and again on the eighth day of the eighth month, with Puṣya ascendant, he entered *parinirvāṇa*." (T 1440.23.510b21–24. 佛以二月八日弗星現時, 初成等正覺. 亦以二月八日弗星出時生, 以八月八日弗星出時轉法輪, 以八月八日弗星出時取般涅槃). However, in the same realm of Nikāya Buddhist accounts, namely the Sthaviravāda school, the *Samantapāsākikā* states that the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa* on the fifteenth day of the second month, and in the East Asian Buddhist world as well, the oral tradition states this same date, following the account in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (Kuwayama, 56).

10 Though the manuscript has (日之), an editing mark indicates that the characters have been transposed, and thus the order has been corrected to read [之日].

called the Airāvatī.[11] It flows south for more than 2000 *li*, finally joining the Ganges.[12] The area around the stūpa is deserted and nobody lives here. It is surrounded by thick woods, so those who come here on pilgrimage are injured [by] tigers[13] or rhinoceros. To the southeast of the stūpa, there is a temple some thirty *li* away named Subha-bandhana.[14] There are more than

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11 Airāvatī: in the *Memoirs*, this is rendered as *Yiluobode* (伊羅鉢底) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Ashiduofadeha* (阿恃多伐底河). This is said to be the river that flowed past the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. There are two views as to the rendering of the name. Following the tradition of the Eighteen Schools, it is known as Hiraṇyavatī, transliterated in the *Longer Āgama-sūtra* as *Xilianchanhe* (凞連禪河). In the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* of the Āgama, it is transcribed as *Xilianhe* (熙連河), and in the school of the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, it is rendered Ajiravatī, written as both *Aliluobatihe* (阿利羅跋提河) and *Ayiluobatihe* (阿夷羅跋提河) in the sutra itself. In the *Memoirs*, it says that the river is on the west side of the Nirvāṇa Stūpa, while the *Record of the Western Regions* has it on the east side. Regarding this discrepancy, there are a number of opinions, including those who think that the course of the river itself changed, and others who think that the respective locations depicted are not the same.

12 Gaṇgā (恒河): the most important river in India, flowing from the central regions of the Himalayan range, southeast to Delhi where it turns east towards the Hindustan plains. From there it continues east to its confluence with the Yamuna River in Allahabad and flows past Vārāṇasī and on to Patna where the Ghagra, Son, and Gandak rivers all combine. Passsing through the plains of Bengal, it finally splits into numerous branches that all empty in the Bay of Bengal. Its total length is 2,510 km, with a watershed of some 1,730,000 km^2. According to the ancient prayers of the Hindu tradition, the river is sacred, emanating from the soles of Viśnu, and flowing down from the heavens. In Buddhism as well, the river is thought of as numinous, and appears often in the sutras. With an abundance of goods and a large population concentrated all along its path, the Ganges has long been at the centre of Hindu civilization, powering economic growth and the development of transportation. Both sides of the river served as the central region of the Buddha's work during his lifetime. Over the course of their lifetimes, Indians wish to drink or bathe once in its waters, so as to wash away iniquities. When dead, they seek cremation on its banks, believing in direct salvation if their ashes are scattered in the river. The river is further sanctified as the site of Śiva's ablutions after beheading Brahmā. Allahabad and Vārāṇasī, two cities where other rivers join with the Ganges, are to this day eagerly sought out as pilgrimage sites, with millions of Hindus congregating there every year.

13 The characters *dachong* (大虫), literally "large insects" refer to tigers or other wild beasts.

14 Subha-bandhana Monastery (娑般檀寺): in the *Memoirs*, this is rendered *Suobantansi* (娑般檀寺). The name does not appear in *Record of the Western Regions*. It is assumed to be the temple founded

thirty [places with three to five villages],[15] and they always supply food and clothing as offerings to the master who takes care of the stūpa grounds. Even now, services are held at the stūpa. . . [*the remaining characters are missing*].

一月至拘尸那國, 佛入涅槃處. 其城荒廢, 無人住也. 仏入涅槃處置塔, 有禪師在彼掃灑. 每年八月八日, 僧尼道俗就彼, 大設供養, 於其空中, 有幡現不知其數. 衆人同見, 當此[之日], 發心非一. 此塔西有一河伊羅鉢底水, 南流二千里外, 方入恒河. 彼塔四絶, 無人住也. 極荒林木, 往彼禮拜者, [被]犀牛大虫所損也. 此塔東南卅里, 有一寺名娑般檀寺. 有卅餘[人村庄三五所], 常供養彼禪師衣食. 今在塔所供養<下缺>

at the site of the Buddha's cremation. The site of the Buddha's cremation is generally expressed as the Makuṭa-bandhana and has been also translated into Chinese as *Tianguansi* (天冠寺) and *Tianguanta* (天冠塔). The assumed cremation site, located at the Rāmabhār Stūpa, is 1.5 km to the east of what is now known as the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* at the Parinirvāṇa Temple at Kuśinagara. We can surmise then that Hyecho's original calculation of the distance of 30 *li* was off by about 3 *li* (Kuwayama, 60– 61).

15 Though only portions of these six characters remain, they are assumed to be [人村庄三五所].

3.
Varāṇasī

[*text missing*] ... days, I arrived at Vārāṇasī.[16] This country is also fallen into ruin and is without a king ... [fourteen characters missing]. The statues of those five monks[17] are inside the stūpa ...[18] [fifteen characters missing].[19] On the top

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16 Vārāṇasī: in the *Memoirs*, this is rendered as *Biluonisi* (彼羅痆斯) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Poluonisi* (波羅痆斯). The first character is rendered as *bi* (彼) in the *Memoirs* and as *po* (波) in the corresponding heading collected in Huilin's *Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures* (一切經音義, T 2128 54.0927b12), while the *Record of the Western Regions* and others also use *po* (波). Being the site of the confluence of the Ganges with the Varuṇa and Assi Rivers, the names of the two tributaries are combined to form the city name. During the Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb had the name changed to Benares and these days it is again called Vārāṇasī. When Xuanzang visited here, it was a very thriving city. Sārnāth, the site of the Buddha's first sermon, lies less than 10 km away. Now also famous as a Hindu and Jain holy site, it is often called the "Holy city" or the "Capital of Religion." Famous religious personalities, philosophers, artists, and others have lived here. Every year, millions of Hindus come to Vārāṇasī on pilgrimage to cleanse themselves in the waters of the Ganges.

17 Though there are many opinions as to the meaning of the characters 五俱輪 (*wujulun*) in the manuscript at this point, according to the flow of the text it seems appropriate to see them as "five monks," referring to the five mendicants, including Kauṇḍinya, who practised with the Buddha before his enlightenment and served as the audience at the Buddha's first sermon at the Deer Park in the story of the "First Turning of the Wheel."

18 A commemorative stūpa was erected at the site of the First Turning of the Wheel in Sārnāth. General Sir Alexander Cunningham began the process of restoring the abandoned remains to their original state in 1834. After 1904, the ASI completed many further rounds of excavation. Presently at the ruins site, in the southwest area of the temple region, are the remains of the massive Dharmarājikā Stūpa, most of which is now completely in ruins; the Dhamekh Stūpa; and an Aśokan pillar, now in three pieces but which originally reached a height of 15 m. The Dharmarājikā Stūpa was King Aśoka's first construction project, originally made to a diameter of 13.5 m, but then expanded through six rounds of reconstruction. Remains discovered before the excavations done by the ASI are stored in the National Museum of Calcutta. Other historical remains unearthed by the ASI, such as the fifth-century Gupta-period Buddha images, images of the First Turning of the Wheel, an Aśokan Pillar, and the "Lion Capital of Aśoka" are housed in the Sārnāth Archeological Museum nearby. Though portions of it are damaged, the Dhamekh Stūpa remains intact to this day, with a foundation diameter of 28.5 m and a height of about 33.5 m, reflecting the dimensions of

[of the pillar is a sculpture of] a lion. The pillar[20] is so big that five men could join their arms around it. The patterns are quite delicate ... [*thirteen characters missing*][21] the pillar was made at the same time that the stūpa was constructed. The temple's name is Dharmacakra ...[22] [the monks] ... [*twelve characters missing*] ... The non-believers go naked, covering their skin with ash and worshipping Mahādeva.[23] At this temple, there is a gilt-bronze statue and 500

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its original construction in the sixth century. The exterior has a stone wall built around it, and the lower third has stacked building stones carved with decorations and eight niches built into its side. Hyecho's comment that "statues are inside the stūpa," accords with the shape of the Dhamekh Stūpa that we see today.

19 It is guessed that among the lost characters in the manuscript here, [幢] "pillar" must have been present.

20 Pillar: the character *chuang* (幢) refers to one of the stone pillars erected by King Aśoka, the third king of the Mauryan Empire, ruling from 273–232 BC. He is credited as being the first in Indian history to unify a great empire. In the eighth year of his reign, he conquered the neighbouring kingdom of Kaliṅga, but is said to have been filled with regret upon seeing the suffering wrought by his conquest. As a result, Aśoka began to study Buddhism and devoted much effort to henceforth rule only through the Dharma. A testament to his desire to disseminate the Dharma to his people is seen in the Aśokan pillars erected throughout the kingdom, as well as the Buddhist scriptures and edicts he had inscribed on rock faces everywhere. Presently, about twenty pillars and inscribed edicts remain. Atop the pillars sit capitals, carved with lions, elephants, bulls, and so on.

21 While in Huilin's *Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures*, the name *Axuge* (阿戍笴, *i.e.* Aśoka) appears after *Poluonisi* (波羅痆斯), in the manuscript of the *Memoirs* this name does not appear. It is likely that the characters for Aśoka were among those in this lacuna, as he was responsible for the construction of the stūpa and pillar.

22 Dharmacakra (達磨斫葛羅) meaning "dharma wheel" refers to the temple located in the vicinity of the Dharmarājikā Stūpa in Sārnāth. From its name, it is thought to be founded in commemoration of the site of the "First Turning of the Wheel." Though the Sārnāth region is replete with many temple sites, an inscription found on a Buddhist image here notes that in 1026, the Dharmarājikā Stūpa and the Dharmacakra shrine were completely reconstructed. Where exactly this shrine was located is not perfectly clear, but this inscription provides evidence that it was in fact here.

23 Mahādeva (大天) is also known as Maheśvara (大自在天). In Hinduism, Maheśvara is another name for the god Śiva. It is also transcribed in the East Asian tradition as Moxishouluo (摩醯首羅). Originally, he was considered as a deity subordinate to Brahman, similar to Nārāyaṇa-deva, but in time, rose to co-prominence as a deity, and thus contributed to the development of pantheism. As a creator deity, Maheśvara is said to have given birth to the unity of the three worlds. Space is its

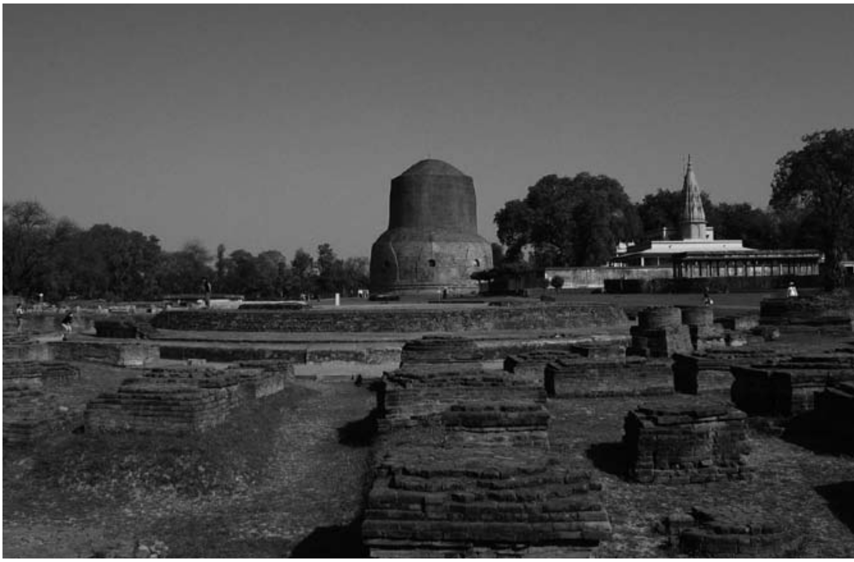


Vulture Peak, Rājagṛha, India

[*text missing*] statues. These images were made by a former king of Magadha[24]

head, earth its body, water its urine, mountains its excrement, and all living beings are the worms in its stomach. Thus it is said that if Maheśvara is revered, one can be liberated. Believers of Maheśvara will cover their bodies with ash and have been called by East Asian Buddhists as "non-believers who smear their bodies with ash." Among Shaivas, the members of the Pāśupata sect eschew clothing and rub ashes on their bodies (Kuwayama, 67).

24 Magadha (摩揭陀): transcribed in many records as *Mojietuo* (摩揭陀). Located in the southern part of India's northeastern Bihar state, this flourishing empire was said to be founded by Bṛhadratha. In the sixth century BC, King Bimbisāra moved the capital to Rājagṛha, upon which he created alliances with the many countries of the west, while also using military force to conquer the Anga Empire to the east. He was murdered by his son Ajāṭaśatru, who proceeded to annex Kosalā and Kāsī, and conquer Vaiśālī, which had been in factional strife since his ascension. Later, after the passing of the Nanda dynasty, the Maurya dynasty was founded here in Patna and developed into a unified empire of northern India. For many centuries, Magadha maintained its position as the heart of northern India. In the fourth century, the Gupta dynasty arose from the Magadha region and ruled until its extinction in the middle of the sixth century, upon which time the region went into steep decline. In the first half of the seventh century, Harṣa, founder of the Vardhana dynasty, established his capital at Kanauj, and the seat of power in north India shifted here from Pataliputra. After Harṣa's death in 647, a conflict over succession broke out, various provincial powers became independent, and the empire collapsed. Given the competition that arose over this region in the



Deer Park at Sārnāth near Varāṇāsi, India

named Śīlāditya.[25] A gilt-bronze [Dharma Wheel][26] was also constructed here,

later eighth century, when India was largely divided into the three countries of Pratihara, based in Kanauj, Pala in Bengal, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa in the Deccan, we can understand the development of various independent nations that took place in northern India in the late seventh and early eighth century as a sign of the absence of a unifying power. The centre of Buddhist pilgrimage sites, with Mahābodhi Temple and Rājagṛha, this region has long been the destination of pilgrims. Xuanzang, who visited in the seventh century, devoted two of his twelve volumes of *Record of the Western Regions* to describe this region in detail. While Hyecho also calls this region "Magadha," his lack of any detailed itinerary or description of the famous Buddhist sites remains a point of contention.

25 King Harṣavardhana (尸羅粟底, r. 606–647) was the founder of the Harṣa dynasty in northwest India, following the Gupta dynasty. He expanded his kingdom into the Ganges River valley and the Gujarat region, taking direct rule over a region encompassing present-day Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Orissa and extending his influence even further beyond. He advanced to the south into the Deccan and was stopped there by the Chālukya dynasty king, Pulakeshi. For more information, see Ram Sharan Sharma, *India's Ancient Past* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005). During his pilgrimage, Xuanzang spent a few years living in the palace with the king and left a detailed first-hand account of his time there. The Deer Park (see note 28) and Kuśinagara were both within his domain.

26 When seen in connection with the characters that continue below, the missing characters here are assumed to be Dharma Wheel [法輪].

and it is almost thirty paces in diameter. The city is located overlooking the northern bank of the Ganges.[27]

Here are four great sacred stūpas,[28] the Deer Park,[29] Kuśinagara, [Rāja]

[27] The present day location of the city of Vārāṇasī is on the northwestern bank of the Ganges, as it flows from south to north. Hyecho's account places the city on the northern banks of the river and is not too different from the present city's location. Xuanzang, however, states that the city faces the river to the west, locating it on the eastern bank, offering a quite different depiction.

[28] The four sacred stūpas (四大靈塔) that Hyecho spoke of within the Magadha kingdom are connected to Buddhism's four holiest sites: Lumbinī, Bodhgaya, Sārnāth, and Kuśinagara. Adding Śrāvastī, Saṁkāśya, Rājagṛha, and Vaiśālī, these are said to constitute the eight holy sites of Buddhism. The following table shows which sites are mentioned in the text:

	City	Place	Event	Record no. in *Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon*	As listed by Yuanzhao in *Wukong ruzhuji*
1	Kapilavastu (Nepal)	Lumbinī Garden	Birth	4	1
2	Bodhgaya (Magadha)	Mahābodhi Temple	Enlightenment	3	2
3	Sārnāth (near Benares [Vārāṇasī])	Deer Park Dharmarājikā stūpa	First Sermon	3	3
4	Kuśinagara (Kasia)	Grove of *śāla* trees of the Mallas	Parinirvāṇa	2, 3	4
5	Rājagṛha (Rājgīr)	Vulture Peak	Preaching of the *Lotus Sutra*	3	8
6	Vaiśālī (in Bihar)	Āmrapālī	Relic stūpa dedicated by the Licchavis	4	4
7	Saṁkāśya ("seven days west of Kānyakubja [Kanauj]")	triple stairway, of silver, jewels, gold (for Brahmā, Buddha, Indra)	Descent from Trāyatriṃśa (Heaven of Thirty-three Gods)	4	5
8	Śrāvastī (in Uttar Pradesh)	Jetavana	*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*	4	6
					7

Hyecho has here omitted Kapilavastu and substituted Rājagṛha. However, as Rājagṛha itself is neither the site of Buddha's birth nor possesses any great stūpa, this may also be seen to refer to the site in nearby Vulture Peak where the Buddha preached the *Lotus Sutra*. Alternatively, according to book 9 of the *Record of the Western Regions*, in the vicinity of Rājagṛha there are many Buddhist relics, including the stūpa commemorating the pacification of the drunken elephant, the stūpa of the suicided monk, the stūpa with Buddha's *śarīra*, and the stūpa with the *śarīra* of half of Ānanda's body, and thus there is the possibility that one of these might also be the stūpa in question. Hyecho later cites four places as

gṛha,[30] and Mahābodhi[31] all located within the territory of the Magadha

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sites of the "four great stūpas of Central India": Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī , Kapila, and Kānyakubja. In addition, in the poem that immediately follows this record, he cites "eight great stūpas." However, though in other sources such as *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (高僧傳), the accounts of pilgrims noted "four great stūpas" and "eight great stūpas," there are no occasions where the definitive names of the eight stūpas are cited. The only exception is monk Wukong (?–812)'s *Ruzhuji* (入竺記, *Notes on Going to India*), recorded by Yuanzhao upon Wukong's return to China in 799 AD, which lists the birthplace at Kapilavastu, the site of enlightenment at the Mahābodhi Temple in Magadha, the "first turning of the wheel" at the Deer Park in Vārāṇasī, the site of the preaching of the *Lotus Sutra* at Vulture Peak, the relic stūpa in Vaiśālī, the site of the Buddha's descent from heaven on the jeweled triple staircase at Saṁkāśya, the site of the preaching of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* at Śrāvastī, and the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* at Kuśinagara (T 2089.51.980a27–b7). To this day, these sites are known as the eight holy sites of Buddhism. The eight stūpas seem to be Hyecho's combination of the four sacred stūpas of Magadha and the four great stūpas of the Central Indian Kindgom. The only difference would be his citation of Rājagṛha instead of Buddha's birthplace Kapilavastu. Moreover, both Hyecho and Wukong cite the Buddha's birthplace not as Lumbinī, but rather as Kapilavastu. This would be due to the fact that, as stated in Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions*, Lumbinī was within the kingdom of Kapila (T 2087.51.902a20–22).

29 Deer Park (*Luyeyuan*, 鹿野苑): the famed location of the Buddha's first sermon. After his enlightenment, the Buddha spent 49 days in repose, then proceeded to seek out the five ascetics he had previously practised with, including Kauṇḍinya. He found them at the Deer Park where he taught the four noble truths. This site thus became known in legend as the scene of the "First Turning of the Dharma Wheel" *chuzhuan falun* (初轉法輪). It is located in the present day town of Sārnāth, 10 km to the north of Vārāṇasī. Together with the sites of his birth in Lumbinī, his enlightenment in Bodhgaya, and his *parinirvāṇa* in Kuśinagara, the Deer Park is one of the four holiest sites of Buddhism.

30 [王]舍城: The [王] character is presumed to have been at the end of the previous column in the manuscript. It means literally "Royal Castle," and was the capital of Magadha, the area's most formidable kingdom in the Buddha's time. During King Bimbisāra's reign, it was located deep within the mountains. His son Ajātāsatru constructed a new Rājagṛha in the plains. Vulture Peak, the hallowed site of Buddha's many sermons, is found within the mountains surrounding the old Rājagṛha. Near the new Rājagṛha is the site of the first Buddhist temple, the Veṇuvana-vihāra. In the mountains looking down onto the new Rājagṛha is the Saptaparni Cave, the site of the First Council, where a group of monks gathered after the Buddha's death to begin the compilation of the Buddha's teachings. Rājagṛha is thus included among the eight great holy sites in Buddhism.

31 Mahābodhi Temple (摩訶菩提寺): in approximately 250 BC, King Aśoka of the Mauryan dynasty visted Bodhgaya, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, and founded this temple at the diamond throne beneath the Bodhi Tree. King Aśoka constructed a pillar and a monastery, as well as a rock wall surrounding the Bodhi Tree. In the fifth century AD, during the Gupta dynasty, the

king.[32] Both Mahāyāna[33] and Hinayāna[34] are practised here.[35]

It is at this [time][36] that I arrived at Mahābodhi Temple.[37] To finally fulfill a dream I have had for so long brings me great joy. I have tried to

temple was expanded and a shrine-like stūpa was erected. Since then, there have been many rounds of expansion and restoration such that the stūpa now stands some 52 m tall.

32 This observation speaks to a period when Magadha was at the very height of its power. From Hyecho's own records, we know that of these four great sacred stūpas, only Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi are in the Magadha kingdom proper, while the Deer Park is in the kingdom of Vārāṇasī, and Kuśinagara is in the kingdom of that name.

33 Mahāyāna (大乘): Great Vehicle, transliterated as *moheyanna* (摩訶衍那) and *moheyan* (摩訶衍). Mahā (大) means "great" and yāna (乘) means "vehicle," likening the teachings to a ferry that brings all sentient beings from the shore of suffering to the "other shore," the *nirvāṇa* of enlightenment. Advocates of the Mahāyāna, expanding the movement to reform Buddhism towards a greater focus on householders, contrasted themselves with what they pejoratively called the Hinayāna, or "small vehicle."

34 Hinayāna (小乘): Also known as Nikāya Buddhism, Theravāda (上座部) Buddhism or "early Buddhism" and as the *śrāvakayāna* (聲聞乘), or the "vehicle of disciples." According to the assertion of the Mahāyāna, the bodhisattva path or *bodhisattvayāna* (菩薩乘) differs in that it emphasizes the enlightenment of others and self equally, whereas the Hinayāna focuses on dedicating all of one's efforts solely to the sake of one's own enlightenment.

35 This record, coming as it does after the record on Vārāṇasī, is connected with the record noting the arrival at Mahābodhi Temple, which itself follows the record of the four great stūpas. Therefore, though it is natural to consider "here" to be a reference to Magadha, if considered in relation to the description of the four great historical stūpas of Magadha, "here" could also be Vārāṇasī. This is because there is no separate description specifically for Magadha.

36 The missing character [時] is assumed.

37 This column seems to be a record pertaining to Magadha, rather than to Vārāṇasī. However, within all extant copies of *Memoirs*, there exists no separate record about Magadha. The above mentioned reference to the four stūpas all being "located within the territory of the Magadha king" must be seen as a description documenting the fact of Magadha's period of great prosperity. If we look at another example, this portion lacks the standard account, "from such and such a country, travelling for so many days in such and such a direction, I arrived at ..." instead mentioning only that in Magadha there are four great stūpas and that he then arrived at the Mahābodhi Temple. We cannot know whether the missing portion above mentioned the Magadha kingdom, or if perhaps Hyecho made no specific record of Magadha and instead wrote only a poem about it. Given the great importance of Mahābodhi Temple as the site of Buddha's enlightenment and the place where Buddhism itself began, and also that both Nālanda Temple, the birthplace of Buddhist studies, and Rājagṛha, a locus of many revered



Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya, India

briefly capture my foolish wishes in a five-character poem:

Buddhist relics, are located within Magadha, the absence of any specific account lends credence to a natural suspicion that there must be some parts missing of his original account. In his description of Central India, Hyecho says that he has seen all four great stūpas, namely Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī , Kapila, and Saṁkāśya. Accordingly, we know therefore that Hyecho made a pilgrimage to each of these sites. If we consider his itinerary, there is a distinct possibility that his descriptions of Kapila, Śrāvastī, and Vaiśālī were located within this lost section. In addition, if he wanted to leave Kanauj to visit Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgaya before heading to South India, he would have had an overlapping itinerary taking him again in the direction of Kanauj. It also makes sense to assume that in the missing section before the record on Vaiśālī there was also a description of the numerous Buddhist relics of Magadha, beginning with Mahābodhi Temple. If that is not the case, as the journal of a truthseeker's

No matter that Mahābodhi is distant,
Why consider Deer Park far away?
Though anxious at the steep dangers of the road,
Regardless, the winds of karma bluster.
Seeing the eight stūpas[38] is certainly no easy feat,
Some more, some less, consumed by timeless fires.
How can anyone's dream be fulfilled?
This morning, I saw it clearly with my own eyes!

日, 至彼羅痆斯國. 此國亦廢無王, 卽[六]<下缺> 彼五俱輪見素形像, 在於塔中<下缺> 上有師子, 彼幢極麤, 五人合抱, 文里細<下缺> 塔時, 幷造此幢. 寺名達磨斫葛羅, [僧]<下缺> 外道不着衣服, 身上塗灰, 事於大天<下缺>. 此寺中有一金銅像五百□□□. 是摩揭陁國, 舊有一王, 名尸羅栗底, 造此像也. 兼造一金銅□□□ 輻團圓正等卅餘步. 此城俯臨恒河北岸置也. 卽此鹿野菀, 拘尸那, [王]舍城, 摩訶菩提等 四大靈塔, 在摩揭陁國王界. 此國大小乘俱行.

于(時)得達摩訶菩提寺, 稱其本願, 非常歎喜. 略題述其愚志, 五言.

不慮菩提遠 焉將鹿菀遙
只愁懸路險 非意業風飄
八塔難誠見 參差經劫燒
何其人願滿 目覩在今朝

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pilgrimage, the *Memoirs'* use of a single poem to describe the central holy site of Buddhism, without any description of Mahābodhi Temple itself, must be considered extremely negligent.

38 Eight Stūpas (八塔): After the Buddha's passing into *nirvāṇa* under the twin *śāla* trees in the grove of the Mallas in Kuśinagara, his remains were cremated. To fend off the scramble among India's eight kingdoms to possess his *sarīra*, the Brahman Droṇa advised to divide them equally into eight portions such that each kingdom could raise a stūpa to house them. These came to be known as the "apportioned śarīra" or the "eight-portioned śarīra." From this point on, the "śarīra faith" took root, and this brought about the origin of Buddhist stūpa culture. Following this, it is said that in the third century BC, King Aśoka, upon creating the great Indian empire, excavated the eight great stūpas, and divided the remains among 84,000 stūpas erected throughout the country (see also the table in note 28, above).

4.
Central India

Again, [walking west two][39] months from Vārāṇasī, I arrived at the city where the king of Central India[40] lives. Its name is Kānyakubja.[41] The king's land is very wide and his people abundant and prosperous. The king has nine hundred elephants in his possession, and each of his chiefs has two or

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39 Based on the context, the characters [西行兩] are assumed to have been originally present.

40 Central India (中天竺國) had as its capital Kānyakubja and was located north of the Narmadā River. At this time, it was in control of all of northern India. When Hyecho visited, the king of Central India was Yaśovarman (r. 725–752). In the *Memoirs*, Hyecho listed the individual kingdoms of Central India, South India, and West India, making a record for each. In the case of North India, however, this is described as being synonymous with Jālaṇdhara, and it has come to be assumed that there was never any separate record to refer to North India other than the one concerning Jālaṇdhara (see note 96, below). This citation shows a stark difference with other travelogues, such as the *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, where Xuanzang described with detailed footnotes 138 countries, thirty within central India, six in eastern India, fifteen in southern India, ten in western India, nineteen in northern India, 56 other nations in the far western regions where Central Asia abuts China, and two other nations, Siṃhala and Persia. Faxiang too, in his *Record of Buddhist Countries* (佛國記) lists some ten countries in North India, twelve in Central India, one in Eastern India, and eight in Western India and beyond. Though Hyecho introduces Kānyakubja as the capital of Central India, the previously recorded countries of Vārāṇasī and Kuśinagara are also located within Central India. North India has a similar situation, in that Jālaṇdhara and Kashmir are also located within North India. Though Xuanzang's divisions were not based on any absolute standard, Hyecho's accounts of Central India and North India should be considered not as records of individual states, but as records of countries that were representative of Central and North India.

41 Kānyakubja (葛那及自): Also known as the "city of hunchback women," *Qunücheng* (曲女城). This is the present-day city of Kanauj in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. In the *Memoirs*, it is recorded as *Genajizi* (葛那及自), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jieruojushe* (羯若鞠闍). It is located some 80 km to the northwest of Kanpur, a city on the right bank of the Ganges, off a main arterial road on the way to Delhi. In the early seventh century, it was founded as the capital of the Harṣa dynasty and served as the centre of north Indian political, military and economic power. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Gurjara Pratiharas founded a capital here, but in 1194, the Islam invasions brought great ruin to the city, and thenceforth, it went into a steep decline.

three hundred of his own.[42] The king always leads his armies directly and fights together with them in battle. They frequently fight with the four other Indian kingdoms and the king [of Central India][43] always prevails victorious. According to the custom of this country, when a kingdom knows that its number of elephants is small and that it has few soldiers, it sues for peace and pays a yearly tribute, not doing battle and killing one another.

The clothing, languages, customs, and laws of the five kingdoms are all similar. It is only the rural people of the southern kingdom whose language [is][44] a little different.[45] However, the language of their government [officials][46] is no different from [that of] Central India. Following the laws of the Five Kingdoms, there are neither beatings nor the use of the cangue, nor are there jails. Those found guilty of crimes are forced to pay fines in

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42 In ancient India, the number of elephants owned by a state was a common measure of its military might. The tremendous power of elephants was utilized in the transportation of weapons or rations, mounting archers or lancemen, or in a charging assault. From the time of the Indus civilization, India began breeding elephants as domestic animals, at first for agricultural purposes. According to ancient Sanskrit hymns, we know that beginning around the tenth century BC, elephants began to be used for military purposes. From this point on, their use spread west, through Iran, all the way to the Mediterranean region. Indeed, Alexander the Great utilized elephants in his wars in India. In the Punic Wars as well, Hannibal of Carthage is well known for his use of elephants in battle. In India, the first unified empire of the Mauryan dynasty used elephant units as its main force, but with the arrival of cavalry, the importance of such units began to decrease, even though they once again became important during the Gupta dynasty. Beyond this period as well, until the sixteenth century, elephants were often used in combat, as many as a thousand at one time. This aspect of Indian life is made clear to us in Hyecho's writings, in that the number of elephants possessed by each country features prominently in many of his entries.

43 In the original, there is a note marking the mistaken transposition of 天中 instead of [中天].

44 The character [有] is assumed from the context.

45 The languages of India's northern, western, central, and eastern regions are all within the Aryan lineage, and while their dialects may differ, in terms of fundamental grammar, there is no great divide and they are mutually intelligible. However, the southern Indian languages are of the Dravidian lineage, with a grammar and expressions that totally differ from their Aryan counterparts.

46 The character [官] is assumed from the context.

accordance with their offenses. There are no [punishments][47] and no death penalty.[48] You cannot see anybody, from the king on down to the common folk, using falcons or dogs for stalking and hunting. Though there are many bandits on the roads, when travellers simply relinquish their belongings, they are just left alone and not [injured or] killed.[49] However, if travellers hold too dearly to their possessions, they are likely to meet injury.

The region is very warm. With neither snow nor frost, all sorts of plants are always verdant. As for food, they primarily use rice, grains, bread, barley flour cakes, butter,[50] milk, yogurt,[51] and the like. They lack soy sauce and use salt instead. Everybody cooks and eats food in earthenware dishes. There are no cast-iron pots or such. Common people are not forced into labour nor imposed on to pay taxes. They simply offer to the king one of every five bags of grain raised on their lands.[52] The king sends transport to pick up the grain from the subjects who are not forced to take on [this burden][53] themselves.

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47 The character (形) in the manuscript is assumed to be a scribal error for the homophone [刑].

48 According to ancient Indian codes of law, punishments were generally divided into four categories: admonition, rebuke, fines, and corporal punishments. However, Hyecho's record suggests that corporal punishments were sometimes absent altogether (Kuwayama, 71).

49 The character (殤) in the manuscript is assumed to be a scribal error for the homophone [傷].

50 The character in the manuscript, *su* (蘇) seems to correspond to Sanskrit *ghṛta*, ghee or clarified butter, made from the milk of cows or goats. It is also rendered in Chinese as *suyou* 蘇油, *suyou* 酥油, and *su* 酥.

51 The character in the manuscript, *luo* (酪) seems to correspond to the Sanskrit *dadhi*. It is similar to yogurt, made from the milk of cows, sheep, and horses. In the Buddhist scriptures, the shallowness or depth of truth is compared to milk, yogurt, butter, and ghee. The *Longer Āgama-sūtra* states "to make an analogy to milk, when milk transforms it becomes cream, when cream transforms it becomes buttermilk, when buttermilk transforms it becomes butter, and when butter transforms it becomes ghee." (T 1.1.112b1–5. 譬如牛乳, 乳變為酪, 酪為生酥, 生酥為熟酥, 熟酥為醍醐, 第一醍醐為). The *Four-Part Vinaya* states something similar (T 1428.22.854c18–20). The *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* also states, "from a cow comes milk, from milk comes cream, from cream comes buttermilk, from buttermilk comes butter, and from butter comes ghee. Ghee is the ultimate, all who eat it are free from disease, every medicine therefore is contained within." (T 374.12.449a5–9. 譬如從牛出乳, 從乳出酪, 從酪出生穌, 從生穌出熟穌, 從熟穌出醍醐. 醍醐最上, 若有服者, 眾病皆除, 所有諸藥, 悉入其中).

Most of the people of this country are poor, few are wealthy. The king, his administrators, and the rich wear a full suit made of cotton cloth. Those [outside][54] these groups wear a one-piece [garment]. The poor wear a half-piece, and women do the same.[55]

Whenever the king sits in audience, the chiefs and commoners all gather, sitting in a circle around the king. Each person presents his own case and numerous arguments arise, making it quite disorderly and noisy. The king, however, just listens quietly without getting angry, and calmly offers a simple verdict, "you are correct and you are mistaken." The people accept his decisions as final and do not bring up such matters again.

The king and the chiefs are very reverent of the Three Jewels and have faith in them. When they meet with esteemed monks, they sit on the ground, not wanting to sit on chairs. Whenever the king and his chiefs travel, they never fail to bring their own chairs with them, sitting only in those chairs and never in those offered at their destinations. The temples and palaces are three-story buildings. The lowest floor serves as a warehouse, with people dwelling on the top two floors.[56] A few of the biggest chiefs have houses like

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The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* also presents this five-step process, using it as an analogy to contrast with four previous stages of Buddhist texts: the 12 divisions of the Buddhist canon, the sūtras, the *vaipulya* sūtras, and the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. It casts itself as "ghee," representing the *tathāgata*, the *buddha-dhātu*, and the ultimate truth.

52 In ancient Indian society, the taxes levied on agricultural lands were generally collected through the *ṣaḍbhāga* system of one unit of tax per every six units raised. The second book of the *Record of the Western Regions* also notes the "one per six" system. However, Hyecho's account is obviously a bit different with one unit of harvest per five, instead of six.

53 The character [勞] is assumed from the context.

54 The character [外] is assumed from the context.

55 In the second volume of Yijing's *A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea* (南海寄歸內法傳), there are descriptions of various clothes worn by the people here: "The customs of the west are such that lofty persons like government officials wear only one pair of fine cotton clothes. The poor and other common folk have but a single suit of cloth" (T 2125.54.214b1–3). In the original, 一雙 (*yishuang*) means "one pair," and 一布 (*yibu*) means "one [piece of] cloth."

this as well. The roofs are all flat, made of wood and stone. Other houses are all single-story thatched dwellings, similar to the gabled houses in China.[57]

The only products of this kingdom are cotton cloth,[58] elephants, and horses. Whatever gold or silver there is has come from other countries. They do not raise any domestic livestock, such as camels, donkeys, mules, or pigs. Almost all of the cows are white. Out of 10,000 you might find only one that is black or red. There are very few horses or sheep. The king alone has any, with some two or three hundred sheep and sixty or seventy horses. None of the chiefs or commoners raises any livestock. They prefer to raise only cattle, owing to the milk, yogurt, and butter they yield. Being kind and lighthearted, the people here disdain the killing of animals. As a result, you will not see any place where they butcher and sell meat, either [in][59] the market or in stores.

又卽從此彼羅痆斯國, (西行兩)月, 至中天竺國王住城, 名葛那及自. 此中天王, 境界極寬, 百姓繁鬧. 王有九百頭象, 餘大首領各有三二百頭. 其王每自領兵馬鬪戰, 常与餘四天戰也, [中天]王常勝. 彼國法, 自知象少兵少, 卽請和, 每年輸稅, 不交陣相煞也.

衣着言音人風法用, 五天相似. 唯南天村草百姓, 語(有)差別, 仕(宦)之類, 中天不殊. 五天國法, 無有枷棒牢獄, 有罪之者, 據輕重罰錢, 亦無(刑)戮. 上至國王

56 In the Ajanta caves of central India, pictures of castles confirm this description of a three-story building. Xuanzang also notes in the *Record of the Western Regions* that monasteries are in three-story buildings. However, from the actual remains of temple buildings, only the presence of one- and two-story buildings has been confirmed.

57 This most simply-structured house is formed with planks sloping down from both sides of the roof, forming the Chinese character for eight 八. Seen from the front, the rectangular roof is visible, and from the side, only the edge of the roof can be seen.

58 The character *die* (氎 or 疊) appears to refer to either cotton or fine wool (see note 188, below). However, here the main usage is *diebu* (氎布), translated as cotton cloth. Given that India is the origin of the cotton plant and also that the climate is hot, cotton would seem to be the most common fabric, thus this translation is used here. In contrast, the later half of the *Memoirs* (e.g. records 27, 29, 30, 31) speaks of *zhan* (氈), which is translated as wool (record 21 has both *die* and *zhan*).

59 The partially missing character is assumed to be [於], based on its shape and context.

下及黎庶, 不見遊獵放鷹走犬等事. 道路雖卽足賊, 取物卽放, 亦不(傷)煞. 如若悋物, 卽有損也.

土地甚暖, 百卉恒青, 無有霜雪. 食唯粳粮餅麨蘇乳酪等. 無醬有鹽. 惣用土鍋煮飯而食, 無鐵釜等也. 百姓無別庸稅, 但抽田子五一石与王. 王自遣人運將, 田主(勞)不爲送也. 彼土百姓, 貧多富少. 王官屋裏及富有者, 着㲲一雙, 自(外)一隻, 貧者半片, 女人亦然.

其王每坐衙處, 首領百姓, 惣來遶王, 四面而坐. 各諍道理, 訴訟紛紜, 非常亂鬧. 王聽不嗔, 緩緩報云, 汝是汝不是, 彼百姓等, 取王一口語爲定, 更不再言. 其王首領等, 甚敬信三寶. 若對師僧前, 王及首領等, 在地而坐, 不肯坐床. 王及首領, 行坐來去處, 自將牀子隨身, 到處卽坐, 他牀不坐. 寺及王宅, 竝皆三重作樓, 從下第一重作庫, 上二重人住. 諸大首領等亦然, 屋 皆平頭, 塼木所造. 自外□並皆草屋, 似於漢屋兩下作也, 又是一重.

土地所出, 唯有㲲布象馬等物. 當土不出金銀, 並從外國來也. 亦不養駝騾驢猪等畜. 其牛惣白, 万萬頭之內, 希有一頭赤黑之者. 羊馬全少, 唯王有三二百口六七十疋. 自外首領百姓, 惣不養畜. 唯愛養牛, 取乳酪蘇也. 土地人善, 不多愛煞. [於]市店間, 不見有屠行賣肉之處.

Both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are practised in Central India.[60] There are four great stūpas[61] in this territory, three of them on the northern bank of the Ganges. The first is at Jetavana[62] in Śravastī,[63] where there is now also a temple with some monks. The second is at Āmrapālī[64] in Vaiśālī.[65] Though

[60] The naming of separate areas within Central India by separate country names, such as Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Kapila, and the like, serves to inform us that, as explained above, the kingdom of Central India was formed from many individual countries.

[61] The four great stūpas (四大塔): generally, the term "four great stūpas" refers to the monuments at the sacred sites of Buddhism: the birthplace in Lumbinī, the enlightenment in Bodhgaya, the "first turning of the wheel" in Sārnāth, and the *parinirvāṇa* in Kuśinagara. When Śrāvastī, Saṁkāśya, Rājagṛha, and Vaiśālī are added, this comprises the "eight holy sites of Buddhism" (see the table in note 28, above).



Jetavana, Sravasti, India

the stūpa is present, the temple is in ruins and there are no monks. The third

62 Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma (給孤獨園): this monastery, also known simply as Jetavana, is located in the southern part of the central Indian region of Śrāvastī. Of the holy sites associated with places where the Buddha gave sermons, this is the most famous. The name means "temple founded by Prince Anāthapiṇḍada in the forest owned by Jeta, a prince of Kośalā." The prince's given name was Prince Sudatta, but as he was always giving aid to the destitute, he took on this second name, meaning "feeder of the helpless." Together with the Veṇuvana-vihāra (竹林精舍) in Rājagṛha, this is one of the representative sites of early Buddhist monasteries. The Buddha spent most of his summer retreats here, and many sutras are said to have been preached here. Amidst a beautiful setting by a clear pond, flowing water, dense woods, and blooming flowers, the monastery's surroundings were equipped with many buildings, beginning with a terraced walk and lecture hall, and also a dining hall, kitchen, and others. In the centre of the monastery was a *gandha-kuṭī* (香室), a "house of incense" serving as the main hall where offerings were made. Many of its sites remain to this day, such that it is possible to guess its original appearance.

63 Śravastī: This kingdom in central India is recorded in the *Memoirs* as *Sheweiguo* (舍衛國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Shiluofaxidiguo* (室羅伐悉底國). Originally, this was the name of the capital of Kośalā, but to distinguish it from the kingdom of Dakṣiṇa-Kośalā, the name of the capital was substituted for that of the kingdom. When the Buddha was alive, King Prasenajit was the ruler. The Jetavana was in this kingdom, and so the Buddha spent as many as twenty-five years of his forty-five-year post-enlightenment period here. Many of his sermons were delivered here as well.



Great Stūpa of Vaisali, India

is in Kapilavastu,[66] the birthplace of the Buddha. The *Aśoka* tree[67] can still be

Also, as an important commercial site, it became a centre of religion and culture, and is described in the scriptures as having had tens of thousands of houses. However, when Xuanzang visited in the seventh century, he recorded that the area was already in ruins and the monastery grounds were largely in decay. The majority of monks still residing there were studying the Saṃmitīya-nikāya school, an offshoot of Buddhism, and there was a large presence of non-believers.

64 Āmra (菴羅): this refers to the mango grove given to the Buddha by the courtesan Āmrapālī (菴羅波利, 菴沒羅女, 菴羅女). Āmrapālī appears in the *Four-part Vinaya* and other sutras as a famous courtesan living in Vaiśālī. However, in the *Nainüqipojing* (女耆婆經), there is a different story. In it, a baby girl is born by a mango tree, *naishu* (奈樹), in the king's gardens in Vaiśālī. Said to have sprung from that very tree, she took on the name Āmrapālī ('mango'). By the age of fifteen, she had become very beautiful, and the kings of the seven local kingdoms squabbled over who would be with her. She ended up with Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and became pregnant with Jīvaka (耆婆), who became the crown prince at the age of eight. Two years later, Queen Vaidehi bore Bimbisāra another son, Ajātaśatru. Jīvaka then turned over his position as crown prince and took up medicine, where he gained much fame. Āmrapālī, in reverence to the Buddha, offered up her mango grove as alms. Following this, she married the king and became Jīvaka's stepmother. Originally, Jīvaka was said to have learned medicine in the west, and then gained his fame in Rājagṛha as the royal doctor in the court of both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. It is thought that the story linking the famed doctor and the courtesan was compiled after his rise to prominence. It is said that the Buddha preached the



Mayadevi Temple, Lumbinī, Nepal

seen, but whatever city once existed is now only in ruins. The stūpa is there, but there are neither monks nor villagers living nearby. The city is located

Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra here in the Āmra grove in Vaiśālī. Jīvaka is also noted as having given a mango grove to the Buddha in Rājagṛha.

65 Vaiśālī: in the *Memoirs*, this city is referred to as *Biyeshelicheng* (毗耶離城), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, it was called *Fesheliguo* (吠舍釐國). This is one of the sixteen kingdoms of ancient India. The city name was loosely rendered in Chinese as *guangyan* (廣嚴), meaning "vastly ornate." In the fifth century BC, it was the capital of the Licchavi clan. Embraced by the Ganges River, it developed rapidly as a commercial city, serving as the centre of transportation, culture, and economics for all of northern India. It was the birthplace of the householder's Buddhism movement, and many practitioners like Vimalakirti (維摩) lived here. As a result, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and the *Yaoshijing* are said to have been delivered here. This is also said to be the site of the second round of the compiling of the sutras, when some seven hundred eminent monks gathered one hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Presently, a stūpa and stone pillar erected by King Aśoka remain here in good condition, as well as the remains of the ancient house of Vimalakirti.

66 Kapilavastu: in the *Memoirs*, it is recorded as *Jiapiyeluo* (迦毗耶羅), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jiebiluofasudu* (劫比羅伐窣堵). The birthplace of the Buddha some 2500 years ago, Kapilavastu was the capital of the Śākya clan, ruled by King Śuddodana (Hyecho does not mention

northermost of these four, where the surrounding forests are thick and the roads are frequented by bandits, making it very difficult for pilgrims who wish to come here.[68] The fourth stūpa, a triple-flight jeweled staircase, is a full seven-day trip to the west from the city where the Central Indian king lives.[69] It is located between two branches of the Ganges River.[70] Here is where the Buddha descended from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods[71] on the triple-flight staircase[72] he made and set foot on Jambudvīpa.[73] The left flight of the jeweled staircase is gold and the right is silver, with the

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the Lumbinī Garden, the actual site of the birth). There are many opinions regarding the precise location of this city, owing to differences in the records of Faxian and Xuanzang. Presently, both the Nepalese city of Tilaurakot and the Indian city of Piprahwa lay claim as the site of the ancient city.

67 *Aśoka* tree (無憂樹, *Saraca indica*): it is said that when Śākyamuni was born, his mother Māyā-devīgave birth to him under an *Aśoka* tree in the Lumbinī Garden. It is said that neither the mother nor the child bore any pain, and thus it was renamed the "tree of no grief." The trunk of the tree is very straight and the leaves are long. It has scarlet blossoms and bears an oval fruit. In Indian culture, it is treated as sacred.

68 The character (迷) is thought to be a scribal error for the character [達].

69 The city where the Central Indian king lived was Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj).

70 The two branches are the Yamuna and Ganges.

71 Trāyastriṃśa (忉利天): according to Buddhist cosmology, this is the second of six heavenly worlds within the desire realm. It is the abode of Indra, located at the summit of Mt. Sumeru (須彌山). Mt. Sumeru originally arose within Indian myth and was later taken into Buddhist cosmology, towering above the world and serving as its central axis, with eight mountains and eight seas spread out around it. There is a salty sea beyond the seventh mountain, and on the other side of that sea are the Iron Mountains, called Cakravāla (鐵圍山). While Mt. Sumeru is surrounded by four great continents, among these, humans live only on the southern continent, called Jambudvīpa (閻浮提洲). Above these are the four heavens of the four kings, and immediately above those, on the summit of Sumeru, is Trāyastriṃśa. As head of the thirty-two heavens that are arrayed around it, with eight heavens in each of the four cardinal directions, it thus comprises the central heaven of thirty-three, and thus its name.

centre flight made of crystal glass.[74] The centre is where Buddha descended, attended by Brahmā[75] on his left and Indra[76] on his right, and it is on this site that this stūpa was built. I also saw[77] a temple [with monks].[78]

此中天大小乘俱行. 卽此中天界內, 有四大塔, 恒河在北岸有三大塔. 一舍衛國

72 Triple-flight staircase (三道寶階): with three flights made of gold, silver, and crystal, respectively, this is the staircase that the Buddha, accompanied by Brahmā and Indra, used to descend from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. According to legend, the Buddha had ascended to the heaven to spend three months preaching the dharma to his mother, Māyādevī. When he descended back to earth, he used this staircase, constructed by Indra. The site of this stūpa is ancient Saṁkāśya, some 47 km from Farrukhabad in present-day Uttar Pradesh. It is on the upper reaches of the Ganges, northwest of Kanauj in the direction of Delhi.

73 Jambudvīpa (閻浮提): *jambu* is the name of a tree, and *dvīpa* means "continent," and thus, this means the continent of Jambu trees. Originally, it referred to the land of India, and later it came to refer to the world of humans in general. In Buddhist cosmology, it is the southern continent of the four arranged around Mt. Sumeru.

74 Hyecho introduced this idea of the stūpa itself having three paths. Xuanzang spoke of there being a large temple, and within that temple a seventy-foot high wall made with the triple-flight staircase, as spoken of in the scriptures (T 2087.51.893a24).

75 Brahmā (梵王; 梵天): the creator god according to Indian legend, he is one of the three main gods of Brahmanic religion. In Buddhism, the brahma-heavens are in the first realm of meditative heavens in the form realm, and are divided into the *Brahma-pāriṣadya* heaven (梵衆天), the heaven of Brahmā followers; the *Brahma-purohita* heaven (梵輔天), the heaven of the Brahmā preachers; and the *Mahābrahma* heaven (大梵天), the great Brahmā heaven. Brahmā is also said to be the master of the *sahā-loka-dhātu*, the "world that must be endured," or, the world where suffering beings live. Together with Indra (帝釋天), these gods are said to be protectors of the "true dharma" and were the very first to request dharma sermons from the Buddha.

76 Śakra Devānām-Indra (帝釋天): transliterated as *Shijiatihuan yintuoluo* (釋迦提桓因陀羅), this name is shortened to *Shitihuanyin* (釋提桓因) or in translation, *Tiandishi* (天帝釋, "Sovereign Lord of Heaven") or *Tianzhu* (天主, "Master of Heaven"). Residing at the summit of Mt. Sumeru as the heavenly master of Trāyastriṃśa, he commands the four heavenly kings and the thirty-two heavens, protecting the dharma and its followers as the king of the heavens and subduer of the asura army. Originally known in Hinduism as Indra, when brought into Buddhism, he became known as Śakra Devānām-Indra. According to the scriptures, Śakra Devānām-Indra earned merit by giving alms as a brahmin in Magadha and was finally reborn as the Master of Trāyastriṃśa and the thirty-two surrounding heavens. Together with Brahmā, he is a protector deity of the dharma, residing in

給孤薗中, 見有寺有僧. 二毗耶離城菴羅薗中, 有塔見在, 其寺荒廢無僧. 三迦毗耶羅國, 卽仏本生城, 無憂樹見在, 彼城已廢. 有塔無僧, 亦無百姓. 此城最居北, 林木荒多, 道路足賊, 往彼禮拜者, 甚難方迷. 四三道寶階塔, 在中天王住城西七日程, 在兩恒河間. 佛當從刀利天, 變成三道寶階, 下閻浮提地處. 左金, 右銀, 中吠瑠璃. 佛於中道, 梵王左路, 帝釋右階, 侍佛下來. 卽於此處置塔. 見有寺[有僧].

the city of Śakra (善見城,) in Trāyastriṃśa, and served by the ten great heavenly beings. Six times a month, on the six *poṣadha* days, together with the four heavenly kings, their princes, and attendants, Śakra examines the faults and merits of the people of earth, and if they had not been properly filial, given alms, and taken part in purification rituals, then he would shorten their life spans accordingly, or vice versa. Also, Śakra Devānām-Indra is notable for being the protector deity of Buddha after his enlightenment, and when the Buddha's mother died, and the Buddha came to Trāyastriṃśa where she was residing so that he could preach the dharma to her, Śakra Devānām-Indra is said to have taken a seat on a cushion and listened to the entire sermon, start to finish.

77 Here Hyecho is saying that he has himself seen the four great stūpas of Central India. As when he wrote a poem mentioning Mahābodhi, without further description, here too there is a problem regarding his itinerary, which must have taken him to Saṁkāśya. Yet he does not mention Saṁkāśya by name, only describing the stūpa at the site of the triple-flight staircase, at a distance of seven day's march from the royal capital (Kānyakubja or Kanauj, in Uttar Pradesh).

78 The characters (僧有) in the manuscript seem to be a mistake for [有僧].

5.
South India

From Central India to South India,[79] I travelled south for over three months to get to the city where the king resides. The king possesses eight hundred elephants. The territory is quite broad, extending southward to the South Sea, eastward to the East Sea, westward to the West Sea, and northward until it abuts the borders of East, West, and Central India.

Their clothing, food, and customs are similar to those in Central India, with only their language differing slightly. The climate is also hotter than in Central India. The main products of this country are cotton cloth, elephants, water buffalo, and yellow cattle. There are a few sheep, but no camels, mules, or donkeys. There are rice paddies, but no millet or sorghum. As for silk fabrics and the like,[80] such cannot be found in any of the five Indian kingdoms. The king, chiefs,[81] and commoners hold the Three Jewels in the highest regard. There are many temples and monks, who practise both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.

79 South India (南天竺國): this is thought to be the empire of the Chālukya dynasty, conquerors of southwestern India in the region of the southern basin of the Narmadā river. This relatively long-lived dynasty (543–757) had its capital in the modern day city of Bādāmi in the state of Karnataka. At the time of Hyecho's visit, the king was thought to have been Vijayaditya (r. 696–733) (Kuwayama, 80). However, others believe that the city where the South Indian king lived was in what is now Nasik in the state of Maharashtra (Chŏng, 200). Bādāmi is famous for its cave temples, and the area around Nasik also has many cave temples that exist to this day. Thus, both locations accord with Hyecho's description. Given that Hyecho notes that it took three months to travel here from Central India, there is a great possibility that the city Hyecho is speaking of was Nasik.

80 "Silk fabrics" refer to a combination of two things: 綿 (*mian*) refers to new cotton and 絹 (*juan*) refers to woven silk.

81 An editorial mark on the manuscript notes that (領首) is a scribal error for [首領].

There is a large monastery in the mountains, built not by human hands, but rather by a *yakśa*,[82] [sent][83] by the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna.[84] The monastery is entirely cut out from a mountain, creating pillars that support an edifice three stories high.[85] Its circumference is roughly three hundred paces. When

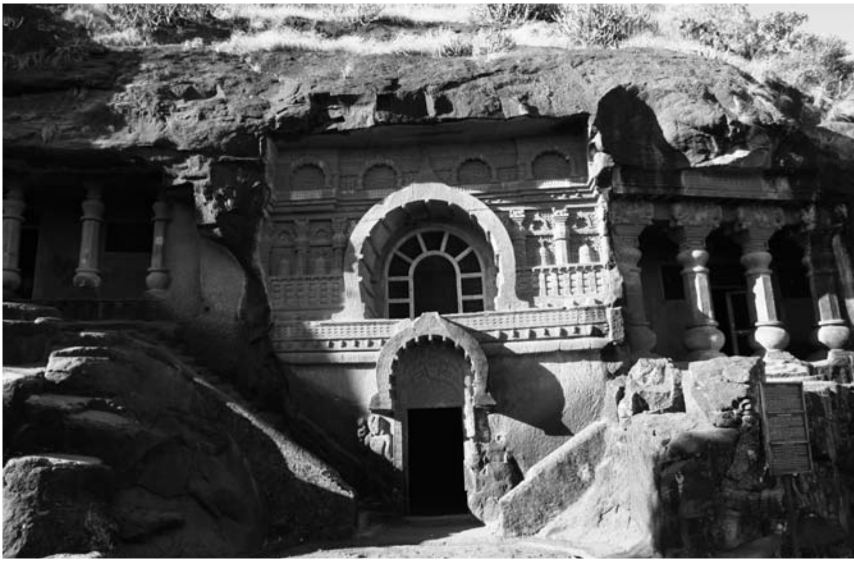
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82 *Yakśa* (夜叉): this protector of the dharma is one of the so-called, "eight kinds of beings" (八部衆). Usually, this being is written about in conjunction with *rākśasa* (羅刹). Conceived of as beings who lived on earth or in the skies, they were previously known as a group that bothered and injured humans. In Buddhism, they have taken on the role of protectors of the dharma. In the scriptures, they are always described as gods who protect the "true dharma." Also, in regard to the Medicine Buddha, it is said that there are twelve *yakśas* who protect those who memorize and hold fast to the *Original Vows of the Medicine-Master Tathāgata of Lapis Lazuli Light* (藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經).

83 In the manuscript, the character (便) is assumed to be a mistake for [使].

84 Nāgārjuna (龍樹): the founder of the Indian Madhyamaka (中觀學派) school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He was born in southern India around the second or third century (150–250). He was schooled in the Vedas as a youth and is said to have become a Buddhist monk after an incident where, with three friends, he used his magic skills to render himself invisible and flirt with palace women. When their ruse failed and they were discovered, his friends were killed before his very eyes, upon which he promised to become a monk. Upon his entrance into the sangha, he became well versed with the entire Buddhist canon, but found this unsatisfying and went to the Himalayas where he was entrusted by an old master with the Mahāyāna-sūtras. Following this, he went to the "Dragon Palace" where he obtained many more Mahāyāna texts, the teachings of which he quickly absorbed. At this time, the king of South India was a follower of Brahmanism and had sought to attack the Buddha dharma, but Nāgārjuna enlightened him to the Buddhist teachings. Following this, Nāgārjuna worked tirelessly to spread the dharma, authoring explanatory texts about the Mahāyāna, and in establishing a system of Mahāyāna studies, spread the *prajñā* doctrine of the Mahāyāna throughout India. From this point on, among all eight schools of the Mahāyāna that were propagated, he was revered by all of them as a patriarch, placed at the very centre of Mahāyāna thought. Among his greatest disciples were Āryadeva (3rd century) and many others. The writings attributed to Nāgārjuna include the *Madhyamaka-śāstra, Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra, Śūnyatā-saptati śāstra, Vigrahavyāvartanī, Bhavasaṅkrānti Śāstra, Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā, Mahāyānaviṁśaka, Bodhisambhāra-śāstra*, and others. With so many influential texts to his name, he is called the "master of a thousand treatises" (千部論主).

85 The site that Hyecho speaks of here is known as a "stone-cave monastery" (石窟寺院). Mountains were often the sites of *caitya* (支提; or stūpa-temple caves 塔院窟), caves and stūpas made out of the rocks cut from the mountain, where stone Buddha statues were enshrined, and also *vihāra* (精舍; or monastery caves 僧院窟), small temples where monks and nuns gathered and practised. Later,



Cave monastery, Nasik, India

Nāgārjuna was living there, over 3000 monks were in residence, and though they had only fifteen *piculs* of rice to eat each day, their stores were never exhausted. As they scooped the rice out, it would reappear to its original amount and never diminish. However, nowadays this temple too has fallen into ruin and no monks remain. It is said that Nāgārjuna lived for seven hundred years before he finally died.

On my journey to South India, I composed this five-character poem:
Staring at the road home on this moonlit night
Only the drifting clouds are floating back.

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the two types of cave sites were combined. The construction of these stone-cave monasteries began around the first or second century BC in southwestern India. The type of site that Hyecho speaks of here can be seen today at the remains of Ellora, a three-story stone cave monastery complex. This cave, together with the Ajanta complex and other cave monasteries, built around the sixth century AD, are located in the vicinity of Nasik.

I want to send a letter along with them,
But the winds blow harshly and pay me no mind.
My country is at the far northern end of the sky
The lands of the others lie in the far western reaches.
Geese don't come to these warm southern climes,
Who will fly to the forest,[86] to deliver my news?

卽從中天國, 南行三箇餘月, 至南天竺國王所住. 王有八百頭象. 境土極寬, 南至南海, 東至東海, 西至西海, 北至中天西天東天等國接界. 衣着飲食人風, 与中天相似, 唯言音稍別, 土地熱於中天. 土地所出, 氎布象水牛黃牛. 亦少有羊, 無駝騾驢等. 有稻田, 無黍粟等. 至於綿絹之屬, 五天惣無. 王及[首領]百姓等, 極敬三寶, 足寺足僧, 大小乘俱行. 於彼山中, 有一大寺, 是龍樹菩薩(使)夜叉神造, 非人所作. 並鑿山爲柱, 三重作樓, 四面方圓三百餘步. 龍樹在日, 寺有三千僧, 獨供養以十五石米, 每日供三千僧, 其米不竭, 取却還生, 元不減少. 然今此寺廢, 無僧也. 龍樹壽年七百, 方始亡也.

于時在南天路, 爲言曰, 五言.
月夜瞻鄉路 浮雲颯颯歸
緘書忝去便 風急不聽廻
我國天岸北 他邦地角西
日南無有鴈 誰爲向林飛

86 The forest spoken of here can be thought of as an as an ordinary forest. However, in China at that time, Hyecho's native Silla was also known as "Rooster Forest" (鷄林, K. Gyerim), owing to the name of the famed site in Silla's capital city, alluding to the legend of the origin of the Silla people, and thus there are many of the view that the "forest" in this poem could very well be an allusion to Hyecho's hometown.

6.
West India

Going on again, I walked north from South India for two months and arrived at the city[87] where the king of West India[88] resides. The king of West India has five or six hundred elephants. The products of this land include cotton cloth, silver, elephants, horses, sheep, and cows. Though they have barley, wheat, and many types of beans, rice is rare. For their meals, they mostly eat bread and barley flour, together with milk, yogurt, and ghee. In the markets, they use silver money, cotton linen, and such as currency.

The king, chiefs, and commoners have the utmost faith and respect for the Three Jewels. There are many monks and monasteries where they practise both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. The land is very broad, extending westward to the West Sea. The majority of the people here sing very well and in this respect, the people of the other four countries cannot compare. Again, there are neither jails nor [punishments][89] such as beatings or the use of the cangue, nor is there a death penalty. Currently, half the country is destroyed, crushed by the invasions[90] of Arabia.[91]

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87 While the capital of Sindh was located in both the middle Indus River region in Alor and the more southern city of Brahmanabad, at the time of Hyecho's visit, it is assumed that he was referring to Brahmanabad, a city recaptured by the king of Sindh.

88 West India (西天竺國): in the *Memoirs*, this is called *Xitianzhuguo* (西天竺國) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, it is called *Xinduguo* (信度國). Currently, this is assumed to be the Sindh region of southern Pakistan. In the beginning of the seventh century, this area was under the rule of King Sīharas who occupied a wide expanse of land, going to Kashmir in the north, Kānyakubja in the east, and Markān to the west. In the mid-seventh century, the country was separated into two parts. Beginning in 711, it was conquered by Muslim Arab armies, and in the following year, the two capitals fell. Subsequently, the Arab governor-generals continued a sequence of regaining and losing the land of this region (Kuwayama, 83–84).

89 As above (see note 47) the character (形) in the manuscript is assumed to be a scribal error for the homophone [刑].

90 This was an instance when Arabs took over another nation to further the doctrine advocated

Also, following the law of the five Indian kingdoms, people do not carry food when travelling, as they are able to eat by begging wherever they go. Only kings and chiefs bring food with them when they travel, not eating the food offered by commoners.[92]

又從南天北行兩月, 至西天國王住城. 此西天王, 亦五六百頭象. 土地所出, 氎布及銀象馬羊牛. 多出大小二麥及諸荳等, 稻穀全少. 食多餠麨乳酪蘇油. 市買用銀錢氎布之屬. 王及首領百姓等, 極敬信三寶, 足寺足僧, 大小乘俱行. 土地甚寬, 西至西海. 國人多善唱歌, 餘四天國, 不如此國. 又無枷棒牢獄(刑)戮等事. 見今被大寔來侵, 半國已損. 又五天法, 出外去者, 不將粮食, 到處卽便乞得食也. 唯王首領等出, 自賫粮, 不食百姓祇糙.

by the Prophet Muhammad (570?–632) to spread the faith to countries of different religions. After Muhammad conquered Mecca with his Muslim army in 630, the bulk of the Arabian peninsula came under the sway of Islam. He died of illness in Medina in 632, upon which the elder Abu Bakr was chosen as the successor to the prophet (Caliph). During his short period of service, he subdued all the Arab tribes, led expeditions against the Byzantium Empire in Syria and the Persian Empire of the Sassanid dynasty based in Iraq. This great conquest was fully realized during the period of the second caliphate (634–644) of Umar and continued thereafter as well. During the period of the Umayyad dynasty, which lasted until 750, this conquest continued to the east into central Asia and northwestern India, to the west until northern Africa, and as far as the Iberian Peninsula and France. This period included numerous advances into the capital of the Bynzantine Empire, Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) (see Kim, 140–142). In 710, Qutaybah, the governor-general of Iraq, dispatched Muhammad bin Qasim Al-Thaqafi to the region of the Indus River, where he conquered Sindh. At the time of Hyecho's visit, this region had already fallen prey to these Arab invasions, entering a continuous period of being partially conquered, recovering again, and then seesawing back and forth.

91 Arabia: the *Memoirs* uses the term Dashi (大寔), a transliteration of Tajik, to refer to the Arabs. Dashiguo (大寔國), also written (大食國), was the name for the Arab state in southern and western Iran during the Tang and Song dynasties.

92 The term used in the manuscript for this food is *zhicao* (祇糙, "respect rice" or "Jeta[vana] rice") and refers to any food given as a Buddhist offering or general donation.

7.
Jālaṇdhara

Leaving West India and travelling north for more than three months, I arrived in North India[93] to a land called Jālaṇdhara.[94] The king has three hundred elephants and lives in a city built on a mountain. From here northwards, the number of mountains increases and the country narrows. The territory is small and the military forces meager. As they often fall victim to being conquered by Central India and Kashmir,[95] they have built their city on the mountain. Though their clothes, customs, and language are similar to that in Central India, the weather here is a bit cooler, but there is neither frost nor snow, only cold and blustery winds. The lands here offer[96] elephants, cotton cloth, rice, and barley. There are a few donkeys and mules.

93 As was the case with Central India, North India here does not refer to the single country of Jālaṇdhara (see following note) but rather must be seen to include a number of different countries. According to Xuanzang's categorization, besides Jālaṇdhara, Takshar, Kashmir, Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Kuwi, Laṃpāka and others were all included within North India. However, after Kashmir, Hyecho began making comparisons between other nations and the Five Indian kingdoms: thus it seems that he thought that only Kashmir was included within North India.

94 Jālaṇdhara (also Jālaṇdhara): rendered as *Shelandaluo* (闍蘭達羅) in the *Memoirs* and as *Shelandaluo* (闍爛達羅) with a different second character in the *Record of the Western Regions* (*juan* 4). This area corresponds to the present-day Jālaṇdhara region of Punjab in northern India. When Xuanzang was on his return to China from India, he travelled from Paryaga with Udita, king of Jālaṇdhara, and his military escort, entrusted with Buddhist scriptures and statues. Harṣavardhana gave elephants, gold, and silver to Udita to help pay for Xuanzang's travel expenses. In the mid-seventh century, the Chinese monk Xuanzhao (玄照) came to Jālaṇdhara from Tibet, spending four years there studying scriptures, and going on to Mahābodhi Temple. Such facts speak to this site's key importance as a transportation centre (Kuwayama, 87).

95 Kashmir (迦葉彌羅): on the main commercial route between the plains of India and Xinjiang and Tibet, the area described here corresponds to the present-day region of Srinagar.

96 An editing mark in the manuscript indicates that the characters (有出) are a scribal transposition of [出有].

The king has one hundred head of horses and the chiefs have three or four, while commoners have none. The western regions of this land are a plain, and nearby to the east are the snow-covered Himalaya mountains.[97] There are many monks and monasteries, and both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are practiced

> 又從西天北行三箇餘月, 至北天國也, 名闍蘭達羅國. 王有三百頭象, 依山作城而住. 從玆已北, 漸漸有山, 爲國狹小. 兵馬不多, 常被中天及迦葉弥羅國屢屢所呑, 所以依山而住. 人風衣着言音, 与中天不殊. 土地稍冷於中天等也, 亦無霜雪, 但有風冷. 土地所[出有]象氎布稻麥, 驢騾少有. 其王有馬百疋, 首領三五疋, 百姓並無. 西是平川, 東近雪山. 國內, 足寺足僧, 大小乘俱行.

97 Himalayas: in the original text, this is translated into Chinese as *xueshan* "Snow Mountains" (雪山); in Sanskrit, *hima* means "snows" and *alaya* means "place of." This range extends from northwestern India across the width of the sub-continent. While it once referred only to the area near the source of the Ganges River, in time, it has come to refer to the entire range. The range spans from the northwest to the southeast taking on the shape of a bow, going through northern Pakistan and India, Sikkim, southern Tibet, Nepal, and Bhutan, with its many branches contributing to a massive mountain system. While the meaning of the term *xueshan* differs according to context, here it refers to an area spanning from the southwestern portion of the Pamirs to the Hindu Kush range. During the era of King Aśoka, Buddhism was widespread throughout this entire region.

8.
Suvarṇagotra

A month's travel across the Himalayas[98] to the east, there is a small country called Suvarṇagotra. It falls under the rule of the Tibetans.[99] Their clothing is similar to that of North India, but the language is different. The climate is very cold.

又一月程過雪山, 東有一小國, 名蘇跋那具怛羅. 屬土蕃國所管. 衣着與北天相似, 言音卽別. 土地極寒也.

98 Suvarṇagotra (蘇跋那具怛羅; Skt. 'golden country'): this is rendered in the *Memoirs* as *Subanajudaluo* (蘇跋那具怛羅), and as *Sufalanabajuda* (蘇伐剌拏跋瞿呾) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. Located to the west of Tibet, the country was ruled by a queen, and thus is also known as the "women's kingdom." Though her husband was considered king, he did not participate in governmental affairs. As this land was located as a route towards central Asia, it is thought to have been joined with Tibet in 650 AD. In China's understanding, besides the "women's kingdom," there was also the "east women's kingdom," located between eastern Tibet and Sichuan.

99 Tibet: in the *Memoirs*, Hyecho uses the name *Tufan* (土蕃) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, it was also named *Tufan*, but with a different first character (吐蕃). These were the appellations used by the Tang and Song dynasties in China from the seventh to the mid-ninth century, to refer to the Tibetan kingdom and its people. The Tibetans referred to themselves as Boe, but the Chinese used the word Tufan, and even after the fall of the Tibetan kingdom around the fourteenth century, they continued to use this name. Tibet's ancestors originally resided between the area from northwestern Nepal to the eastern portions of Kashmir where they expanded their strength. They eventually moved into the Kham region of Tibet around the fourth or fifth century, when they became much more powerful. In the latter half of the sixth century, they established a stronghold in the south-central region of present-day Tibet, establishing the foundation of a new dynasty, and beginning with the reign of Songtsän Gampo, a state system was organized and a powerful nation began to take shape. After his death, they enveloped the territorial possessions of the Tuyuhun, then battled with the Tang dynasty, gradually intensifying the scale of their warfare. Applying the organization of their military state and the mobility of their cavalry forces, from the latter half of the eighth century on, they took over sovereignty of the western reaches of Tang. However, around this same time, the influence of a burgeoning Buddhist ideology was beginning to be felt, and in 822 they signed a peace treaty with China. Subsequently, the dream arose of establishing an ideal state along Buddhist lines, and with the contradictions inherent in simultaneously operating as a military state, the empire collapsed in 846.

9.
Takshar

Walking to the west from Jālaṇdhara for one month, I arrived at [Takshar].[100] Their language is a little different, but more or less similar. Their clothes and customs, their local products, seasons, and temperature are all similar to North India. Here too you will find many monasteries and monks, practicing both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. The king, chiefs, and commoners all believe in the Three Jewels and hold them in high regard.

又從此闍蘭達羅國西行經一月, 至[吒社]國. 言音稍別, 大分相似. 衣着人風, 土地所出, 節氣寒暖, 与北天相似. 亦足寺足僧, 大小乘俱行. 王及首領百姓等, 大敬信三寶.

100 Takshar: this country is also known as Takka and Takkadeśa; in the *Memoirs*, it is recorded by the name *Zhashe* (吒社), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Zhejia* (磔迦). Situated in the modern Punjab region of Pakistan, this kingdom was almost 4000 km in circumference, with its eastern border at the Bias River, and in the west, the Chenab, a tributary of the Indus. Its capital was Śākala (奢羯羅), which is thought to correspond to the present-day city of Sialkot in Pakistan.

10.
Sindh-Gujarāt

Walking west from Takshar for one month, I arrived at Sindh-Gujarāt.[101] The clothes, customs, seasons, and temperature are much like in North India, but the language is a bit different. There are many camels here, and people happily consume the milk and yogurt they provide. Both king and commoners greatly revere the Three Jewels and there are many monks and monasteries. The treatise master Saṅghabhadra,[102] author of the

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101 Sindh-Gujarāt: regarding the identity of this country, recorded in the manuscript as *Xintou Guluo* (新頭故羅), there are many different opinions, among which it is difficult to choose. Some argue that it is present-day Rājputana, in the Indian state of Rājasthān. Considering Guluo to be the same as *Juzheluo* (瞿折羅) in the *Record of the Western Regions*, there is the idea that it is Sindh-Gujarāt, located in present day Gujarāt. Presently, Sindh is in southern Pakistan, and Gujarāt state lies in western India. However, while the modern-day area of Gujarāt exists between Jhelum and the city of Lahore to the south, it is located directly next to Takshar and thus raises a major discrepancy with Hyecho's travel itinerary, since both in this entry and in the next he speaks of this place being one month's travel to the west of Takshar, and 15 days south of Kashmir (see note 115, below). This would suggest that it could be the city of Poonch (recorded in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Bannajie* (半笯蹉), located between the northern Punjab cities of Taxila, Jhelum, and Srinagar (Kuwayama, 90–91)). Here again, a problem arises given that Hyecho clearly states the place name as *Xintou Guluo*. Given this, while acknowledging the possibility that it may be another country, we follow Hyecho's transliteration and identify the place as Sindh-Gujarāt.

102 Saṅghabhadra (衆賢): according to the *Record of the Western Regions*, Saṅghabhadra wrote the *Abhidharma-Nyāyānusāra śāstra* in Kashmir and died in Mandawar (秣底補羅), Central India. However, The *Life of Vasubandhu* differs in saying that he wrote in Ayodhya. Very bright from a young age, he quickly gained renown, mastering the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*. After Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāsya* totally reconfigured the Sarvāstivāda school by including the tenets of the Sautrāntika and criticizing the Vibhāṣā masters, Saṅghabhadra spent twelve years in diligent cultivation and took up criticism of Vasubandhu from a traditional Sarvāstivāda standpoint in his work, the *Abhidharma-Nyāyānusāra śāstra*. Together with his fellow students, he went to debate with Vasubandhu directly, but Vasubandhu went elsewhere. Thereafter, Saṅghabhadra sent his treatise to Vasubandhu who was said to have accepted the gist of the argument.

Abhidharma-Nyāyānusāra śāstra,[103] is from this land. Both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are practiced here. Currently, half the nation has suffered much damage due to the invasion of the Arabs.

Here, as well as in the rest of the five Kingdoms, they abstain from drinking much alcohol. In all my travels throughout India, I have not seen any drunkards fighting. Though there may be some who do imbibe, their faces just turn a bit red, raise their spirits, and that's it. You do not see rollicking drinkers, singing, feasting and making a show of themselves.

又從此吒國西行一月, 至新頭故羅國. 衣着風俗, 節氣寒暖, 与北天相似, 言音稍別. 此國極足駱駝, 國人取乳酪喫也. 王及百姓等, 大敬三寶, 足寺足僧. 卽造順正理論衆賢論師, 是此國人也. 此國大小乘俱行. 見今大寔侵, 半國損也. 卽從此國, 乃至五天, 不多飲酒. 遍歷五天, 不見有醉人相打之者. 縱有飲者, 得色得力而已, 不見有歌儛作劇飲宴之者.

Again in North India,[104] there is a monastery called Tamasāvana.[105] During the Buddha's lifetime, he came here to discourse on his teachings and

103 *Abhidharma-Nyāyānusāra śāstra* (阿毘達磨順正理論): an 80-fascicle text, written by the Indian monk Saṅghabhadra and translated by Xuanzang. Also known as the *Suishilun* (隨實論), and the *Jushebaolun* (俱舍雹論), its abbreviated title is the *Nyāyānusāra śāstra* (順正理論). An assertion from the standpoint of the Sarvāstivāda school, it is aimed as a refutation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāsya* and intended to increase the stature of the Sarvāstivāda. It comprises eight sections: discrimination of general subjects, discrimination of particular subjects, discrimination of causes, discrimination of actions, discrimination of passions, discrimination of noble persons, discrimination of knowledge, and discrimination of meditation.

104 Drawing upon the sentence in the *Record of the Western Regions* that states: "Going some five hundred li from the great capital [at Cinabhukti], I arrived at the Tamasāvana monastery where some three hundred monks study the Sarvāstivāda" (T 2087.51.889b28–29. 大城東南行五百餘里, 至答秣蘇伐那僧伽藍[唐言闇林]. 僧徒三百餘人, 學說一切有部), it is thought by some that in Hyecho's account, there is an omission after he mentions North India, where it should state, "I went to Cinabhukti."

105 Tamasāvana (多摩三磨娜): in the *Memoirs*, the name of this monastery is transcribed as *Tuomosanmonuo* (多摩三磨娜), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Damosufana sengjielan* (答秣蘇伐那僧伽藍) in Cinabhukti (至那僕底). When Xuanzang visited, there were some three hundred monks studying the Sarvāstivāda.

awakened many gods and humans.[106] To the east of the monastery is a valley, and next to the spring that feeds its stream there is a stūpa, inside which is some hair and a fingernail of the Buddha. There are some three hundred or so monks in residence here. There are also *śarīra*[107] bones and the teeth of a great *pratyekabuddha*.[108] There are another seven or eight monasteries in the area, with each housing some five to six hundred monks who uphold the dharma well.[109] The king and commoners have exceptional reverence for the Three Jewels.

In the mountains there is a temple called Nagaradhana.[110] It is said that there was a Chinese monk who died there. According to the words of an

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106 The expression *rentian* (六道) refers to the worlds of humans and gods. Among the six destinies (六道) in Buddhist cosmology, those who cannot achieve enlightenment are transformed through samsara into the realms of delusion, including the realms of hell-beings, hungry ghosts, animals, and *asuras*. The two realms spoken of here are considered to be the "good destinies" (善道).

107 *Sarīra* (*sheli*, 舍利): originally, this referred to a corpse or cremated remains. After the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, he was cremated and his remains were distributed to the eight great stūpas (see note 38, above). These sites then became the central focus of the Buddhist faith. In general, when esteemed masters die, they are cremated and the remaining bones and ashes are enshrined in a stūpa in a similar fashion. According to volume four of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-*(*uttama*)*-sūtra, sarīra* are difficult to produce and are only developed in a body after vigorous cultivation of the precepts, meditative concentration, and wisdom.

108 *Pratyekabuddha* (*bizhifo*, 辟支佛): loosely translated into Chinese as "enlightened by contemplation on dependent arising" (緣覺) or as "solitary realizer" (獨覺). One of the three vehicles, along with the *śrāvaka* (聲聞) and bodhisattva (菩薩), it is considered by Mahāyāna practitioners to be one of the two vehicles of the Hinayāna, along with the *śrāvaka*. These are people who enlighten themselves without masters. However, this can have two meanings. One is that owing to one's great karma in the past, even though born into a world without a Buddha or the presence of the dharma, one can still become enlightened. The other is that one can become enlightened without the benefit of hearing teachings from another person, solely through the complete understanding of the twelve limbs of dependent origination (十二因緣).

109 Though the expression used here to describe the behaviour of the monks (*zhuchi* 住持) often refers to a monk in charge of managing a temple, its original meaning both in the scriptures and here, was "to sincerely uphold and treasure the dharma or three jewels."

110 Nagaradhana: this temple name is transcribed as *Najieluotonuo* (那揭羅馱娜) in the *Memoirs*; in the second volume of the *Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of Dacien Temple* (大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳), it

esteemed monk, "the Chinese monk came from Central India and was quite brilliant, being very well-versed in the sacred teachings of the Tripitaka.[111] Just as he was about to head back to his homeland, he came down with a sudden illness and passed away."

Hearing this, my heart ached. Deeply saddened at his meeting such an end, I composed a five-character verse with four rhymes:

Your hometown lamp's owner is not to be found
In a faraway land, the treasure tree's been cut down.
Where did the divine spirit of the departed go?
The once jade-like appearance is already ashes now.
Thinking of this, my sincere sorrow is so deep
Your dreams unfulfilled, now I too must grieve.
Who knows the way back to your hometown?
I stare in vain, the white clouds alone can return.

is given as *Naqieluotonuo* (那伽羅馱那). According to the *Biography*, Xuanzang went to this temple in Jālaṃdhara where he met the Tripitaka Master Candravarma (旃達羅伐摩), also known in Chinese as Yuezhou (月冑), and studied the Vibhāṣā for four months (T 2053.50.232b6–8). In the *Record of the Western Regions*, however, Xuanzang mentions some fifty or so temples in Jālaṃdhara, but does not name any of them.

111 Trīṇi piṭakāni (三藏): the collected Buddhist teachings, divided into *sūtra* (經), *vinaya* (律), and *abhidharma* (論). The word *piṭaka* (藏) means something akin to a basket or storehouse. While the scriptures are classified into three different sections, since the knowledge of the totality is incorporated within all the teachings, the term "storehouse" was used. In addition, as the dharma was transmitted via masters who memorized the scriptures and recited them to their disciples, the 'storehouse' was also used to refer to this process of recitation by memory. Of the three 'baskets', the *sūtra* are said to be the Buddha's means of using his sermons to match his theories with the spiritual capabilities of all sentient beings. The vinaya are the rules for the social life of the order, the chosen restraints that act to pacify the minds and regulate the mistakes of sentient beings. The abhidharma serve to further the debate and explanation of the scriptures, advancing interpretations for future generations, and providing a systematized analysis of them.

又從北天國, 有一寺, 名多摩三磨娜. 仏在之日, 來此說法, 廣度人天. 此寺東澗裏於泉水邊, 有一塔, 則仏所剃頭及剪爪甲, 在此塔中. 此見有三百餘僧, 寺有大辟支仏牙及骨舍利等. 更有七八所寺, 各五六百人, 大好住持. 王及百姓等, 非常敬信. 又山中, 有一寺, 名那揭羅馱娜. 有一漢僧, 於此寺身亡, 彼大德說,"從中天來, 明閑三藏聖教. 將欲還鄉, 忽然違和, 便卽化矣."

于時聞說, 莫不傷心, 便題四韻, 以悲冥路, 五言.

故里燈無主 他方寶樹摧
神靈去何處 玉皃已成灰
憶想哀情切 悲君願不隨
孰知鄉國路 空見白雲歸

11.
Kashmir

Leaving here towards the north, I walked for fifteen days into the mountains and arrived in Kashmir.[112] While Kashmir may fall under the sway of North India, it is rather large. The king[113] has three hundred elephants and lives in the mountains. The roads are treacherous and as a result, they are not invaded by foreign nations. The population is large, with many poor people and very few wealthy ones. The king, chiefs, and the rich wear clothes like in Central India, while commoners [wrap] themselves[114] in woolen blankets, covering their unseemly areas.

Their products include copper and iron, fine-wool cloth, woolen blankets, cattle, and sheep. They also have elephants, small horses, hard-grained rice, grapes,[115] and other various things. It is very cold here, not at all like the

112 Kashmir: in the *Memoirs*, this is transcribed as *Jiashemiluo* (迦葉彌羅), Jialuo (迦羅) and *Jiamiluo* (迦彌羅), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jiashimiluo* (迦濕彌羅). At the time of the writing of the Han and Wei histories (漢魏), this region was referred to as Jibin (罽賓). Located on the trade route between the Indian plains and the regions of present-day Xinjiang and Tibet, this area is presumed to have served as a main channel for the transmission of Buddhism to central Asia. Presently, it is part of the northwestern Indian region centred around Srinagar. The present boundaries of the Kashmir region place its southern portion within India and its northern areas within Pakistan, with both nations asserting the entire region as their sole possession. They share provisional management, but it remains the focal point of a major boundary dispute to this day.

113 It is presumed that the Kashmir king at the time of Hyecho's visit was King Lalitāditya (r. 724–760) of the Karkota dynasty that reigned from the seventh to ninth century, but according to oral tradition, the king is thought to be either Candrāpīḍa or Muktāpīḍa (Kuwayama, 98).

114 The character (枝) in the manuscript is assumed to be a scribal error for [被].

115 The characters for "grapes" are most often written as 葡萄, while in the *Records of the Historian* (史記), the characters 蒲陶 are used. During the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties, the characters 蒲桃 were also used. The characters used here in the *Memoirs*, 蒱桃, are an alternate transcription. During the Tang and Song dynasties, Kashmir's specialties of rice and grapes became well known.



Road to Kashmir from Srinagar, India

places I have spoken about up to now. There is frost in autumn, and snow in winter; monsoon rains in the summer bring with them the blooming of all sorts of plants and their verdant leaves, which then die and scatter in fall. The valleys and streams here are narrow. From south to north, the valley is only a five-day walk, and from east to west, only a single day's journey.[116] The [arable] land is very restricted; the rest is comprised of densely packed mountains.

The roofs of the homes are all covered with wooden planks. They use neither thatch nor tiles. The king, chiefs, and commoners are extremely reverent of the Three Jewels. There is a 'Dragon Lake'[117] here, and a Dragon

116 The Kashmir basin lies from the northwest to the southeast, spanning some 135 km in length, and 40 km at its widest.

117 The Dragon Lake refers to Wular Lake, the largest body of water in the Kashmir basin, located some 35 km northwest of Srinagar. From long ago, this region has revered the *nāga* as the protector deity of this region. The *nāga* are dragon-like creatures said to live in water. These creatures have featured predominantly in the folk religions of this area and the name *nāga* appears in many place names of the region (Kuwayama, 102).

King, who makes offerings to [one thousand][118] arhats[119] daily. Though nobody has seen the holy monks eat this food, when it has occurred, rice and bread can be seen floating from below onto the water surface, so by this it is known and these offerings continue to this day. When travelling, the king and the biggest chiefs ride elephants. Minor officials ride horses and the commoners walk. There are many monks and monasteries here, and they practise both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.

又從此北行十五日入山, 至迦羅國. 此迦弥羅, 亦是北天數, 此國稍大. 王有三百頭象, 住在山中. 道路險惡, 不被外國所侵. 人民極衆, 貧多富少. 王及首領諸富有者, 衣着与中天不殊, 自外百姓, 悉(枝)毛毯, 覆其形醜. 土地出, 銅鐵氎布毛毯牛羊, 有象少馬粳米蒲桃之類. 土地極寒, 不同已前諸國. 秋霜冬雪, 夏足霜雨, 百卉亘青, 葉彫, 冬草悉枯. 川谷狹小, 南北五日程, 東西一日行, 土地卽盡, 餘並蔭山. 屋並板木覆, 亦不用草瓦. 王及首領百姓等, 甚敬三寶. 國內有一龍池, 彼龍王, 每日供養[一千]羅漢僧. 雖無人見彼聖僧食, 亦過齋已, 卽見餅飯從水下紛紛亂上, 以此得知. 迄今供養不絶. 王及大首領出外乘象, 小官乘馬, 百姓並皆途步. 國內足寺足僧, 大小乘俱行.

Customs of the Five Indian Kingdoms

118 Editing marks in the manuscript show that the characters (千一) in the manuscript are a scribal error for [一千].

119 Arhats: (阿羅漢): one of the "four fruits" of the *śrāvaka* path, it is also one of the ten epithets of the "thus-come one." Among its translations into Chinese are the terms *yinggong*, "one who deserves offerings"(應供); *busheng*, "unborn" (不生); *wusheng*, "non-arisen" (無生); *wuxue*, "unlearned" (無學); and *zhenren*, "true person" (眞人). These terms all refer to one who has perceived truth within the samsaric journey through the three realms of the desire, form, and formless worlds, ending afflictions of misperception, practising spiritual cultivation, and bringing an end to every emotional and physical affliction. Through a perfect awareness of true knowledge, they have become fully deserving of earning offerings from those in the secular world. While both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna share this stage of realization in common, in the Hinayāna it represents the highest stage of attainment.

In accordance with the law of the five Indian kingdoms,[120] from [the king, his queen, and the princes] above,[121] down to the chiefs, and their wives, they all construct temples separately, according to their capacities. They do this individually, not together. It is said that, "As each has their own virtue and karma, what need is there for us to build together?" As this is so, other princes do the same. Generally speaking, after a temple is founded, a village and its inhabitants are immediately donated to the temple as an offering to the Three Jewels. Nobody builds a temple without a purpose, nor without offering a village and its people.

According to the custom of this foreign land, the king and queen each possess their own villages and residents. Princes and chiefs also possess their own inhabitants. When these are donated to temples, this is done independently, without [asking for approval] from the king.[122] The building of temples is the same. They simply go ahead and build temples when they need to, and the king never interferes. This is because he fears being tainted with any bad karma he would receive from such an act.

As for the rich, if they have some people, but no villages of their own to donate, they too found temples and manage them on their own, making offerings to the Three Jewels of the riches they have earned.

Because there is no selling of humans in the five kingdoms, there are no slaves. As such, those who must give alms are the commoners and villagers.

五天國法, 上(至國王)王妃王子, 下至首領及妻, 隨其力能, 各自造寺也. 還別作, 不共修營. 彼云 "各自功德, 何須共造?" 此既如然. 餘王子等亦爾. 凡造寺供養,

120 It is thought that Hyecho's account here of the customs of the Five Kingdoms indicates that Kashmir is the last country to be considered as being within their realm. This differs from Xuanzang, who also included within North India countries such as Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Kuwi, Laṃpāka, and others.

121 At this point in the manuscript, three characters (至國王) are repeated and have been omitted in the translation.

122 In the original, (不 [問] 王也) the missing character is thought to be [問], 'asking'. This assumption is supported by a similar formulation in the very next column: (亦不問王).

卽施村庄百姓供養三寶, 無有空造寺, 不施百姓者. 爲外國法. 王及妃姤, 各別村庄百姓, 王子首領, 各有百姓. 布施自由, 不(問)王也. 造寺亦然, 須造卽造, 亦不問王, 王亦不敢遮, 怕招罪也. 若富有百姓, 雖無村庄布施, 亦勵力造寺, 以自經紀得物, 供養三寶. 爲五天不賣人, 無有奴婢, 要須布施百姓村薗也.

12.
Greater Bolor, Yangtong, Suoboci

After fifteen days of travel through the mountains north-east from Kashmir I arrived in Greater Bolor,[123] Yangtong,[124] and Suoboci,[125] three countries all falling under the jurisdiction of Tibet.[126] Though their clothes and languages are all different, they all wear furs, fine-wool shirts, leather boots and trousers. The [arable] land is narrow, and the mountain streams are precipitous. There are monasteries and monks here, and they revere and have faith in the Three

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123 Greater Bolor: in the *Memoirs*, Hyecho renders this as *Dabolü* (大勃律), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, Xuanzang records it as *Boluluo* (鉢露羅). This region is in the area of present-day Bolor, an area to the north of Kashmir and falling within its administrative control. As an important transportation hub, its name appears in many different historical records. In the *Luoyang qielanji* (洛陽伽藍記, *Record of Monasteries in Luoyang*), it is called *Bolule* (鉢廬勒) and in section 221 of the *New Tang History*, it is named *Bulu* (布露). From the mid-seventh century on, Bolor was divided into Greater Bolor and Lesser Bolor, with Greater corresponding to present-day Bolor and Lesser located to the northwest, in the Gilgit area of northwest Pakistan. At this point, Greater Bolor fell under the control of Tibet, and Lesser Bolor came under control of the Tang dynasty (Kuwayama, 108). Under Tang rule, the leader of Bolor was invested with the title of king. This made the area a key region in the intercourse between India and China, whose control was meant as a check on the power of Tibet to the south, and the Arabs to the west. The present region of Bolor lies between Ladakh to the east and and Gilgit to the west, in the western area of the Himalaya range. With many peaks thrusting over 7,000 m, there are glaciers here as well. Located at the upper waters of the Indus River, its villages are arrayed sporadically along the deep valleys.

124 Yangtong (楊同): in the *Tang History*, this is written as Yangtong (羊同). It is thought to have been located in the area running from southeast Kashmir to western Tibet, or the area directly between eastern Ladakh and Guge (Kuwayama, 107). They had diplomatic relations with China, sending ambassadors and the like, but by the mid-seventh century, they were destroyed by Tibet.

125 Suoboci (娑播慈): this is thought to be the area of present-day Sa spo rtse, located opposite Alchi on the banks of the Indus River, to the west of the city of Leh in the northwestern Indian region of Ladakh (Kuwayama, 107). It is east of the modern-day central Kashmir city of Srinagar. In the pertinent section of *The Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures*, it is called Poboci (婆簸慈).

126 From the seventh to the ninth century, Tibet had advanced into central Asia, commanding this

Jewels. Further to the east, in the lands to the east like Tibet, there are no monasteries whatsoever and the Buddhadharma is unknown,[127] but since the people of this land are Hu,[128] they believe in the Buddha's teachings.[129]

又迦葉弥羅國東北隔山十五日程, 卽是大勃律國, 楊同國, 娑播慈國. 此三國, 並屬吐蕃所管. 衣着言音人風並別, 着皮裘氎衫靴袴等也. 地狭小, 山川極險. 亦有寺有僧, 敬信三寶. 若是已東吐番, 惣無寺舍, 不識佛法, 當土是胡, 所以信也.

main transportation route. These three countries listed here were located on this route facing west from central Tibet. The closest of these, Yangtong, came under subjugation in 643–645. Around the time of Hyecho's visit, (approximately 725–728) we know that these regions, along with Suvarṇagotra, had definitely fallen under Tibetan control. Hyecho's account is said to be the first clear record of these three countries becoming Tibetan territory.

127 It cannot be verified whether or not at this time Tibet indeed had no temples or was without the Buddhadharma as is stated here. Legend has it that the earliest arrival of Buddhism in Tibet took place during the reign of King Songtsän Gampo (r. 629–650) when his queen, Tang Princess Wencheng (文成), brought it with her from China. In addition, it is certain that by the seventh century a temple had been constructed in Lhasa, and that the king at the time of Hyecho's visit, Mes-ag-tshoms (r. 712–754) married the Tang Princess Jincheng (金城), and granted support to Buddhism. However, with the king's death, Buddhism again withered. As a result, the official recognition of Buddhism in Tibet took place during the reign of his successor, Trisong Detsän (r. 755–796). Until this time, Buddhism was not readily known to commoners, and as such, from his vantage point in Kashmir, Hyecho would have known little about the true state of Buddhism in Tibet.

128 Hu (胡): before the Qin and Han dynasties in China, this term referred to the Xiongnu (匈奴) people, and from the Qin period onward, in line with the pacification of the western boundary areas (四夷), foreign peoples of the west came to be called Western Rong, Xirong (西戎) or Western Hu, *Xihu* (西胡), both terms generally meaning "western foreigners" or, less charitably, "western barbarians." During the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties, these terms were used to refer to the Iranians and especially Sogdians of the western regions, and in time, this term spread to be used for other ethnic groups beyond the border regions. During the Tang and Song dynasties especially, it referred to everything from Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Mongolia all the way to Russia. After the Sui dynasty, India was no longer included within the Hu. As used in this case, it refers to various ethnicities and countries of central Asia.

129 As the Turks were not Buddhists, this phrase is meant as a relative expression. Even today, in southern Pamir, located near western Tibet, the presence of rock art with Buddhist content is very widespread.

13.
Tibet

East of here is Tibet[130] where they live in wool tents pitched between gorges and mountains totally frozen and covered in snow. With no town walls or houses, their dwellings are like those of the Turks.[131]

They move in rhythm with the grasslands and waters, while the king alone lives in one place. Yet even he has no castle, residing simply in a woolen tent.[132] Their land produces sheep, horses, and yaks,[133] as well as carpets and hemp. They wear clothes of fur, hemp, and leather, men and women alike. The weather is very cold, more so than in other countries. At home, they

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130 See note 99.

131 Turks: in both the *Memoirs* and the *Record of the Western Regions*, this was transcribed as *Tujue* (突厥). It was a name for both the ethnicity and the country. In its wide meaning, it includes the various tribes of the Tiele (鐵勒) and the Turks (突厥); its narrow meaning refers only to the Göktürk (突厥汗國). In the beginning of the sixth century, at the southwestern foot of the Jinshan (金山, present-day Altai Mountains) the first nomadic settlement was founded. In 552 the government was founded in the Orkhon River basin, and by the latter half of the sixth century, the kingdoms of the western regions were all subdued, and its domain had come to encompass a huge expanse ranging from the Liaodong peninsula to the Caspian Sea, from Lake Baikal to the Gobi Desert. Creating a writing system as well as a governmental organization, they had many interactions with the outer world. Commanding the central Asian Silk Road and taking part in various cultural and commercial enterprises, they left a major mark on the world of east-west cultural exchange. In 583, they were separated into Eastern and Western Göktürk. In 658, the Western Göktürk became subordinate to the Tang, and in the middle of the eighth century, the Eastern Göktürk separated and from this arose the Uighur Empire (*see* Chŏng Su-il, 400–403).

132 The traditional dwelling or yurt of the nomadic Tibetan people appeared in the Chinese historical texts as a mobile tent called the *fulu* (拂廬).

133 Yak (猫牛): the wild black cattle of Tibet. Though similar to domestic cattle, their stature is bigger and their shoulders are very wide. They have short, stout legs, with long brown and black hair falling down beneath their bodies. With many yaks living in north India, central Asia, and the Tibetan plateau, their milk, meat, hide and hair are widely used, and they are also valuable as pack animals. Their hair is used to make clothing and tents.

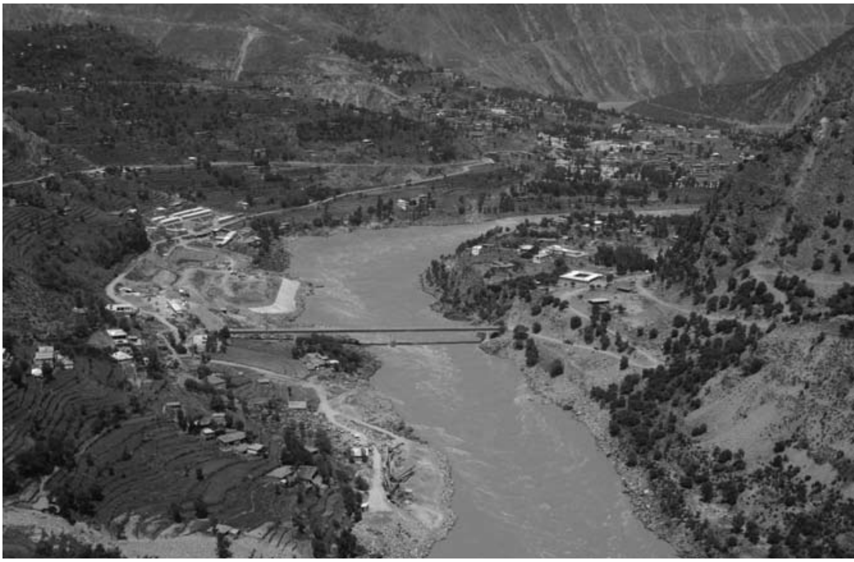
always eat barley flour, and a small amount of breads. Neither the royalty nor commoners know anything of the Buddha's teachings and there are no monasteries. They dig pits in the ground, lying there to sleep, using neither chairs nor beds. The people are very dark, with those of fair complexion exceedingly rare. Their language is quite different from the other countries. They love catching and eating lice, and since they wear furs and hemp, such creatures are very common. When they notice one, they catch it and immediately toss it in their mouths. They would never let it go.

已東吐番國, 純住氷山雪山川谷之間, 以氈帳而居, 無有城墎屋舍. 處所与突厥相似, 隨逐水草. 其王雖在一處, 亦無城, 但依氈帳以爲居業. 土地出, 羊馬猫牛毯褐之類. 衣着毛褐皮裘, 女人亦爾. 土地極寒, 不同餘國. 家常食麨, 少有餅飯. 國王百姓等, 惣不識仏法, 無有寺舍. 國人悉皆穿地作坑而臥, 無有床席. 人民極黑, 白者全希. 言音与諸國不同. 多愛喫虱, 爲着毛
褐, 甚饒蟣虱. 捉得便抛口裏, 終不棄也.

14.
Lesser Bolor

To the north-west of Kashmir, I travelled seven days through the mountains, arriving at Lesser Bolor.[134] This country is under the control of China. Their clothes, customs, food, and clothing are similar to those in Greater Bolor. They wear fine-wool shirts and leather boots. They cut their hair and shave their faces, and they wear a fine-wool cloth wrapped around their heads. The women let their hair grow. There are many poor people, and very few rich. The mountain streams are narrow, and there is not much cultivated land. The mountains are arid and desolate, and there have never been any grasses or trees there. The king of Lesser Bolor used to live in Greater Bolor, but due to a Tibetan invasion, he was expelled and settled in Lesser Bolor. The army and commoners did not follow and remained behind.

134 Lesser Bolor (located in the present-day area of the northeastern boundary of Pakistan near Gilgit): recorded in the *Memoirs* as *Xiaobolü* (小勃律), and in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Boluluo* (鉢露羅). In volume 221 of the *New Tang History*, it is named *Bulu* (布露). In the mid-seventh century, the country split into Greater Bolor corresponding to present-day Bolor and Lesser Bolor to the Gilgit area of northwest Pakistan. Greater Bolor fell under the control of Tibet, and Lesser Bolor came under the control of the Tang dynasty. Owing to its location at the western boundary to Tang, volume 141 of the *New Tang History* notes that with the 722 conquest of Lesser Bolor, this country was now the Western Gate to Tang, and as such, it was imperative to defend it, since were it to be lost, all the countries in the western region would fall into the hands of Tibet. This country fell under Tang's sway not long after Hyecho had passed through (Kuwayama, 141). The present-day area of Gilgit is in the basin of the Gilgit and Hunza Rivers that both flow into the Indus. To the north is the Tarim Basin, to the west, Afghanistan, to the east is Tibet and to the south, it connects with the Indus River basin. Its location has allowed it to play a central role in the transportation across this region since antiquity. The riverside city of Gilgit is the major city of the region.



Road to Gilgit from Swat, Pakistan

又迦葉弥羅國西北隔山七日程, 至小勃律國, 此屬漢國所管. 衣着人風飲食言音, 与大勃律相似. 着氎衫及靴. 剪其鬚髮, 頭上纏疊布一條, 女人在髮. 貧多富少. 山川狹小, 田種不多. 其山憔杌, 元無樹木及於諸草. 其大勃律, 元是小勃律王所住之處, 爲吐番來逼, 走入小勃律國坐. 首領百姓, 在彼大勃律, 不來.

15.
Gandhāra

I travelled for about one month to the northwest[135] across the mountains from Kashmir and arrived at Gandhāra.[136] The king and military are all Turks, while the local people are comprised of Hu and also some Brahmins.[137] The nation was formerly under the control[138] of the Kāpiśī

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135 Looking at this region as it is today, it must be said that from Kashmir, one must go west to Gandhāra, not northwest. We might assume that perhaps because he could not travel to the west as the crow flies, but rather along the set course of the day, that he went in this different direction and expressed himself in this way.

136 Gandhāra: in the *Memoirs*, this is transcribed as *Jiantuoluo* (建駄羅) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jiantuoluo* (健駄邏). This was one of the sixteen great kingdoms of ancient India and appears at a very early date in India's written history. When Xuanzang visited, it was a vassal state of Kabul. The capital city was Puruṣapura. This area is now within the present-day Peshawar Prefecture in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, in the plains region of the lower reaches of the Kabul River, a tributary of the Indus. From antiquity, this region was the site of great cultural exchange between central and western Asia. Immigrants would pass through from the west to India and head north to pass through the western regions of China and into the central plains. It served as a key area in disseminating Buddhism and other Indian cultures that came from the east and then from here were sent out to the rest of the world. In the fourth century BC, after the invasions of Alexander the Great, the influence of Hellenism began to have a continuing effect. Beginning with the Kushan dynasty of the first century AD, Gandhāran Buddhist art came into being, a unique combination of Indian and western art. This trend reached its peak during the reign of King Kaṇiṣka in the second century AD. The Gandhāran style of Buddhist images, stūpas, and temples was centered in Gandhāra's central Peshawar region, reaching out to Swat and beyond to surrounding areas until they were widely distributed, so much so that even today numerous historical remains can be found throughout the region. In the mid-fifth century, the region was occupied by the Hephthalites and in the seventh century, conquered by the Turks.

137 Brāhmaṇa (婆羅門): translated into Chinese as *jingxing* "pure behaviour" (淨行), *fanxing* "pure practice" (梵行), and *fanzhi* "student of sacred learning" (梵志). Among the four main castes of India, this is the highest, the class of monks and scholars. Said to be born from the mouth of Brahmā, and cast with the duty of maintaining ritual sacrifices, their appearance is supposed to be noble, upright, and pure. The *Laws of Manu* classify the brahmin's six duties accordingly: learn the Vedas, teach the Vedas, do rituals for oneself, do rituals for others, give offerings, and receive offerings. It is not certain



Street scene, Peshawar, Pakistan

king,[139] and at that time, the father[140] of the Turkic king arrived with a small

whether or not the Gandhāran brahmins being spoken of here are indeed the upper-class brahmins of India.

138 This statement about being under the control of a Kāpiśī king refers to a period of native rule following the mid-sixth century fall of the Hephthalites, who had spread their power over a region extending from Tokharistan to northwest India, upon an invasion by the West Turks. The newly-risen Kāpiśī took under their control the area spreading from Kāpiśī to the western banks of the Indus River and the Kabul River basin.

139 Kāpiśī: in the *Memoirs*, this country is called *Jibin* (罽賓) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, it is referred to as *Jiabishi* (迦畢試). The native dynasty of Kāpiśī, the Khiṅgāl, usurped the throne of the Kabul dynasty in the seventh century, and by the end of the seventh and into the eighth century, Jibin referred to Kabul. In the mid-seventh century, Kāpiśī was paying tribute to Tang, and was subordinate to the Governor-Generalship of Xiuxian (修鮮都督府) under the Anxi Grand Protectorate (see note 228, below). In 719, the Tang court bestowed a title on the Kāpiśī king, but this was actually a Turkic title, the Qaradachi Tegin (葛羅達支特勤). Following this bestowal, the use of the title continued. It is said that in 738, when the Kāpiśī king Wusan Tegin Shah abdicated his throne because of his advanced age and was succeeded by his son Fulin Jisuo (佛林罽婆), the move was taken to the Tang court for approval, which was granted.

140 The transcription has the term *aye* (阿耶), which means "father." The king at the time of Hyecho's

troop of cavalry and surrendered to him. When the Turkic forces eventually grew stronger, the Turk killed the Kāpiśī king, declaring himself the new king. In this way, the territory of Gandhāra came to be under the rule of the Turkish king.[141]

In the northern part of this country, everyone lives in [the mountains],[142] though they are barren, with neither trees nor grasses. Their clothes, customs, language, and climate are all different from other places. They wear a combination of woolen and fine-wool clothing, along with boots and trousers. The land is suitable for barley and wheat, and there is no millet, sorghum, or rice at all. Commoners eat primarily barley flour and bread.

Except for Kashmir, Greater and Lesser Bolor, and Yangtong, Gandhāra and the other countries of the Indian kingdoms, as well as Kunlun,[143] have no [grapes],[144] and [only][145] sugar cane instead. The Turkic king has five [hundred][146] elephants, and countless sheep and horses. There are also

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visit is presumed to be the founder of the Turkic royal line, Barha Tegin. On the other hand, aye could be an abbreviation of *ashina* (阿史那), and this could refer to Ashina Bandunili (阿史那般都泥利), king of Tocharia (Kuwayama, 118).

141 At this time, the Turkic empire was centred around the northwestern Afghanistan area of Kunduz, and was in direct control of twenty-five states. This process of the Turks confronting the Gandhāra border did not take place when Hyecho was visiting. Rather, he was describing an event that took place already in the late seventh century.

142 It is assumed that the character [山] was mistakenly omitted.

143 Kunlun (崑崙国): there is both a Kunlun famous for the Kunlun Mountains in western China as well as a Kunlun in the Southern Sea. Here, Hyecho is speaking of the western Kunlun. As it appears in the "Tribute to Yu" chapter of *Shangshu* (尚書), the *Book of Documents*, Kunlun refers to western tribes. During the Han dynasty (漢), the name Kunlun was given to the mountains south of Khotan.

144 The characters [蒲桃] are assumed here.

145 The characters [唯有] are assumed here.

146 Though the original text has the character 五 "five," this is far too small a number to describe a king's possessions, and thus, if we compare with other countries, it seems reasonable to assume that 五百 "five hundred" would be more likely and that the original was a mistake. Thus, 五 is seen to be a mistake for [五百].

many camels, donkeys and mules. When trading[147] with the Hu in Chinese territory, [*five characters missing*] you cannot go back. If you wish to go to the south, the roads become treacherous and plundering bandits are many. To the north there are many who are engaged in [evil][148] occupations, and in the markets and stores there are many butcheries.

Though the king is a Turk, he reveres the Three Jewels deeply. The king, queen, princes, and generals each build temples and give offerings to the Three Jewels. Every year, the king holds two Great Assemblies[149] where he donates things that he personally used and loved, including even his wife, elephants, and horses. However, for his wife and elephants, he would order the monks to set a price so that he could purchase them back again. Besides these things, the monks would sell off the donated camels, horses, gold, silver, clothing and furniture, and share the proceeds. The king is very different from the Turkic king in the north. His children behave in the same way, building monasteries, having feasts and assemblies, and giving donations.

The city rests on a hill on the northern banks overlooking the Indus River.[150] A three-day walk to the west is Kaniṣka,[151] a huge monastery where

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147 "Trade" is used as a loose translation for the character *xing* (興), which means "prosper, flourish." The use of the character here can be interpreted as "commerce and enterprise that create profit."

148 The character (西) is assumed to be a mistake for [惡].

149 Great Assemblies (*wuzhedazhai*, 無遮大齋): in Buddhism, a grand celebration and gathering aimed at sharing offerings. *Wuzhe* (無遮) means "without distinction," indicating an attitude that accepts all equally, without discrimination. *Zhai* (齋) means the vegetarian or abstinential meal that monks and laity share; Reischauer translated it as "maigre feast" (E. O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: the Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955, p.24). According to Soothill (*A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p.117), the Sanskrit *Pañca-vārṣika mahā pariṣad* (quinquennial great assembly) refers to an assembly for confession and exhortation, held every every five years. In China, in 529, at Tongtai Monastery (同泰寺) Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty began holding a number of "Great Celebrations without Distinction," gathering the four-fold community (四部大衆, monks, nuns, male and female householders). They were also held in Korea up until the Joseon dynasty.

150 Indus River: this was translated into Chinese as *Xintoudahe* (辛頭大河). Together with the Ganges and Bramhaputra, the Indus flows through northwestern India and Pakistan. The name of

the Bodhisattvas Vasubandhu[152] and Asaṅga[153] resided. Here there is a huge

India has its origin in this river's name. Starting on the northern slopes of the Kailash Mountains in southwestern Tibet, it flows for some 1,100 km, first to the northwest, then turning to the southwest, crossing through northern Kashmir and the mountains of Ladakh, flowing the length of Pakistan and into the Arabian Sea. It is 3,180 km long and has a total drainage area of approximately 1,165,000 km². In its middle stretches, it combines five rivers together, and this fact is what leads to the name Punjab, which literally means, "land of five rivers." Around 2500 BC, this river was the cradle of the Indus civilization. Following this, beginning with the first settlements of Iranians coming from the northwest, continuing through the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and up until the present day war in Afghanistan, this region has continuously served as a stage for war and invasion.

151 Kaṇiṣka: the name of a monastery founded by King Kaṇiṣka. This is recorded as *Genuoge* (葛諾歌) in the *Memoirs* and as *Jianisejia* (迦膩色迦) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. King Kaṇiṣka is thought to have been the third king of the Kushana dynasty, founded by the Yuezhi (大月氏). From the Punjab region, this large nation extended its rule into the Pamirs and Parthia. They opened extensive foreign relations, sending envoys as far as Rome, and with its abundant economy, they aided the flowering of Gandhāran Buddhist art, fusing eastern and western culture. As a great supporter of Buddhism, they founded monasteries and stūpas, and gathered some 500 monks in Kashmir who then compiled the Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra. Second only to King Aśoka in terms of his Buddhist faith, King Kaṇiṣka made great contributions to the growth of Buddhism. After occupying the Hindu Kush region of northern India, he vigorously promoted cultural exchanges between India and China and helped create the environment by which Buddhism could spread from India to China. It is said that the very first transmission of Buddhism to China came about through the spread of Buddhist ideas from Yuezhi envoys to China in the mid-first century BC. Great monks born in Yuezhi, such as Lokakṣema and Zhiqian, were often present in China and served to build the foundation of Chinese Buddhism.

152 Vasubandhu (天親): Xuanzang rendered his name as Shiqin (世親), but Hyecho used the earlier form, Tianqin (天親). He is considered as one of the founders of the Yogācāra school of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. A native of fourth or fifth century Gandhāra, he was the second son of the Brahmin Kauśika family that served as national priests. Together with his older brother Asaṅga, he originally ordained within the Sarvāstivāda school, but was converted by his brother to the Sautrāntika school of the Mahāyāna. Previously, he had attacked the Mahāyāna and said it was not the teaching of the Buddha, but later, through the teachings of his brother, he awakened to the truth of the Mahāyāna teachings, and paved the foundation for the Yogācāra school. His main texts include the *Abhidharma Storehouse Treatise* (阿毘達磨俱舍論) in 30 fascicles, the *Commentary to the Summary of the Great Vehicle* (攝大乘論釋) in 15 fascicles, the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* in 12 fascicles (十地經論), *Treatise on the Sūtra of Adamantine Transcendent Wisdom* (金剛般若波羅蜜經論), *Guangbai lun* (廣百論), *Treatise on Buddha Nature* (佛性論), *Thirty Verses on the Vijñapti-mātra Treatise* (三十唯識論頌), *Treatise on the Sūtra of Limitless Life* (無量壽經優波提舍), and many others.

stūpa that constantly gives off light. Both the stūpa and monastery were built a long time ago by the former king, Kaniṣka, hence it bears his name.[154]

To the southeast of the city some [*character missing*] *li* is the place where in a past life as King Śibi,[155] the Buddha saved a pigeon. There are monasteries and monks present here now. In the mountains to the southeast of the city, the sites where the Buddha offered his eyes,[156] his head,[157]

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153 Asaṅga (無着): The brother of Vasubandhu, he was among the founders of the Yogācāra school of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. Originally ordained within the Sarvāstivāda school, he was not satisfied with the enlightenment brought by Hinayāna meditation on emptiness (小乘空觀). Legend states that he received teachings on the Mahāyāna meditation on emptiness from Maitreya Bodhisattva after using his magical powers to ascend to Tuṣita Heaven. Following this, he continued to venture to Tuṣita Heaven often, where he received the deepest teachings of the Mahāyāna, in works such as the *Discourse on the Stages of Concentration Practice* (瑜伽師地論), and then returned to transmit these teachings to the people of the world. His main works include the *Treatise on the Diamond Sūtra* (金剛般若論), the *Shunzhonglun* (順中論), *Compendium of the Great Vehicle* (攝大乘論), *Treatise on the Great Vehicle Abhidharma* (大乘阿毘達磨雜集論), the *Exposition of the Ārya Teachings* (顯揚聖教論頌), and others.

154 In the *Record of the Western Regions*, Xuanzang also introduces this temple as being founded by King Kaṇiṣka. In his section on Gandhāra, he notes the famous Great Kaṇiṣka stūpa (recorded as the *Quelifutu* 雀離浮圖, the remains of which have been excavated in the outskirts of Peshawar in present-day Shāh-jī-ki-Dherī, together with a reliquary holding the remains of King Kaṇiṣka) and notes the presence of the Kaṇiṣka monastery to the west (T 2087.51.880 b15). In addition, differing from Hyecho, Xuanzang notes the historical importance of the monastery, informing that it served as the site of Pārśva's chambers, where Vasubandhu wrote the Abhidharmakośa-bhāsya, and also where Kātyāyanīputra wrote the Vibhāsā-śāstra.

155 King Śibi (尸毗王): the name of a king who often appears in the literature of ancient India, and was made famous by a *jātaka* tale (story from one of the Buddha's past lives). It is said that one day, as the king watched a hawk try to hunt down a pigeon, the pigeon descended and took refuge in the king's armpit, upon which the king offered his own flesh to the hawk in exchange for the pigeon's life. At this point, the pigeon revealed himself as Agni and the hawk turned into Indra, informing the king that they had been testing his compassion. This story also appears in the *Xianyujing* (賢愚經) and the *Pusabenxingjing* (菩薩本行經), among others. The story of King Śibi also appears in the *Biography of Faxian* (法顯傳), and it notes that a stūpa was built on this site and that it stands as one of the four great stūpas of India. In the *Record of the Western Regions*, the same account is recorded, with the only difference being that the location is said to be in Uḍḍiyāna.

156 This refers to another story from the *Jātakamālā*, in which King Sudhīra (須提羅, "The Sharp-

and allowed the five yakśas to eat[158] are all located here.[159] Each place has

eyed King") offered his own eyes to restore the sight of a blind brahmin. Because King Sudhīra was famous for his generosity, the brahmin had been sent to ask for the king's eyes as a stratagem by a minister of a neighbouring kingdom, whose sovereign was afraid that Sudhīra's superior troops were about to invade his kingdom. Sudhīra granted the boon, and in the end, his own eyesight, as well as that of the brahmin, was restored, and was even clearer than before. The story appears in the *Xianjujing* (賢愚經, vol. 6, no. 32 快目王眼施緣品) as well as in the *Sūtra of the Collection of the Original Acts of the Buddha* (佛本行集經), among others, and is depicted, together with the story of King Śibi and the pigeon (see previous note) and the story of King Candraprabha (see following note) on the north wall of Cave 275 at Mogao, Dunhuang. Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* places this event near the Kaṇiṣka monastery in Gandhāra.

157 Another of the jātaka tales has the Buddha sacrificing his own head when he was Candraprabha, "the Moonlight King." As King Candraprabha, he ruled Bhadraśilā with skill, but the neighbouring king, Bhīmasena was very jealous of this and sent a brahmin to ask for his head. Candraprabha answered this request by saying that he had already given his head as an offering 999 times in past lives, and that if he offered his head once more, that would make one thousand. He thus offered his head up voluntarily. This story appears in the *Xianyujing* (賢愚經, vol. 6, no. 31 月光王頭施品), the *Pusabenxingjing* (菩薩本緣經), and elsewhere. Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* and Faxian's *Record of Buddhist Countries* record the location of this event as Taxila.

158 This is a past-life story told by the Buddha concerning himself and the five ascetics, including Kauṇḍinya, who were present at the "first turning of the wheel," or First Sermon. A long time ago, there was a king named Maitribala. Through the constant practising of the "ten kinds of wholesome behaviour" (十善) his people and even the "hungry ghosts" of his realm lived in tranquillity. However, there were five *yakśa* who roamed the terrain in search of people's blood. Owing to the people's diligent practice of the ten wholesome behaviours, the *yakśa* were unable to prey on them. As a result, they faced starvation, and went to the king asking him for a way to assuage their hunger. The king cut his own body in five places, allowing the yakśa to drink his fresh blood. The Buddha revealed that King Maitribala was himself in a past life, and that the five *yakśa* were his five disciples present at the turning of the wheel. This story appears in the *Xianyujing* (vol. 2, no. 13 慈力王血施品) as well as the *Pusabenshengmanlun* (菩薩本生鬘論). Xuanzang's *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* records this location as being near Mungali in Uḍḍiyāna.

159 Hyecho places all four of these important locations from the *jātaka* stories within Gandhāra. However, Xuanzang places the stories of the eye and head sacrifices in Gandhāra, and the story of King Śibi and the five *yakśas* in Uḍḍiyāna. Given that the Gandhāra area during King Kaṇiṣka's time was the centre of Buddhist art, as well as the centre of the widely expanding world of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Mahāyāna scriptures, we can see that many people of the period were creating oral histories to link their locations with stories related to the Buddha. Another example of this would be the story about the Buddha's footprint left in stone, a *buddhapadā* or *padukā* (仏足石; see

monasteries and monks and offerings are given to this day. Both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are practised here.

又從迦葉弥羅國西北隔山一月程, 至建馱羅. 此王及兵馬, 惣是突厥, 土人是胡, 兼有婆羅門. 此國舊是罽賓王王化, 爲此突厥王阿耶, 領一部落兵馬, 投彼罽賓王, 於後突厥兵盛, 便煞彼罽賓王, 自爲國主. 因玆國境突厥覇王. 此國已北並住(山)中, 其山並燋, 無草及樹. 衣着人風言音節氣並別. 衣是皮毬氎衫靴袴之類. 土地宜大麥小麥, 全無黍粟及稻. 人多食麨及餅. 唯除迦葉弥羅大勃小勃楊同等國, 卽此建馱羅國乃至五天崑崙等國, 惣無[蒱](桃), (唯有)甘蔗. 此突厥王象有五(百)頭, 羊馬無數, 駝騾驢等甚多. 漢地興胡□□□□□迴不過. 向南爲道路險惡, 多足劫賊. 從玆已北, (惡)業者多, 市店之間, 極多屠煞. 此王雖是突厥, 甚敬信三寶. 王王妃王子首領等, 各各造寺, 供養三寶. 此王每年兩廻設無遮大齋, 但是緣身所愛用之物妻及象馬等, 並皆捨施. 唯妻及象, 令僧斷價, 王還自贖, 自餘駝馬金銀衣物家具, 聽僧貨賣, 自分利養. 此王不同餘已北突厥也. 兒女亦然, 各各造寺, 設齋捨施. 此城俯臨辛頭大河北岸而置.

此城西三日程, 有一大寺, 卽是天親菩薩无着菩薩所住之寺, 此寺名葛諾歌. 有一大塔, 每常放光. 此寺及塔, 舊時葛諾歌王造, 從王立寺名也. 又此城東南□里, 卽是佛過去爲尸毗王救鴿處, 見有寺有僧. 又佛過去捨頭捨眼, 餧五夜叉等處, 並在此國中, 在此城東南山裏. 各有寺有僧, 見今供養. 此國大小乘俱行.

Anna Maria Quagliotti, *Buddhapadas*, Kamakura: Institute of the Silk Road Studies, 1998), said to be in Uḍḍiyāna. What these stories show was that different places, even if they had no direct relation to the Buddha in his actual life, could form a direct connection with him by linking themselves to his actions in a past life. As such, we can see how this region was affected by the spirit of being at the center of the Buddhist world.

16.
Uḍḍiyāna

Travelling for three days through the mountains due north from Gandhāra, I arrived at Wuchang, which the native people call Uḍḍiyāna.[160] The king is extremely reverential towards the Three Jewels. Commoners and village folk make generous donations to the monasteries, giving away a large share to them. They leave a small share for their own use at home and make offerings of food and clothing.

Ceremonies and offerings are given daily, as a matter of course. There are numerous monasteries and monks, who slightly exceed the number of lay people. Only the Mahāyāna is practised here. The clothing, food, and customs as like those in Gandhāra but the language is a bit different. The land produces an abundance of camels, mules, goats, horses, fine-wool cloth, and the like. The weather is very cold.

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160 Uḍḍiyāna: in the *Memoirs*, this is written as *Wuchang* (烏長) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Wuzhangna* (烏仗那). Centred around the Swat River in northern Pakistan, this country was located in the present-day region of Swat. Within the cultural area of Gandhāra, around Peshawar to the south, there was extensive development of Buddhist monastery architecture and Buddhist images, such that many of their remains can be seen to this day. Successive generations of travel journals spoke of the flourishing Buddhist culture here, but by the time of Xuanzang, he notes that it seemed to have already entered a period of gradual decline. Nevertheless, he also mentioned that there were people here skilled in mantras, informing us of the presence of esoteric Buddhism, and that five Hinayāna schools of the Vinaya had come to be taught there. Hyecho speaks of a flourishing Buddhist faith and practice here, informing us that by his time, Buddhism's full rehabilitation had taken place. We also know that by the time of Hyecho's visit, this region had already received titles from the Tang dynasty. According to Chapter 964 of the *Cefu Yuangui* (冊府元龜), in 720, around the time of Hyecho's visit, envoys had been sent to the kings of Uḍḍiyāna, Khuttal (骨咄), and Kuwi (俱位), and they had been invested with titles from the Tang court. As these three countries fell within western China, China's boundary was approaching that of Arabia, and thus this diplomacy was meant to lure them away from Arabia, and to promote their having more intimate relations with Tang. However, according to a record from 745, we know that these conditions changed when the king of Kāpiśī usurped the throne in Uḍḍiyāna.



Panoramic view of Swat, Pakistan

又從此建馱羅國, 正北入山三日程, 至烏長國, 彼自云鬱地引那. 此王大敬三寶, 百姓村庄多分, 施入寺家供養, 少分自留, 以供養衣食. 設齋供養, 每日是常. 足寺足僧, 僧稍多於俗人也. 專行大乘法也. 衣着飲食人風, 与建馱羅國相似, 言音不同. 土地足駝騾羊馬氎布之類. 節氣甚冷.

17.
Kuwi

From Uḍḍiyāna, traveling fifteen days across the mountains to the northeast, I arrived at Kuwi.[161] The people here refer to their land as Śamarājā.[162] The king here also reveres the Three Jewels and there are monasteries and monks. The clothing and language is similar to Uḍḍiyāna and they wear fine-wool shirts and trousers. There are also many goats and horses.

又從烏長國東北入山十五日程, 至拘衛國, 彼自呼云奢摩褐羅闍國. 此王亦敬信三寶, 有寺有僧. 衣着言音, 与烏長國相似, 着氎衫袴等. 亦有羊馬等也.

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161 Kuwi: in the *Memoirs*, this is written as *Juwei* (拘衛), in the *Record of the Western Regions* it was *Shangmi* (商彌), and in the *Tang History*, *Juwei*, (倶位). It was located in the area between the Chitral region of northern Pakistan by the upper waters of the Kunar River and Mastuj (Kuwayama, 128). Located to the west of Uḍḍiyāna, in present-day Swat, this direction differs from Hyecho's record that he travelled fifteen days to the northeast.

162 *Shemoheraja* (奢摩褐羅闍): though it is difficult to verify definitively, this is understood to be Śamarājā, the fortress city of Śama.

18.
Laṃpāka

From Gandhāra, I again entered the mountains and travelled for seven days to the west until I arrived at Laṃpāka.[163] There is no king here, but there is a great chief. They are under the authority of Gandhāra. Their clothing and language is similar to Gandhāra. There are monks and monasteries and they revere the Three Jewels. They practise the Mahāyāna.

又從此建駄羅國西行入山七日, 至覽波國. 此國無王, 有大首領, 亦屬建駄羅國所管. 衣着言音, 与建駄羅國相似. 亦有寺有僧, 敬信三寶. 行大乘法.

163 Laṃpāka: in the *Memoirs* this is written *Lanbo* (覽波) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Lanbo* (濫波). The kingdom is assumed to have been located in the Laghman region of northeastern present-day Afghanistan, near Kabul, around the middle reaches of the Kabul River (Kuwayama, 129). It connects to Gandhāra across the Khyber Pass. Xuanzang said it was a place with the Himalayas behind it, and snowless mountains on its other three sides, yet it is actually quite a distance from the Himalayas. This comment brings into relief the relative importance of the Kabul region at this time, and suggests that Laṃpāka too had also grown quite large.

19.
Kāpiśī

From Laṃpāka, I entered the mountains again and travelled [west][164] for eight days until arriving at Kāpiśī.[165] This country is also under the authority of the king of Gandhāra. During the summer, the king comes here to spend time in a cool place, and then in the winter, he lives in Gandhāra to be where it is warm.[166] It is warm in winter in Gandhāra and there is no snow, while in Kāpiśī the snow piles up and it gets quite cold.

The natives of this land are Hu, while the king and the military are Turks.[167] The clothing, food, and language are almost the same as in Tokhara,[168] with only slight differences. Both men and women wear fine-

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164 The manuscript has (而), thought to be a scribal error for the character [西].

165 Kāpiśī: this was transcribed as *Jibin* (罽賓) in the *Memoirs*, and *Jiabishi* (迦畢試) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. Outside of Xuanzang's use of *Jiabishi* and a few other exceptions, this area has always been recorded as *Jibin* (罽賓國), and that name was not thought to mean Kabul. In the end of the seventh century and into the eighth, Jibin did refer to the Kabul region, but this is only due to the fact that the native Kāpiśī Khiṅgāl dynasty had usurped the Kabul dynasty. Among this kingdom's cities that have remained to this day, there is Bagram, and also the old castle walls and Buddhist relics in the Bālā Hiṣār area on the outskirts of present day Kabul. Such places confirm that region as the likely location of this kingdom (Kuwayama, 130).

166 According to Xuanzang, the Gandhāra king spent each season in a different place, spending fall and spring in Gandhāra, summer in various Indian countries, and winter in Kāpiśī (T 2087. 51.873c27–29).

167 Though Kāpiśī was within the realm of the Hu (胡), given that they were governed by Gandhāra, the Kāpiśī king was none other than the Gandhāra king and the Gandhāra king at that time was a Turk.

168 Tokhara: transcribed as *Tuhuoluo* (吐火羅) in the *Memoirs*, and *Duhuoluo* (都貨邏), in the *Record of the Western Regions*, this area falls within the wide area of most of present-day northern Afghanistan. When seen in broad terms, it can be split up into lower Tokharistan (to the south of the Amu Darya River and to the west of Balkh) and upper Tokharistan (east of Balkh and north of the Hindu Kush).

wool shirts and trousers along with boots, with no distinction between the sexes. Men shave their beards and cut their hair while women let their hair grow long. There are camels, donkeys, mules, sheep and horses here, along with fine-wool cloth, grapes, barley, wheat, and turmeric.[169]

The people are most reverent of the Three Jewels and there are many monasteries and monks. Every commoner's household contributes to the founding of temples and gives offerings to the Three Jewels. In the big city, there is a monastery called Śāhis.[170] Preserved here are relics of the Buddha, including a curl of his hair[171] and some bone[172] *śarīra*. The king, his functionaries, and the common people give offerings every day. The Hinayāna is practised here. The people here live in the mountains as well, but on the peak there is no vegetation. It is as if a fire had burned everything away.

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169 Turmeric (*yujinxiang*, 鬱金香), a type of ginger: turmeric plants or perfume made from turmeric. There is also a record in the second volume of *Record of the Western Regions* about the sprinkling of turmeric perfume.

170 Śāhis Temple (沙糸寺): among the many Buddhist ruins that exist all over present day Kabul, many sites such as Tepe Khazana could be candidates for the location of this temple (Kuwayama, 132).

171 Curl of hair (*luofa*, 螺髮): Hyecho referred to this as *luoji* (螺髻), and it is thought to mean the hairstyle of the Buddha, in small coils curling to the right. This compares to the term *rouji* (肉髻), or *uṣṇīṣa-śiraskatā* that refers to the topknot-like protuberance of the Buddha's head. This *rouji* is said to be the result of diligent spiritual practice and having enlightened sentient beings and is taken as a symbol of nobility. *Luofa* or *rouji* are considered to be among the 32 major and 80 minor marks of a great being.

172 These are thought to be the actual bones of the Buddha. According to *Record of the Western Regions*, Xuanzang notes that the "temple of the previous king" has in it a piece of the Buddha's skull, said to be about an inch wide, white on top, with the holes for hair roots clearly visible. There is also said to be a lock of the Buddha's hair, dark blue, coiled to the right, and set upon the head like a turban. When all piled up, it was half an inch, and when all rolled out, a foot. (T 2087.51.875a16–18. 其伽藍東南有一伽藍, 亦名舊王. 有如來頂骨一片, 面廣寸餘, 其色黃白, 髮孔分明. 又有如來髮, 髮色青紺, 螺旋右縈, 引長尺餘, 卷可半寸). What Hyecho speaks of here is thought to refer to the appearance described by Xuanzang, of the skull together with the hair coiled upon it like a turban.

又從此覽波國(西)行入山, 經於八日程, 至罽賓國, 此國亦是建駄羅王所管. 此王夏在罽賓, 逐涼而坐, 冬往建駄羅, 趁暖而住. 彼即無雪, 暖而不寒, 其罽賓國, 冬天積雪, 爲此冷也.此國土人是胡, 王及兵馬突厥. 衣着言音食飲, 与吐火羅國大同少異. 無問男之与女, 並皆着氎布衫袴及靴, 男女衣服, 無有差別. 男人並剪鬚髮, 女人髮在. 土地出駝騾羊馬驢牛氎布蒲桃大小二麥鬱金香等. 國人大敬信三寶, 足寺足僧. 百姓家各並造寺, 供養三寶. 大城中有一寺, 名沙糸寺. 寺中見佛螺髻骨舍利見在, 王官百姓每日供養. 此國行小乘. 亦住山裏, 山頭無

有草木, 恰似火燒山也.

20.
Zābulistān

Going west from Kāpiśī for seven days, [I arrived][173] in Zābulistān.[174] The people here refer to their land as Shehuluosatana.[175] The natives are Hu and the king and military are Turks. The king is the nephew of the king of Kabul. He led a village and soldiers to come live [here][176] and is now subservient to no other nation, not even to his uncle.

Though the king and chiefs are Turks, they are extremely reverent of the Three Jewels, and there are many monasteries and temples where the Mahāyāna is practised. There is a [Turkic chief][177] named Satakgan who gives vast amounts of gold and silver as alms, an amount said to be even more than that of the king himself. The clothing, customs, and natural resources are similar to Kāpiśī, but the language is very different.

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173 From the editing marks, the characters (至七日) in the manuscript are clearly mistakes for [七日至] "after seven days, I arrived."

174 Zābulistān: written as *Xieyu* (謝颶) in the *Memoirs* and as *Caojuja* (漕矩吒) in the *Record of the Western Regions.* In the *New Tang History,* it is written that during the period of Empress Wu, this area's name was corrected and transcribed as *Xieyu* (謝颶). It is thought to have been located in the present-day region between Kandahar and Ghazni, located in the southern part of Afghanistan, southwest of Kabul, in the state of Zābol. If we take this place as the location for this country, when Hyecho says that he went west from Kāpiśī and went for seven days, it must be that he began by going west but then turned south.

175 Shehuluosatana (社護羅薩他那): this seems to be the general noun used to refer to Śahristān (in the Persian), the capital of Zābulistān. It is presumed to be a transliteration of the name for the region of Jāghūri (Kuwayama, 139). *Sthāna* (*satana*, 薩他那) means "region" or "country."

176 Editing marks show that the characters (此於) are a transposition of [於此].

177 The characters (大突厥) are assumed to be a transposition of [突厥大].

又從此罽賓國西行[七日至]謝颶國, 彼自呼云社護羅薩他那. 土人是胡, 王及兵馬卽是突厥. 其王卽是罽賓王姪兒, 自把部落兵馬, 住[於此]國, 不屬餘國, 亦不屬阿叔. 此王及首領, 雖是突厥, 極敬三寶, 足寺足僧, 行大乘法. 有一(大突厥)首領名娑鐸幹, 每年一廻設金銀無數, 多於彼王. 衣着人風土地所出, 与罽賓王相似, 言音各別.

21.
Bāmiyān

From Zābulistān, I travelled north for seven days until I arrived in Bāmiyān.[178] The king is of the Hu, and the country is not subject to any other nation. The military is strong and large, and none of the surrounding countries dare attack them. For clothing, they wear *die* (cotton or fine-wool) shirts, furs, wool garments, and the like. The resources here include sheep, horses, *zhan* (wool), and an abundance of grapes. The weather here is very snowy and cold. Most people live in the mountains. The king, chiefs, and commoners all greatly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks and both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are practised. The men cut their hair and shave their beards as they do in Zābulistān and elsewhere. While the customs here are more or less the same as in Kāpiśī, there are many differences. Their language is different from that of other places.

又從謝䫻國北行七日, 至犯引國. 此王是胡. 不屬餘國, 兵馬强多, 諸國不敢來侵. 衣着㲲布衫皮毬氈衫等類. 土地出羊馬㲲布之屬, 甚足蒲桃. 土地有雪極寒, 住多依山. 王及首領百姓等, 大敬三寶, 足寺足僧, 行大小乘法. 此國及謝䫻等, 亦並剪於鬚髮. 人風大分, 与罽賓相似, 別異處多. 當土言音, 不同餘國.

178 Bāmiyān: written as *Fanyin* (犯引) in the *Memoirs*, and as *Fanyanna* (梵衍那) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. This country rose in the latter half of the sixth century, when the northern region of Tokharistan had been weakened by the invasion of the Western Göktürk. It was located in the area of modern-day northeast Afghanistan, on the western side of the Hindu Kush range, between Kabul and Tokahar. When Xuanzang visited, he said that there were two stone Buddha statues there, approximately 100 and 150 feet in height. They stood until 2001, when they were blown up by the Taliban.

22.
Tokhara

From Bāmiyān I travelled for twenty days to the north, arriving at the city where the king of Tokhara resides.[179] The city's name is Bactra.[180] Currently, they are under the subjugation of the Arab army.[181] Having faced their

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179 Tokhara: in the *Memoirs*, this is transcribed as *Tuhuoluo* (吐火羅) and in *Record of the Western Regions* as *Duhuoluo* (都貨邏). It is located in the region spreading from northern Afghanistan to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, in the northern reaches of the Amu Darya. Its name first appears in records about Bactria of the second century BC. From the first century BC until the fourth century, it was ruled by the Kushan dynasty. In the fifth and sixth century, it was ruled by the Hephthalites. In the seventh century, it was ruled by the Turks and became a subjugated land of the Arabs. They maintained relations with China during the Tang dynasty, and the *Tang History* has a collection of information about Tuhuoluo. In the Chinese records, it was also introduced in records of the three-branched road that extended to the Mediterranean Sea, where it was noted that in crossing the "Southern Silk Road," one passed through Wakhān, Tokhara, and Bāmiyān. In the *Record of the Western Regions*, Tokhara was said to be divided into 27 different countries, with Pamir in the east, Persia in the west, the Hindu Kush to the south, and the "Iron Gates" to the north. It was said to span 3000 *li* from east to west and 1000 *li* from north to south. Based in the Kunduz region, its power was said to extend from northern Afghanistan to Tajikistan, controlling some 25 states.

180 Bactra: this is written as *Fudiye* (縛底耶) in the *Memoirs*, and as *Fuhe* (縛喝) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. This name seems to refer to the capital of Tokhara, called *Lanshicheng* (藍氏城), and corresponds to the present-day city of Balkh in northern Afghanistan. It might also be a common noun referring to the castle-city where the king resided (Kuwayama, 147). Bactria was founded by Greeks in the third century BC, and conquered by the Yuezhi in the second century BC upon which the country came to be known as *Daxia* (大夏) and its capital, Bactra (Balkh).

181 The eastern advance of the Arab-Muslim army began in 651 AD when the army of Abd Allāh ibn Amir, the Governor of Basra, advanced on Khorāsān and completed the invasion as far as Balkh. Subsequently, rebellions against Arab control and counterattacks went back and forth a number of times. In 704, Qutayba, who came to be known as the "Conqueror of Central Asia," was despatched east and proceeded to conquer lower Tokharistan (to the south of the Amu Darya River and to the west of Balkh), Bukhārā, upper Tokharistan (east of Balkh and north of the Hindu Kush), Samarkand, Ferghāna, and others. In 705 he became the governor of Khorāsān. In 715, Qutayba was executed by the new caliph, Suleiman, and the Arabs continued to control most of the region;

repression,[182] the king moved one month's distance to the east and now resides in Badakhshān.[183] As such, it is clear to see that the country is under the control of the Arabs.

The language is different from many other countries.[184] Though it shares some similarities to the language in Kāpiśī, it is mostly different. They wear clothes made from fur, fine-wool, and the like, but as for outer garments, from the king above to the common folk below, everybody wears fur. The land has plenty of camels, mules, sheep, and horses, as well as wool cloth and grapes. As for food, they only like bread. The climate is very cold, and in the winter there is a lot of frost and snow.

The king, chiefs, and commoners are all very reverent of the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks and they practise the Hinayāna. Though they eat meat,[185] onions, and scallions,[186] they do not practise heterodox religions. Men shave and cut their hair, and women grow their hair long. There are many mountains here.

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in 730, Junayd was installed as the governor of Khorāsān. The countries subjugated to the Arabs were burdened with excessive taxes and levies, and as a result, they called upon the Tang dynasty for assistance. In 751, the battle of Talas, between the Arabs and the Tang army led by General Kosonji, a native of Koryŏ, resulted in a victory for the Muslim army, an event that turned out to be a definitive opportunity for the Islamization of the entire region. Hyecho's visit took place during the period between the caliphates of Qutayba and Junayd.

182 The three characters (其王被) seem to have been repeated and are deleted.

183 Badakhshān: this is written as *Puteshan* (蒱特山) in the *Memoirs*, and as *Boduochuangna* (鉢鐸創那) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. This is a long, narrow bit of land located in the far reaches of present-day northeastern Afghanistan, butting up against the border of Tajikistan in the modern state of Badakhshān. There are mines for gold, silver, rubies, and other precious jewels, with many wealthy people and merchants clustered here.

184 The Bactrian language was the written language of Tokhara, used over a wide area, from the southern Hindu Kush, to the northern Amu Darya, to Sogd (Kuwayama, 153–154).

185 The character (內) is assumed to be a mistake for [肉].

186 The character (葱) is assumed to be a mistake for [韮].

又從此犯引國北行廿日, 至吐火羅國, 王住城, 名爲縛底耶. 見今大寔兵馬在彼鎭押, (其王被)逼, 走向東一月程, 在蒱特山住. 見屬大寔所管. 言音與諸國別. 與罽賓國少有相似, 多分不同. 衣着皮毬氎布等, 上至國王, 下及黎庶, 皆以皮毬爲上服. 土地足駝騾羊馬氎布蒱桃. 食唯愛餅. 土地寒冷, 冬天霜雪也. 國王首領及百姓等, 甚敬三寶, 足寺足僧, 行小乘法. 食(肉)及蔥(韮)等, 不事外道. 男人並剪鬚髮, 女人在髮. 土地足山.

23.
Persia

From Tokhara I travelled west for one month and arrived in Persia.[187] A long time ago, the king of this country ruled over the Arabs. The Arabs raised camels for the king. However, a revolution erupted, the king of Persia was killed, and an Arab became king. Now, the entire country has been taken over by the Arabs. For clothing, they wear loose cotton shirts. They cut their hair and shave their beards. As for food, they eat exclusively meat and bread. Even though there is rice, they grind it up to make bread. The land produces camels, sheep, mules, and horses, [and] produces very large donkeys, cotton cloth and precious gems.[188] Their language is distinct and

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187 Persia: this was written in the *Memoirs* as *Bosi* (波斯) and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Bolasi* (波剌斯). While this name generally refers to Persia of the Sassanid Empire, with its fall to Arabia in 651, by Hyecho's time the empire no longer existed. According to Islamic geographical records, it is a thirty-day march from Tokharistan to Nishapur (a city in the Razavi Khorāsān state in northeast Iran). Nishapur is the westernmost of the four major cities of Khorāsān the others being Balkh, Merv, and Herat. Hyecho's account of taking one month to arrive in Persia is thus in line with this calculation. Some scholars, however, are of the opinion that the name Persia comes from the Persian word Fārs and refers to the region of the same name in modern-day Iran: if that were so, the trip on foot would have to have taken two months instead of one (*see* Kuwayama, 155–156). The one-month travel plan recorded by Hyecho would bring one to Nishapur in Khorāsān, but in the following record, Hyecho describes Arabia as being ten days' journey to the north, into the mountains. (Kuwayama, 155–156). In the second century BC, Persia founded Parthia, and with the advance into the western regions of China, began exchanges with them. The Parthian An Shigao (安世高) and other monks like him played a major role in the early period of Buddhism's spread across Asia. In the second century AD, the Sassanid dynasty, successor to Parthia, took up a continuous exchange with China.

188 Ed. note: *gaodalü* literally means "over-sized donkeys" but rather than "very large donkeys, cotton cloth and precious gems" it appears to me that the phrase could be understood as a whole: "precious *diebu* (氎布, fine-wool cloth) from *gaodalü*" (the meaning of this last word is still unexplained, but the material might be that obtained from the fine under fur of cashmere goats). The word *chu*, "produces" occurs twice, without a conjunction, so there may be some corruption of the text at this point. In

different from other countries. It is said that the people's character is suited for commerce and they are continuously sailing from the west sea down to the south sea, as far as Siṃhala,[189] where they obtain all sorts of treasures. As a result, that land is said to produce many treasures. They also obtain gold from *Kunlunguo*,[190] sail to[191] Chinese lands and on to Guangzhou[192] where they buy plain and patterned silk fabrics, silk thread, and cotton. In their own land, they produce good fine cotton. The people here like to hunt, serve Heaven, and know nothing of the Buddhadharma.

又從吐火羅國西行一月, 至波斯國. 此王先管大寔, 大寔是波斯王放駝戶, 於後叛, 便煞彼王, 自立爲主. 然今此國, 却被大寔所呑. 衣舊着寬氎布衫, 剪鬚髮. 食唯餠肉, 縱然有米, 亦磨作餠喫也. 土地出駝騾羊馬, 出高大驢氎布寶物. 言音各別, 不同餘國. 土地人性, 愛興易, 常於西海, 汎舶入南海, 向師子國取諸寶物, 所以彼國云出寶物. 亦向崑崙國取金, 亦汎舶漢地, 直至廣州, 取綾絹絲綿之類. 土地出好細疊. 國人愛煞生, 事天, 不識佛法.

other entries, where *diebu* is identified as a product or an item of clothing in regions with especially cold climates, I have substituted "fine-wool cloth" instead of the draft translation of "cotton". See note 58, above; also note 209, below; and Edward Schafer's comments on "earth-born sheep," the term employed to describe cotton when the Chinese first encountered the material, in the Tang dynasty (Schafer, *Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p.75). RW

189 Siṃhala (*Shizi* 師子): *Sinhala dvīpa*: "the prince's island", the island of Ceylon, refers to present day Sri Lanka. The island is recorded as having pearl beds in the sea, ruby and sapphire mines in the mountains, and many other precious resources such as aloe wood, gold, and jewels.

190 *Kunlunguo* (崑崙國): besides *Kunlun-shan* (崑崙山), a famous mountain in the western region (see note 145), there is a *Kunlun* in the South Seas. Here, Hyecho is speaking of the islands. The name is thought to refer to the present-day *Con Son* Island in the southeast region of the Mekong Delta (Kuwayama, 158). The name began as a reference to the black-skinned people living here, then to any people with black skin and tightly-curled hair. It went even further to refer to all black people living in the South Seas. This name was not only used for an ethnicity, but also for a region and a sea. Following this origin, from the Three Kingdoms period on, Chinese called black slaves from the South Seas *Kunlunnu* (崑崙奴).

191 Direct relations between Persia and Guangzhou began in the Tang dynasty. In the *Guangzhou tonghai yidao* (廣州通海夷道), written by the Chinese geographer Jia Dan (賈耽, 730–805), the time and distance involved in travelling by sea, through thirty-three different locations on the way, is recorded in detail as being a one-hundred-day trip (Chŏng, 355).

24.
Arabia

From Persia, I walked for ten days in the mountains and arrived in Arabia.[193] The king [does not reside] in his own land[194] and lives instead in the Lesser Byzantine Empire[195] because he intends to conquer it. He resides on a mountainous island which is nothing more than a stable, but he does so in order to take over the land.

Here there are camels, mules, sheep, horses, cotton fabrics, blankets, and also precious stones. For clothing, they wear loose cotton shirts, and another cotton garment over that, as an outer garment. The king and commoners all wear the same clothes. Women also wear loose shirts. Men cut their

192 Guangzhou (廣州): the capital of present-day Guangdong Provice in China, it is the largest commercial city in the Huanan region. International commerce began here from as early as the Han, and in the Tang and Song dynasties it experienced rapid development and took up trade with such far-away regions as Persia and Arabia. This was also the departure site for monks on pilgrimage to India leaving the mainland on the sea route to India. It is assumed that Hyecho also began his sea voyage here.

193 At this time, Arabia was at the end of the Umayyad dynasty, under the rule of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (724–743) (see Kim, 143). With Damascus as its capital, the dynasty dispatched a governor-general to each region. Though Hyecho said that after walking north for ten days he was still within Persia, given that by this time Persia had already fallen to the Arabs, he seems to have been referring to his leaving the former region of Persia. As a result, it is difficult to determine exactly what region Hyecho refers to when he speaks of Arabia.

194 Editing marks show that the characters (住不) are a transposition of [不住].

195 Lesser Byzantine Empire (小拂臨國): in the Tang History, it is written as *Fulin* (拂菻, 拂臨, 拂菻, 拂林), using many different characters. Using the Chinese characters often used in reference to *Frōm/Hrōm*, the word in Iranian for "Rome," it refers to the East Roman Empire, or the Byzantine Empire. If Greater Byzantium refers to the area of the main settlement of Eastern Rome, the Lesser Byzantine Empire would then refer to the region of Asia Minor. This would fall within modern Syria, centred around Damascus. In the seventh century, the centre of the Arab world moved from Medina to Kufa, and in the second half of the century, during the Ummayyad dynasty, Damascus was the capital.

hair but let their beards grow, [and women][196] leave their hair loose. When eating, there is no distinction between nobles and commoners. They eat food together from the same plate using their hands, spoons, and chopsticks. They are extremely fond of hunting: what appears particularly ill-bred, is that they say the greatest happiness comes only when you eat what you have killed with your own hands. They serve Heaven[197] and know nothing of the Buddha dharma. According to the law of the land, there is no custom of doing prostrations.

又從波斯國北行十日入山, 至大寔國. 彼王[不住]本國, 見向小拂臨國住也, 爲打得彼國. 彼國復居山島, 處所極牢, 爲此就彼. 土地出駝騾羊馬疊布毛毯, 亦有寶物. 衣着細疊寬衫, 衫上又披一疊布, 以爲上服. 王及百姓衣服, 一種無別, 女人亦着寬衫. 男人剪髮在鬚, [女人]在髮. 喫食無問貴賤, 共同一盆而食, 手把亦匙筯耶. 見極惡, 云自手煞而食, 得福無量, 國人愛煞. 事天, 不識佛法. 國法無有跪拜法也.

196 Editing marks show that the characters (人女) are a transposition of [女人].

197 In saying that the Persians "worship Heaven," this means that they are Zoroastrians. Rendered as *Baihuojiao* (拜火教, Fire-worshipping belief) or *Xianjiao* (祆教) in Chinese, Zoroastrianism originated in the seventh century with the prophet Zarathustra (called Zoroaster in Greek). Its adherents believe in the benevolent god Ahura Mazda, under whose blessings and protection people struggle with the evil god, Angra Mainyu, ultimately receiving a final judgement. During the period of the Achaemenid dynasty, centred in the area of present-day northeastern Iran, the religion spread from Afghanistan to Persia. Later, during the Sassanid Persian dynasty, Zoroastrianism became the state religion and developed rapidly. The name *Baihuojio*, meaning "religion of fire worship," stems from the practice of bowing in front of altars where believers burn their offerings and incense.

25.
Byzantine Empire

To the northwest of Lesser Byzantine Empire, near the seaside, is the Byzantine Empire.[198] The king of this nation has a powerful and large military force, and thus, they are subordinate to no other nation. Though the Arabs have tried to invade many times, they could not succeed. The invasions of the Turks have failed as well. There are many treasures here, and camels, mules, sheep, horses, and cotton fabrics are all very abundant. The clothing is like that of Persia and Arabia, but their language is different.

> 又小拂臨國傍海西北, 卽是大拂臨國. 此王兵馬强多, 不屬餘國. 大寔數廻討擊不得, 突厥侵亦不得. 土地足寶物, 甚足駝騾羊馬疊布等物. 衣着与波斯大寔相似, 言音各別不同.

198 Byzantine Empire: *Dafulin* (大拂臨) refers to the Eastern Roman empire, namely the Byzantine Empire. With its capital in present-day Istanbul, this dynasty lasted for more than 1000 years, from the fourth to the fifteenth century. With Greece and Turkey at its center, it came to occupy a wide expanse of land, and based on its special geopolitical significance, was an intersection between the eastern culture of Asia Minor, the Catholic culture of medieval Europe, and the ancient Roman Empire. In constant contact with Turks, Arab Muslims, the Sassanid Persians, the Steppe nomads, and Slavs, it developed as a very pluralistic empire, its role linked to the commercial power of the Silk Road and the Mediterranean Sea.

26.
Hu Nations

To the east of the Arabs, all the countries are part of the *Hu* nations,[199] namely Bukhārā,[200] Kabūdhan,[201] Kish,[202] Tashkent,[203] Penjikent,[204] and

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199 *Huguo* (胡國): this is the oasis city-state of Sogd, located in the Transoxiana region, the area between the two rivers originating from the Aral Sea, the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya rivers, and excluding Tashkent. When spoken of in the context of the "*Hu* peoples" (胡人) of Gandhāra, Bāmiyān, Kashmir, this refers to the general usage of "Hu," but the term *Huguo* refers specifically to only the Sogd region (Takao Moriyasu, *op.cit*.).

200 Bukhārā (安國): in the *Memoirs* this is recorded as *Anguo* (安國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, it is written as *Buhe* (捕喝). It was located in present-day Boxoro in Uzbekistan. Occupying the lower reaches of the Zeravshan River, it developed as a commercial area centred around the monasteries built on the land created by the collection of dirt and sand from the Zeravshan. It was among the important oasis countries set up along the length of the Silk Road. The name Bukhārā originates from the Sanskrit word for monastery, *vihāra*. In the first half of the seventh century, they sent envoys in exchange with the Tang dynasty, but in 708, after the invasion of the Arabs, their language and religion were Islamicized.

201 Kabūdhan: in the *Memoirs*, this is recorded as *Caoguo* (曹國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jiebudana* (劫布呾那). In the Tang dynasty, it was separated into East, Central, and West Caoguo. Kabūdhan was Central Caoguo (中曹國) (Kuwayama, 163). East Caoguo corresponded to Usrūshana (窣堵利瑟國) and West Caoguo was Ishtikhan (瑟底痕城).

202 Kish: in the *Memoirs*, this is recorded as *Shiguo* (史國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Jieshuangna* (羯霜那). This country was located at the southern portion of the Kaska-rud River, bordering Penjikent to the north and Tokhara to the south. The annals of the Daye period of the Sui dynasty (605–617) record the beginning of friendly relations with China and that the monarch at that time had even been invested with a title from the Sui court. The "Iron Gates" (鐵門) on Kish's eastern boundary stand as the gate that all travellers had to pass through going south from Central Asia to India. The name refers to the barrier created by the iron-coloured stones that stand as obstacles on the steep mountain path. They are near the Darband area, between the Uzbek cities of Samarkand and Termez.

203 Tashkent: in the *Memoirs* this is written as *Shiluoguo* (石騾国), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Zheshi* (赭時). It is assumed that this was an expression used for *Shiguo* (石國). In the *Sui History* (隋書), the family name of this country's king is said to be *shi* (石), and his given name, *Nie* (涅). *Zheshi* is assumed to be a combination of these two (*see* Chŏng, 378). They maintained relations with

Samarkand.[205] Though each of these lands is ruled by its own king, they all fall under the rule of the Arabs.[206] The lands of each country are limited and their militaries small, thus they are unable to defend themselves. The lands here produce camels, mules, sheep, horses, and cotton fabrics. The people wear cotton shirts and trousers as well as furs. Their languages are all different from other countries.

Sui and Tang, and their king even received a title from the Tang court. Now the present-day capital of Uzbekistan, it is an oasis, jutting up to the Chirchik River, a tributary of the Syr Darya. Its name means "city of stone" in Uzbeki.

204 Penjikent: in the *Memoirs*, this is written as *Miguo* (米國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Mimohe* (弭秣賀). *Mimohe*, or *Mimo* (彌末), as it is written in the *Tang History*, is a transliteration of Maimargh, and *Mi* (米) is its abbreviation. Located south of Samarkand, it lies next to the Zeravshan River. They had relations with Sui and Tang, and the *Suishu* has a record of an assessment made of that region.

205 Samarkand: in the *Memoirs*, this is written as *Kangguo* (康國), and in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Samojian* (颯秣建). The storied city of Samarkand, founded contemporary with Rome and Babylon, was the largest city of the Sogdian region and is now a city in Uzbekistan. Located in the Sogdian region to the west of the Pamir Plateau and the Tianshan Mountains, surrounded by the Iranian Plateau and the Caspian Sea, it is in the land between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, two rivers flowing into the Aral Sea. This area corresponds almost exactly to a region of present-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. From the sixth to seventh century onwards, the Sogdians, an Iranian people, began using their own alphabet and, owing to their location on the crossroads of the Silk Road and their profession as long-distance traders, amassed great wealth. From the Northern Zhou (557–581) onwards, they had extensive relations with China, especially at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, from 624 until 650, during which time they had 35 recorded exchanges. In addition, several tombs of high-ranking Sogdians with the official title of *sabao* (薩保) have recently been excavated in China (Yang Xiaoneng, *Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, vol. 2, p. 368). During the Tang reign of Gaozong (650–655), the *Kangfu Dudufu* "Kangfu commandery" (康居都督府) was established, and King Varkhuman was even named as *dudu* "Area Commander" (都督). The "Ambassadors' Painting" on the ancient palace walls in Afrasiab depicts envoys from Tang accompanied by two Goguryeo (or Silla) envoys, showing that this region had relations with Korea as well.

206 The eastern advance of the Arab-Muslim army began in 651, when Abdullah ibn Aamir's army invaded the area from Khorāsān to Balkh. Following this, there was a period of numerous rebellions to Arab control and re-conquest, until in 704 Qutayba, the governor of Khorāsān, conquered Tokharistan, Samarkand, Ferghāna, and others. The information Hyecho imparts to us here speaks to the circumstances of that period.

In addition, these six nations all fall under the sway of Zoroastrianism,[207] and they do not know about the Buddhadharma.[208] Only in Samarkand is there but one monastery and one monk, though even he neither understands nor reveres the dharma. The people of the Hu nations all cut their hair and shave and they prefer to wear white cotton caps.[209] One exceedingly bad custom is the practice of consanguineous marriage, with men marrying their mother or their sisters. In Persia as well, mothers are taken as wives. In Tokhara as well as in Kāpiśī, Bāmiyān, and Zābulistān, two, three, five or even ten brothers are jointly married to just one wife. Marriages between one man and one woman are not permitted, as there is a fear that such behaviour will bring downfall to a household's livelihood.

又從大寔國已東, 並是胡國, 卽是安國, 曺國, 史國, 石騾國, 米國, 康國等. 雖各有王, 並屬大寔所管. 爲國狹小, 兵馬不多, 不能自護. 土地出駝騾羊馬疊布之類. 衣着疊衫袴等及皮毬. 言音不同諸國.

又此六國, 惣事火祆, 不識佛法. 唯康國有一寺有一僧, 又不解敬也. 此等胡國, 並剪鬚髮, 愛着白氎帽子. 極惡風俗, 婚姻交雜, 納母及姉妹爲妻. 波斯國亦納母爲妻, 其吐火羅國乃至罽賓國 犯引國 謝 國等, 兄弟十人五人三人兩人, 共娶一妻, 不許各娶一婦, 恐破家計.

207 See note 197.

208 Though Hyecho says here that the five nations were ignorant of Buddhism, his record immediately following notes that there is a temple in Samarkand, informing us that Buddhism certainly exists here. From the earliest period of Buddhism's transmission to China, Samarkand born translator-monks such as Saṃghavarman (康僧會) made immense contributions. In this record here, except for the comment in question, he seems to be speaking about the fact that in the five *Hu* countries, Zoroastrianism and other religions had more believers than Buddhism.

209 White cotton caps: The fabric spoken of here is *baidie* (白氎), also known as *baidiebu* (白氎布,白疊布), a type of fabric made from the fibre of the *caomian* "herbaceous cotton" (草綿) (Min Gil-Ja, "A study of 'Baikchup-po,'" *Education Review* 7 [1998]: 79–98).

27.
Ferghāna

A bit to the east of Samarkand is the country of Ferghāna.[210] They have two kings. The huge Amu Darya[211] flows through the centre of the nation to the west. On the southern side of the river is one king, a subject of the Arabs.[212] On the northern side of the river is another king, subject of the Turks. The products of the land here include many camels, mules, sheep, horses, and cotton fabric. As for their clothing, they wear fur coats and cotton clothes. Their food consists mainly of bread and barley meal. Their language is unique, quite distinct from those of other countries. Knowing nothing of the Buddhadharma, there are neither monasteries nor monks.

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210 Ferghāna: in the *Memoirs*, this is spelled *Bahena* (跋賀那), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Buhan* (怖捍). Surrounded to the north, south and east by mountain ranges, the region is a basin through which flows the Syr Darya. It was located in what are now Ferghana province in Uzbekistan and the Sughd province of Tajikistan. From very early on, this was a key area of east-west communication developed by Iranian farming culture. It was in the Han dynasty of the second century BC when Zhang Qian first brought information about this country back to China, referring to it as Daewan (大宛). They paid tribute and sent envoys to Tang, and in return, received investiture for their king. There was also a *dudufu* "area commandery" established within this region.

211 Amu Darya (縛叉): originating in the plateaus of Central Asia, this river flows to the Aral Sea for some 2,540 km, making it the longest river in the region. *Amu* is Persian for "madness" (狂氣), and *darya* means "river," thus its name means "mad river." It separates present-day Afghanistan and Uzbekistan. But the river that flows through the heart of Ferghāna and off to the west is not the Amu Darya, but rather the Syr Darya (錫爾河). Hyecho must have confused the names of these two rivers. The ancient name of the Syr Darya was Jaxartes, and has been translated and spoken of using the name Zhenzhuhe "Pearl River" (眞珠河).

212 In the eighth century, this region saw the complicated hodgepodge of power struggles between the Arabs, Turks and Tang dyansty. Beginning in 721, the Arab and Ferghāna armies clashed, and in 724, control of the land south of the Syr Darya came under Arab control and that to the north remained with the Turks. In 727, the Turkic Khagan Sulu (蘇祿) invaded from his northern base southward, taking over Samarkand and expanding his power all the way to the Amu Darya (Kuwayama, 173).

又從康國已東, 卽跋賀那國, 有兩王. 縛叉大河, 當中西流, 河南一王屬大寔, 河北一王屬突厥所管. 土地亦出駝騾羊馬疊布之類. 衣着皮裘疊布. 食多餠麨. 言音各別, 下同餘國. 不識佛法, 無有寺舍僧尼.

28. Khuttal

To the east of Ferghāna there is a country called Khuttal.[213] The king is of Turkish origin and the people are comprised of half Turks and half Hu. The products of this land include camels, mules, sheep, horses, donkeys, grapes, cotton fabric, woolen rugs, and the like. They wear clothes of cotton and fur coats. As for their language, they speak a mix of Tokhārian, Turkish, and a native tongue. The king, chiefs, and common people revere and have faith in the Three Jewels, and there are both monasteries and monks. They practice the Hinayāna. They are under the control of the Arabs. Though it is known by other countries as a nation unto itself, in actuality, it is similar in size to a large Chinese province. The men[214] cut their hair and shave their beards, while the women grow their hair long.

又跋賀那國東有一國, 名骨咄國. 此王元是突厥種族, 當土百姓, 半胡半突厥. 土地出駝騾羊馬驢蒲桃疊布毛毯之類. 衣着疊布皮裘. 言音半吐火羅半突厥半當土. 王及首領百姓等, 敬信三寶, 有寺有僧, 行小乘法. 此國屬大寔所管. 外國雖云道國, 共漢地一箇大州相似. 此國男(人)剪鬚髮, 女人在髮.

213 Khuttan: in the *Memoirs*, this is recorded as *Guduo* (骨咄), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Keduoluo* (珂咄羅). It was located in the northern upper reaches of the Amu Darya, in a stretch of land enveloped between the Vakhsh and Pani rivers, in the present-day Khatlon region around the city of Kulob. With great pasturelands in its hills and canyons, it is noted in the *Tang History* as being famous for the horses raised there. They sent envoys and tribute to Tang and from them received an investiture for their king and the establishment of a *dudufu*.

214 The character 女 is assumed to be a mistake for [人].

29.
Turks

In the region north of the Hu Nations, ranging to the north sea in the north, to the western sea in the west and to China in the east, there is the territory inhabited by the Turks. These people do not know the Buddhadharma and have neither monasteries nor monks. They wear cotton shirts and fur coats and they eat meat. There are neither cities nor permanent abodes. Instead, they pitch tents and use them as their homes, carrying them along as they move about, following the course of the waters and grasses. The men all cut their hair and shave, and the women grow their hair long. The language differs from those of other countries. They are fond of killing and cannot distinguish between good and evil. The land produces many camels, mules, sheep, horses, and the like.

又從此胡國已北, 北至北海, 西至西海, 東至漢國, 已北惣是突厥所住境界. 此等突厥, 不識佛法, 無寺無僧. 衣着皮毬氎衫, 以虫爲食. 亦無城墎住處, 氈帳爲屋, 行住隨身, 隨逐水草. 男人並剪鬚髮, 女人在頭. 言音与諸國不同. 國人愛煞, 不識善惡. 土地足駝騾羊馬之屬.

30.
Wakhān

Moving east for seven days[215] from Tokhara, I arrived at the city[216] where the king of Wakhān[217] resides. When I finally arrived from Tokhara, I met[218] a Chinese envoy who was on his way to a foreign land.[219] I penned a simple five-character quatrain in four rhymes.

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215 From Tokhara to Wakhān, the distance of at least 1500 *li* was seen to be a thirty-day march. Thus, Hyecho's record of a seven-day journey presents a problem. As a result, it has been suggested that the characters for "seven days" in the transcription (七日) may be a scribal error for [廿日], meaning "twenty days" (*see* Kuwayama, 176).

216 Hyecho does not mention the name of the city where the Wakhān king lives. The *Record of the Western Regions* locates the king in the city of *Huntuoduo* (昏馱多), the modern city of Khandut. The *New Tang History* locates the capital much further west, in *Saijia chengsheng* (塞迦審城), modern day Ishkāsim. Leaving Tokhara, Hyecho went though Ishkāsim and onwards to Khandut.

217 Wakhān: in the Memoirs, it was recorded as *Humi* (胡蜜), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Damoxitiediguo* (達摩悉鉄帝国), with its capital *Huntuoduo* (昏駝多). During the Xianqing reign of Tang (顯慶, 656–660), it was called *Niaofeizhou* (鳥飛州). It is a long, narrow country following the valley of the Wakhān Darya, on the upper reaches of the Amu Darya (Kuwayama, 176). In Badakhshan Province of present-day northeastern Afghanistan, it juts out between Tajikistan and Pakistan, atop the Pamir Plateau. Its geography made it an area of key strategic importance, and from ancient times onward, it has been invaded by many different powers. At the time of Hyecho's visit, the powers of Tang, Tibet, and Arabia had surrounded the country and were locked in competition. Sometime earlier, the Turks had also been there.

218 It is assumed that the Chinese envoy that Hycho meets here is on a "courtesy return visit" *dalishi* (答禮使) to a foreign country that had paid a visit to the Chinese royal court *ruchao* (入朝). This is assumed to be so, given that though there are many Chinese historical records on investitures (冊封使), none of them provide examples comparable to the activity here. In the time of Hyecho's travels, from 724 to 727, there were four countries that sent envoys in this direction on the way to visit the royal court in China, namely, Persia, Arabia, Tokhara and Shighnān, and it is assumed the envoy was going to one of these (Kuwayama, 178).

219 The character used in the original (蕃) referred generally to the "western regions" (西域) along with the west-central boundary regions in particular.

You lament how far it is to the frontier in the west
My sadness is for the long road east.
The road is rough, snow on the ridges so deep,
the valleys rugged, where bandits swarm and creep.
The cliffs so stark, they startle even the birds as they fly,
people crossing the dizzy bridges, almost too difficult to try.
Though I have never cried once in all my years,
today I shed a stream of a thousand tears.

To capture my mood on a snowy winter day in Tokhara, I wrote another quatrain:

Mounds of frigid snow freeze on top of ice,
the bitter winds can crack the earth, they are so fierce.
The sea freezes clean, smooth as an altar;
the cliffs are eaten away by frigid river water.
Even the falls[220] are frozen at the Dragon Gate,
and the wells are thick with ice coiled like snakes.
Carrying fire, I sing as I climb the earth to its ends.[221]
How will I be able to cross the Pamir highlands?

又從吐火羅國東行七日, 至胡蜜王住城. 當來於吐火羅國, 逢漢使入蕃. 略題四韻取辭, 五言.
君恨西蕃遠 余嗟東路長
道荒宏雪嶺 險澗賊途倡
鳥飛驚峭嶷 人去偏樑難
平生不捫淚 今日灑千行
冬日在吐火羅, 逢雪述懷, 五言.
冷雪牽氷合 寒風擘地烈

220 The character (爆) in the manuscript is assumed to be a mistake for [瀑].

221 The character (胲) in the manuscript is assumed to be a mistake for [垓].

巨海凍墁壇 江河凌崖嚙
龍門絶(瀑)布 井口盤蛇結
伴火上(垓)歌 焉能度播蜜

The troops of the king of Wakhān are weak and not able to defend their land. Therefore, they have accepted the rule of the Arabs, offering a yearly tribute of 3000 rolls of silk.[222] The king lives in a valley in a narrow place,[223] and many of his people are poor. As for their clothes, they wear fur jackets and woolen shirts, while the king wears silk and cotton. For food, they eat only bread and barley meal. The land here is very cold, more severe than in other lands. The language is also different from elsewhere. Though there are sheep and cattle here, they are very small. There are also horses and mules. There are temples and monks here, and they practise the Hinayāna. The king, chiefs, and common people are all devoted to the Buddha and do not follow heterodox teachings. Thus, there are no other religions in this country. Men cut their hair and shave, and women grow their hair long. Though the people live in the mountains, there are no trees or grasses there.[224]

此胡蜜王, 兵馬少弱, 不能自護. 見屬大寔所管, 每年輸稅絹三千疋. 住居山谷, 處所狹小, 百姓貧多. 衣着皮裘氎衫, 王着綾絹疊布. 食唯餅. 土地極寒, 甚於餘國. 言音與諸國不同. 所出羊牛, 極小不大, 亦有馬騾. 有僧有寺, 行小乘法. 王及首領百姓等, 惣事佛, 不歸外道, 所以此國無外道. 男並剪除鬚髮, 女人在頭. 住居山裏, 其山無有樹(木)及於百草.

222 Here, silk does not refer to the raw material, but rather to its function as currency. In China, silk was woven to a standard width and length, so rolls of woven silk could be relied upon to have the same value.

223 As Wakhān is situated in the narrow ravines of the east-west flowing Oxus River, there is sparse habitable land. Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* recorded that it was 1500 to 1600 *li* east to west, and ranging from 4 to 5 *li* north to south, getting as narrow as 1 *li* at its narrowest.

224 The character (水) in the transcription is assumed to be a mistake for [木]. In the entry for Lesser Bolor as well, there is the expression: "from long ago, there have been neither trees nor any kind of grass."

31.
Shighnān

In the mountain region north of Wakhān, there are nine Shighnān countries.[225] Each of the nine kings is in command of his own army. One of these kings is subordinate to Wakhān and the rest are independent, subject to no other land. Recently, two kings[226] of this region who live in caves, submitted to China and have continuously[227] sent envoys to the Anxi *Daduhufu.*[228]

Only the kings and chiefs wear fine-wool clothes and furs, while the commoners wear leather and wool coats. The temperature here is frigid and they live in snow covered mountains, unlike people in other lands. There are also sheep, horses, cattle, and donkeys. The language is distinct and differs from those of other nations. The king regularly sends two or three hundred

225 Shighnān: in the *Memoirs*, this is recorded as *Shini* (識匿), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Shiqini* (尸棄尼). North of the Pamir River, on the southwest slopes of the Pamir Plateau, this region corresponds to the entirety of the modern day Tajikistan region of Shughnon. Volume 221 of the *New Tang History* says that, "while at first they centred around Kurghan (苦汗城), they later spread to the mountain valleys. There are five main valleys, a chief manages each personally, and they call themselves five *shini* (識匿)." In addition, it states that in the valleys of the Pamir River they do not use the term "king" and that they follow the custom of living in caves. Though Hyecho mentions nine separate countries here, the Chinese historical records list just five.

226 This refers to two places in Shighnan recorded in the aforementioned volume of the *New Tang History* where people were living in caves.

227 From the context, the character (絶) "ceasing" in the transcription must naturally be [不]絶 "not ceasing."

228 The Anxi ("Pacifying the West") Grand Protectorate, *Anxi Daduhufu* (安西大都護府) was established by Tang at a key western strategic location in Kucha. According to the *Cefuyuangui* (冊府元龜), at that time, three envoys were sent from Shighnān to China, in 724, 725, and 727. See also note 240, below.

men to the Pamir Plateau[229] where they raid merchants and envoys. But having got the silks they pile them up in a warehouse, letting them rot away, without unrolling them to make clothes. The Buddhadharma is unknown here in Shighnān.

又胡蜜國北山裹, 有九箇識匿國. 九箇王各領兵馬而住, 有一箇王, 屬胡蜜王, 自外各並自住, 不屬餘國. 近有兩窟王, 來投於漢國, 使命安西, 往來(不)絕. 唯王首領, 衣着疊布皮裘, 自餘百姓, 唯是皮裘氈衫. 土地極寒, 爲居雪山, 不同餘國. 亦有羊馬牛驢. 言音各別, 不同諸國. 彼王常遣三二百人於大播蜜川, 劫彼興胡及於使命. 縱劫得絹積在庫中, 聽從壞爛, 亦不解作衣着也. 此識匿等國, 無有佛法也.

229 Pamir Plateau: in the *Memoirs*, this is recorded as *Dabomichuan* (大播蜜川), and in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Bomiluochuan* (波謎羅川). These names referred to the Pamir River, a *jiang* (江), as opposed to a *chuan* (川), flowing to the northern area of Wakhān, and now forming the border with Tajikistan. Its name also refers to the great plains that comprise its banks, known as the Great Pamir plains, as well as the plains to the east, known as Little Pamir plains.

32.
Congling Garrison

Moving on fifteen days to the east from Wakhān, I crossed the Pamir River[230] and immediately arrived at the Congling Garrison.[231] This town is under Chinese control with Chinese troops on guard. The land here used to be the territory of former King Feixing,[232] but after his rebellion, he fled to Tibet, but then surrendered, and now none of his people are here. Foreigners refer to this land as Tashkurghan,[233] but in Chinese, it is called Congling.

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230 The Pamir Plateau of Central Asia is located on some of the highest mountain land on earth. Located at the intersection of the Tianshan, Karakoram, Kunlun, and Hindu Kush mountains, it is comprised of more than ten crowded mountain ranges with peaks rising over 5000 m. It is also known by its Chinese name of Congling (葱嶺). The major part of the plateau is located in the eastern Tajikistan state of Gorno Badakhshan. Its eastern portion is in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and its southwestern portion rests in Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The highest peak in the east is the 7719 m high Kongur Tagh, located in Kashi, China. The highest peak in the west is the 7495 m high Ismoil Somoni Peak, known until 1998 as Communism Peak, in Tajikistan.

231 Congling Garrison: in the *Memoirs*, it is recorded as *Conglingzhen* (葱嶺鎮), and in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Congling*. This was the garrison (*zhen*, 鎮) established in the Pamir Plateau of Tashkurghan, translated as Congling in Chinese. As Tang stationed troops around its border regions, *jun* (軍) were placed in larger regions, *shouzhuo* (守捉), *cheng* (城) and *zhen* (鎮) in smaller regions, and *do* (道) that encompassed all of these. (*New Tang History*, vol. 50). Built during the Kaiyuan period (開元) (713–741), a fortified settlement was established at the boundary of the Anxi region in the Pamir Plateau in order to protect the western boundary regions of Tang.

232 Feixing (裴星): the Fei family name (裵氏) is famous for the oasis city-state dynasty of Kashgar (Kuwayama, 183). Tashkurgan sometimes saw people from Kashgar rise to the throne (noted in the *Tang History* and in *Tongdian*, the *Encyclopaedic History of Institutions*). Feixing is thought to be part of the Fei family of the Kashgar capital.

233 Tashkurgan: recorded in the *Memoirs* as *Jiefantan* (渴飯壇) and in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Qiepantuo* (朅盤陀). It is located at the western border of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. When coming to China from the west, you pass the Pamir Plateau, which spreads from the



Pamir Plateau, China

又從胡蜜國東行十五日, 過播蜜川, 卽至蔥嶺鎭. 此卽屬漢, 兵馬見今鎭押. 此卽舊日王裴星國境, 爲王背叛, 走投土蕃, 然今國界, 無有百姓. 外國人呼云渴飯檀國, 漢名蔥嶺.

Wakhān region to the Tarim Basin, and on the way to the *nandao* (南道), the Southern Silk Road, you must pass through this region. As a result, it became well known from an early period. It is situated in the Sar-i Kol valley (Kuwayama, 184).

33.
Kashgar

Walking on from Congling, after one month I arrived at Kashgar.[234] Outside of the country, it is referred to as Kashgiri.[235] This region is also controlled by Chinese troops.[236] There are both monasteries and monks here and they practise the Hinayāna.[237] They eat meat, onions, scallions and the like.[238] The natives wear cotton clothes.

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234 Kashgar: recorded in the *Memoirs* as *Shule* (踈勒), in the *Record of the Western Regions* as *Qiasha* (佉沙), and in the *Tang History* as *Shule* (疏勒). It is an oasis city in the northwestern portion of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Its present-day name is Kashi. Beginning in the Han dynasty, it was considered as one of thirty-six countries in the western region. It is located in the northwest of the Taklamakan desert, at the foot of the Tianshan range. It developed greatly as a key point in east-west communications as the crossroads of the northern and southern routes through the Taklamakan. It is also the present-day starting point of the Karakorum highway, a road that crosses the Khunjerab pass on the Pakistan border and continues on to Islamabad.

235 Kashgiri (伽師祇離): although the entry for Kashgar is recorded under the name *Shule* (疏勒), and the sound of the name Kashgiri does not match, Hyecho's record is said to be of much worth in the information it provides in being the first to transmit the pronunciation of this area's name. In *The Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures*, it was transcribed as Jiashijili (迦師佶黎).

236 *Shouzhuo* (守捉), the characters used here, can be defined as "to defend." But in the context of the military affairs at that time, it was also used as a name for the outposts established in smaller districts, similar to *cheng* and *zhen* in note 231.

237 Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* notes that there were several hundred monasteries here, with some ten thousands of followers of the Hinayāna, practising in the Sarvāstivāda school.

238 The reference to their eating meat, onion, and scallions, foods among the *wuxincai* (五辛菜), the "five pungents," indicates that they are Hinayāna practitioners. The *wuxincai* are the five types of spicy vegetables that if eaten regularly, raise your *yang* energy and if eaten every day, will arouse anger. Buddhists are not supposed to eat them because even though doing so may be in accord with the scriptures, it was said that the heavenly sages dislike their smells, and so they should be kept at a distance.



Mor Stūpa, Kashgar, China

又從蔥嶺步入一月, 至踈勒. 外國自呼名伽師祇離國. 此亦漢軍馬守捉. 有寺有僧, 行小乘法. 喫肉及葱韮等. 土人着疊布衣也.

34.
Kucha

Moving on further east from Kashgar, I walked for one month, arriving at Kucha.[239] Because this is the Anxi Grand Protectorate,[240] a great many Chinese troops and horses are stationed here. There are many monks and monasteries here[241] and they practise the Hinayāna.[242] They eat meat, onions, scallions and such. The Chinese monks practise the Mahāyāna.

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239 Kucha: recorded as *Guizi* (龜玆) in the *Memoirs* and as *Quzhi* (屈支) in *Record of the Western Regions*. It was a country and city on the northern edge of the Taklamakan desert, in the present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Both appear in the Chinese historical records beginning in the first and second centuries BC. It was one of the nine large countries counted among the 36 countries of the western region in the Han period. Located in the centre of the western regions, China's interest in that area made this city a constant focus of their interest. In the reign of Mingdi (58–75) of the Eastern Han, Kucha was occupied and the *duhufu* (Protectorate) of the Western Regions (西域都護府) was established, however, an independent kingdom was founded soon after. In the early Qin period as well, they maintained contact with China, and the son of the royal family of Kucha was even invited to come to China. His name was Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什). He was responsible for a huge portion of the translation of key Buddhist sutras into Chinese and contributed greatly to the foundation of Chinese Buddhism.

240 Anxi Grand Protectorate: to defend the frontiers of the western regions, the Anxi *Daduhufu* (see note 228, above) was constantly on the move. The course of its establishment went as such: in 640, after the destruction of the Qu (麴氏) family's *Gaochangguo* (高昌國), their capital Gaochang (高昌) was renamed *Xizhou* (西州) and the *Anxiduhufu* was established. In 648, it was moved to Kucha; in 651 it was moved back to Xizhou; and in 658 again re-established in Kucha. In 670, with the entry of Tibet into the western regions, the *duhufu* moved again to Xizhou; and in 692, it moved back to Kucha. Following this, it remained in Kucha until the rebellion of An Lushan (安史亂) in 755. Therefore, at the time when Hyecho arrived in 727, we know that the Anxi *Daduhufu* was indeed in Kucha (Kuwayama, 187). Tang maintained six Protectorates at Andong (安東), Anxi (安西), Annan (安南), Anbei (安北), Shanyu (單于), and Beiting (北庭).

241 We know of this existence of Buddhism in Kucha based on Sanskrit manuscripts excavated in the northern Taklamakan desert. Of 730 manuscripts, nearly half are related to Kuchean Buddhism.

242 In the *Record of the Western Regions*, Xuanzang reports that there were around one hundred monasteries and some 5000 disciples practising in the Sarvāstivāda school (說一切有部) of the Hinayāna.



Caves, Kizil, China

又從踈勒東行一月, 至龜玆國. 卽是安西大都護府, 漢國兵馬大都集處. 此龜玆國, 足寺足僧, 行小乘法. 食肉及葱韮等也. 漢僧行大乘法.

35. Khotan

Some 2000 *li*[243] to the south of the Anxi *Daduhufu*, there is the country of Khotan.[244] There are many Chinese troops stationed there, as well. There are many monasteries and monks and they practise the Mahāyāna.[245] These monks abstain from eating meat.[246]

From here eastward, all the land is Tang territory. Everyone knows this situation and nothing more needs be said about it.

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243 Khotan is located on the opposite side of the Taklamakan desert from Kucha, and thus travelling from one to the other is extremely difficult. Hyecho did not arrive here directly from Kucha, but rather recorded this travel information based on what he had heard.

244 Khotan: recorded as *Yutian* (于闐) in the Memoirs, and as *Jusadana* (瞿薩旦那) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. This is a city, now named Hetian, located at a key point on the southern edge of the Taklamakan desert, in the present-day Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. As a source of jade much revered by the Chinese, the city has long been well known. Khotan was dominated by the quickly expanding power of Yarkand (莎車) in the later portion of the early Han, but before long, they again became independent, defeating Yarkand, and subjugating thirteen countries between Niya (尼雅) and Kashgar. Khotan and the kingdom of Shanshan (鄯善國) together became the two major countries on the southern route of the western regions. In the third century, around the time China's influence began to decline, it flourished owing to the east-west commerce, and was one of the five great nations of the Tarim Basin, with a flowering of independent culture. At the beginning of the Tang, their northern area was under Western Turkic control, but following the Tang entrance into the Tarim Basin, it joined with other oasis countries to destroy the Turks, upon which they set up the Four Garrisons of Anxi (安西四鎮). With the entrance of Tibet into the Tarim Basin in 790, the surrenders of the Anxi *duhufu* and Beiting *duhufu* brought Khotan back under Turkic control.

245 Among the four regions within China's Anxi Grand Protectorate, Kashgar, Kucha, and Karashahr, on the Silk Road's northern route of the Western regions, all practised the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hinayāna. However, it is only here in Khotan, on the southern road of the western region (西域南道), that the Mahāyāna was practised. Hyecho's records make this difference clear.

246 Because they are Mahāyānists, they do not eat meat, unlike the other three Hinayāna countries, where meat is eaten.



View of Khotan, China

又安西南去于闐國二千里, 亦足漢軍馬領押. 足寺足僧, 行大乘法. 不食肉也. 從此已東, 並是大唐境界. 諸人共知, 不言可悉.

Buddhism at the four Anxi Garrisons

I reached Anxi during the beginning of the eleventh lunar month of the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era [727], and the honorable Zhao[247] was the military

[247] Zhaojun (趙君): this refers to Zhao Yizhen who was appointed vice governor-general of Anxi in 726. He resisted the seige of Anxi by joint Turkic and Tibetan forces in 727, and in 728 he defeated the Tibetans at Quzicheng (曲子城) (*Old Tang History*, vol. 8; *Zizhi tongjian*, *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, vol. 213). The Anxi governor-general at that time had not been installed by the royal family, and as a result, the vice governor-general (副大都護) had the responsibilities of the *daduhu* governor-general (大都護), referred to as the *Duhu*. While the position of *Duhu* combines management of both military and civil affairs, in the eighth century, the military aspect took precedence (*see* Kuwayama, 192). While *The Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures* has an entry for Yizhen (頤貞), here in the *Memoirs*, the name Zhao Yizhen (趙頤貞) seems likely to record both his family and given names.

commissioner[248] at that time.

There are two monasteries in Anxi where the abbots are Chinese monks. Here they practise the Mahāyāna and refrain from eating meat. The abbot[249] of Dayun monastery,[250] Xiuxing, is a skilled lecturer, and was previously a monk at Qibaotai monastery in the capital.[251] The director of monks[252] at

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248 *Jiedudashi* (節度大使): the title of a government position, normally called *Jiedushi* (節度使). In the first half of the Tang dynasty, they modelled their system after those of the northern Zhou and Sui dyansties, setting up *zongguan* "commander-in-chief" (總管), after which the name was changed to *dudu* "area commander" (都督), who was in control of the military affairs of many individual regions, called *zhou* (州). In the second year of the Jingyun period of the Ruizong reign of Tang (711), He Banyansi was made the Liangzhou Commander in Chief (*dudu*, 涼州都督), and was appointed as the Hexi *jiedushi* (河西節度使). From this point on, the post of Military Commissioner (*jiedushi*) came into being. At first, the post was only utilized in the border regions, but after the An Lushan rebellion, such positions were established throughout the country. The Military Commissioner was the one person responsible for the comprehensive management of the military, finances, and general population of a single *du*, region, or a number of *zhou*, prefectures.

249 *Sizhu* (寺主): the three monks managing the affairs of a monastery, called the *san'gang* "three bonds" (三綱), comprised of a *shangzuo* "elder, president" (上座), a *sizhu* "abbot" (寺主), and *duweina* "director of monks" (都維那). The *san'gang* system began in the Former Qin period of the fourth century, and it was reflected in the Buddhist scriptures as well. Therefore, every monastery had one of each of these three and they worked together to manage the duties of a monastery. In volume four of *Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang bureaucracy* (*Da Tang Liudian:* 大唐六典), *sizhu* originally meant the person who founded a monastery, or who was responsible for the management and other duties related to the temple.

250 Dayun Monastery (大雲寺): in the seventh lunar month of the Zaichu era (載初) (690), Empress Wu Zetian (武則天), who had adopted the *Dayunjing* (大雲經) as her ruling ideology, ordered monks to publish and promote a version of the sutra that emphasizes a woman becoming empress, and she soon had "Great Cloud" temples built in every region. (*Old Tang History*, vol. 6). Here, Hyecho's record informs us that both Kucha and Kashgar indeed had "Great Cloud" temples, and that monks from the capital were being dispatched to the frontier.

251 Qibaotai Monastery (七寶臺寺): this refers to Guangzhai Monastery (光宅寺), founded during the second year (677) of the Yifeng (儀鳳) era, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian, when a *qibaotai* (七寶臺), "tower of seven treasures," was erected at Guangzhaisi, and the monastery's name was changed to Qibaotaisi.

252 *Duweina* (都維那): also known as *Weina* (維那). *Wei* (維) comes from *gangwei* "monastery chief"

Dayun-si is Yichao, who is well-versed in the *Vinaya Pitaka*,[253] and was previously a monk at Zhuangyan monastery[254] in the capital. Mingyun, an elder[255] at Dayun monastery, is of esteemed virtue, diligently adhering to the precepts, and was also once a monk in the capital. These monks[256] are leaders in their monasteries, upholding the dharma, exalted in their aspiration for enlightenment, and joyful in their accumulation of merit and virtue.

The abbot of Longxing monastery is Fahai, a Chinese man who, though born[257] in Anxi, is just like a native Chinese in terms of his scholarship and manners.

There is a Chinese monastery in Khotan as well, named Longxing-si.[258]

(綱維), and *na* (那), which comes from the Sanskrit word *karmadāna* "director controller" (羯磨陀那), are combined to create the name of this job title. The original title can be translated as *Yuezhong* (悅衆), "manager of affairs," but this job is specifically charged with managing the monks' discipline and daily tasks.

253 *Vinaya pitaka* (律藏): also known as the *Jielüzang* (戒律藏), it refers to the Buddhist scriptures that record the *Vinaya* (戒律) or rules for monastic discipline.

254 Zhuangyan Monastery (莊嚴寺): in the third year of the Renshou (仁壽) era of Sui (603), Sui Wendi (隋文帝) founded Chanding-si (禪定寺) on behalf of Queen Wenxian (文獻), who had died the previous year. During the Wude (武德) period of early Tang (618), the name was changed to Zhuangyansi. It was one of the representative temples of the capital city of Chang'an.

255 Elders (上座): originally, this term referred simply to monks who had been in the sangha for a long time, but it became the name for the position reserved for elder monastics whose age and virtue allowed them to take command of the sangha. The literal meaning of the title ("lofty seat") refers to the early days of Buddhism, when much focus was placed on the sequence in which one had been ordained, and thus those who had been ordained earliest were seated in the highest positions.

256 Here he has introduced all three of the *san'gang* positions at Dayun-si. This is thus a record informing us that the *san'gang* system (see note 249, above) had been put into effect in the provincial regions during the first half of the eighth century. In those days, the *san'gang* system was not totally fixed, however. Generally, the three positions are sequenced as *shangzuo*, *sizhu*, and *duweina*. However, Hyecho first introduces the *sizhu*, *duweina*, and then the *shangzuo*.

257 Based on its shape and context, the character [兒] is recovered from the original.

258 Longxing Monastery (龍興寺): in the first year of the Shenlong era (神龍) (705), in Chang'an, Luoyang, and throughout the country, Buddhist and Daoist temples were built called *Da Tang*

The abbot is a Chinese monk named [*text missing*] who upholds the dharma well. He is a native of Jizhou, Hebei.[259]

There is a Chinese monastery in Kashgar, named Dayun-si. There is one Chinese[260] monk who is the abbot. He is a native of Minzhou.[261]

開元十五年十一月上旬, 至安西. 于時節度大使趙君. 且於安西, 有兩所漢僧住持, 行大乘法, 不食肉也. 大雲寺主秀行, 善能講說, 先是京中七寶臺寺僧. 大雲寺都維那名義超, 善解律藏, 舊是京中庄嚴寺僧也. 大雲寺上座名明惲, 大有行業, 亦是京中僧. 此等僧, 大好住持, 甚有道心, 樂崇功德. 龍興寺主名法海, 雖是漢[兒]生安西, 學識人風, 不殊華夏. 于闐有一漢寺, 名龍興寺. 有一漢僧, [名]□□, 是彼寺主, 大好住持, 彼僧是河北冀州人士. 疎勒亦有漢大雲寺. 有(一漢)僧住持, 卽是岷州人士.

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zhongxing-si (大唐中興寺). There were also institutions called *Da Tang Zhongxingguan* (大唐中興觀) (*Tang Huiyao*, vol. 48). In the third year of Shenlong (707), the name *Zhongxing* (中興) was summarily changed to *Longxing* (龍興) and Longxingsi came into being (*Old Tang History*, vol. 7).

259 Jizhou (冀州): this refers to a town in south of Hebei Province, within the city of Hengshui (衡水市).

260 Though the character seems to have been lost or made illegible, from the context the characters [一漢] are assumed.

261 Minzhou (岷州): this refers to Minxian, a district located in the present-day city of Dingxi in eastern Gansu Province.

36.
Karashahr

Going on again from Anxi *Daduhufu* to the east for [*two characters missing*][262] I arrived at Karashahr.[263] Here as well, Chinese troops[264] are on guard. There is a king here, and the common people are Hu. There are many monasteries and monks and they practise the Hinayāna.[265] [*five characters missing*] ... the four garrisons[266] of Anxi *Daduhufu* are located here, the first[267] being Anxi,

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262 The *Record of the Western Regions* states that the distance between Karashahr and Kucha was some 900 *li*, and the *New Tang History* puts it at 630 *li*. If we go by the standard of 50 *li* being a day's travel, about a half month's travel would be right, and the missing characters could be assumed to be [半月], "half a month."

263 Karashahr: recorded as *Yanqi* (焉耆) in the *Memoirs*, and as *Aqini* (阿耆尼) in the *Record of the Western Regions*. A city in the northeast of the Taklamakan desert in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, it lies in Yanqi Hui Autonomous County (焉耆回族自治縣). It is located in a key position at the foot of the southern Tianshan Mountains, where the north road of the western regions passes through to cross the southern Tianshan, coming directly from the east, avoiding Turfan, and proceeding into the Tarim Basin. In the first century BC, it was the main administrative site for the western region of the Xiongnu, who scrambled for control with the Chinese. Though it was at the very beginning a Xiongnu country, after 59 BC it came under the Han western region's *duhufu*, then in later Han, it maintained independence and gained leverage from its position between the Xiongnu and Chinese. Finally, in the Tang period it came under the rule of the Anxi *daduhufu*.

264 Based on context, the character [馬] is assumed.

265 The *Record of the Western Regions* state that there were some one hundred temples in Karashahr with about 2000 practitioners studying in the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hinayāna.

266 The four garrisons (鎮) under command of the Anxi *daduhufu*: During the Tang era, a military presence was established in four important areas of the "western region." These outposts were called *zhen* "garrisons." In 649, the four garrisons were at Khotan, Kashgar, Kucha, and Karashahr, but in 670, Tibet invaded this region, and the four garrisons were discontinued. In 679, the fortress-city of Suiye (碎葉城) was established in the western Tianshan area. In 692, the Anxi *daduhufu* was again established in Kucha, combining with the garrisons in Khotan, Kashgar, and Suiye to form the four garrisons. In 719, Suiye was handed over to the Turks, and Karashahr once again became one of the four garrisons. In this record, Hyecho is describing these circumstances. Following the An Lushan rebellion, all four garrisons fell completely to Tibet.

the second, Khotan, the third Kashgar, and the fourth Karashahr ... [*sixteen characters missing here and three more below the next line*] ... Generally,[268] they follow Chinese customs, wearing a skirt on the inside (*the rest of the text below this point is missing*).

又從安西東行□□, 至焉耆國, 是漢軍兵(馬)領押. 有王, 百姓是胡. 足寺足僧, 行小乘法. □□□□□, 此卽安西四鎮名[數], 一安西 二于闐 三踈勒 四焉耆. <下缺> <上缺> [大]依漢法, 裹頭着裙.
<下缺>

267 The full character is not clear, but [數] is assumed.

268 The full character is not clear, but [大] is assumed.

III

SAMGUK YUSA (STŪPAS AND IMAGES)

Compiled by Iryeon
Translated by Michael Finch

4-1. The Rock on which Kāśyapa Buddha Sat in Meditation 迦葉弗宴坐石

Introduction:

This story, which claims that the site of Hwangnyongsa (Monastery of the Imperial Dragon) was the place where the Buddha of the past, Kāśyapa, had trained in meditation (*samādhi*), was probably recorded in order to emphasize that Hwangnyongsa, which was at the core of Silla Buddhism, had long had an affinity with Buddhism. Iryeon bases his assertion on such works as the *Jade Dragon Collection* (*Ongnyongjip*) and the "Biography of Jajang" (Jajangjeon). In accordance with this view, he puts forward the claim that Hwangnyongsa had originally been built as a palace but had subsequently been re-founded as a monastery. Iryeon also went to Hwangnyongsa in person, examined the rock on which Kāśyapa Buddha was said to have meditated, and recorded its actual state. Furthermore, in order to provide evidence for Silla Buddhism's long connection with Kāśyapa Buddha, he examines the time of the Seven Buddhas of the Past (Gwageo chilbul) and the calculation of time in terms of kalpas according to Buddhist scriptures such as the *Āgama Sūtra* (*Ahamgyeong*). Comparing them with records such as Goryeo's *Yeokdaegi* and *Daeilyeokbeop* and such Chinese records as *Zuangutu* (纂古圖, Collected Ancient Texts),[1] which mention *kaebyeok* (the beginning of the universe), he maintains that Buddhism's concept of time is the longest and thus establishes its superiority.

Annotated Translation:

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1 The *Zuangutu* is not referred to in Chinese sources. The *History of the Later Han*, however, states that the period from the beginning of the universe until the "capturing of the *lin*" (see note 27, below) was 2,760,000 years. *Hou Han shu* (後漢書: [History of the Later Han] *juan* 92. Lülizhi [律歷志]).

The records transmitted in the *Jade Dragon Collection* (*Ongnyongjip*),[2] the "Biography of Jajang" (Jajangjeon 慈藏傳)[3] and various other collections all

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2 *Jade Dragon Collection* (*Ongnyongjip*: 玉龍集) is thought to be one of the divination texts (*dochamseo*: 圖讖書) that were popular during the Goryeo era. It was attributed to Doseon (道詵, 827–898), considered to be the originator of various types of divination methods in the Goryeo period, and it was transmitted under various titles such as *The Secret Records of Doseon* (*Doseon bigi*: 道詵秘記 or *Doseon milgi*: 道詵密記). As Doseon was head of Ongnyongsa (玉龍寺) for thirty-five years, the work also came to be known as the *Jade Dragon Records* (*Ongnyonggi*: 玉龍記) or the *Jade Dragon Collection*.

3 Jajang (慈藏) was a Silla Buddhist monk. His family name was Gim and his original given name was Seonjongnang (善宗郎). He was the son of Murim (茂林), a member of the "true-bone" (*jingol*: 眞骨) lineage. In 638 he traveled to Tang at the royal command and made a pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai (五臺山), where he had an encounter with an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Munsu) and received a robe and *śarīra* (relics). Subsequently he practiced at Yunjisi (雲際寺) on Mt. Zhongnan (終南山), associated with Daoxuan (596－667, see note 371, below) and in 643 returned to Silla with a complete collection of the Buddhist sūtras, laws and treatises (*Daejanggyeong*: 大藏經) and various Buddhist ritual implements (*bulgu*: 佛具). While he was the abbot of Bunhwangsa he lectured in the royal palace and at Hwangnyongsa on such works as the *Compendium of the Great Vehicle* (*Seop daeseung non*: 攝大乘論) and *On Conferring the Bodhisattva Vinaya* (*Bosal gyebon*: 菩薩戒本). On being appointed to the position of Chief Abbot of State (*daeguktong*: 大國統) he pursued a program of regularizing standards for Buddhist monks and nuns and their supervisory office (*seungtong*: 僧統), strict observance and practice of the Buddhist precepts, inspection of monasteries in the regions, and the systematization of the formalities of major Buddhist ceremonies. He proposed the construction of the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa and oversaw its completion in 645. He constructed Tongdo Monastery (Tongdosa) and enshrined relics of the Buddha (*jinsin sari*) and erected the Diamond Ordination Platform (Geumgang gyedan: 金剛戒壇) there. In 649 he memorialized the king to follow the Chinese system of government and for the first time Tang-style clothing and headgear were worn at the Silla court. He also advised the king to adopt the Tang era name, Zhenguan. In his later years he left the capital and built Sudasa (水多寺) in Gangneung (江陵) and Seongnamsa (石南院, present-day Jeongamsa: 淨岩寺) on Mt. Taebaek (太白山). He was revered by later generations as the founder of the Vinaya School (Yuljong: 律宗). There are various biographical records of Jajang including the "Biography of Jajang" in volume 24 of the *Supplement to the Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Sokgoseungjeon*: 續高僧傳); the chapter in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa*) entitled "The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas on Mt. Wutai," which quotes the "Old Story from the Mountain" (Sanjung gojeon: 山中古傳); the sources for the chapter entitled "The Rules of Jajang" (Jajang jeongnyul: 慈藏定律); and volume 64 of *Fayuan zhulin* (*Beopwon jurim*: 法苑珠林) entitled Jajang jo. The present text, however, does not appear in these other works. In volume 3 of *Samguk yusa,* the chapters entitled "The Sixteen-foot Buddha Image at Hwangnyongsa" and "The Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa" contain additional passages. Especially in the chapter entitled "The Sixteen-foot Image of Buddha at Hwangnyongsa", we read

state that "to the east of Silla's Wolseong (Moon Fortress)[4] and to the south of Yonggung (Dragon Palace) is a rock[5] on which Kāśyapa Buddha sat in meditation.[6] The land is the site of a temple from a previous Buddhist era. The site of the Hwangnyongsa of today is one of the seven monasteries."[7]

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that the rock on which Kasyapa Buddha sat in meditation was entrusted to Jajang by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mt. Wutai. (後大德慈藏西學, 到五臺山, 感文殊現身授訣. 仍囑云, "汝國皇龍寺, 乃釋迦與迦葉佛 講演之地, 宴坐石猶在, 故天竺無憂王, 聚黃鐵若干近 泛海 歷一千三百餘年. 然後乃到而國, 成安其寺, 蓋威緣使然"). (*Ed. note: on Jajang's travel to China, see also note 125, below*).

4 Wolseong (Moon Fortress: 月城) was a royal fortress constructed in AD 101 (Twenty-second year of the reign of King Pasa) at Inwangdong (仁王洞), Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. As it is shaped like a crescent moon, it is also called Banwolseong (Half-Moon Fortress: 半月城). On its eastern, western and northern sides the fortress was protected by ramparts of earth and rocks, while on its southern side it made use of the natural protection provided by the South Stream (Namcheon). Beneath the fortress walls a man-made moat helped the water to keep flowing and created a defensive barrier. Toward the east, the site of the fortress gate which led to Imhae Pavilion (Imhaejeon) still remains. The sites of many buildings, together with a stone ice store (*seokbinggo*) that was moved here from the west of Wolseong in 1741, still remain within the fortress walls.

5 Kāśyapa Buddha (Gayeopbul: 迦葉佛) is the sixth of the seven Buddhas of the past. The first of these was Vipaśyin (Bipasibul: 毘婆尸佛), the second Śikhin (Sigibul: 尸棄佛), the third Viśvabūm (Bisabubul: 毘舍浮佛), the fourth Krakucchanda (Guryusonbul: 拘留孫佛), the fifth Kanakamuni (Gunahammonibul: 俱那含牟尼佛), the sixth Kāśyapa (Gaseopbul: 迦葉佛) and the seventh Śākyamuni (Seokgamoni: 釋迦牟尼, see note 631, below). The first to the third of these Buddhas of the past are those who attained enlightenment in the "glorious kalpa" (*jangeom geop*), while the fourth and subsequent Buddhas all attained enlightenment in the present kalpa.

6 The Korean term used for "seated in meditation" here is *yeonjwa* (宴坐), which has the same meaning as the more common term *jwaseon* (坐禪). The original phrase *yeonjwaseok* (宴坐石), therefore, may be translated as "a rock on which [Kāśyapa Buddha] sat in meditation."

7 The "seven monasteries" refers to the seven Buddhist monastic sites from the era of the Buddhas of the past, which were said to be located inside the Silla capital. In the chapter "Ado Lays the Foundation (for Buddhism) in Silla" (Adogira 阿道基羅) in the third volume of *Samguk yusa*, "The Raising of the Dharma" (Heungbeop 興法), the seven sites are said to be those of Buddhas of the past, and are enumerated as follows:

1. Cheongyeongnim (天鏡林) to the east of Geumgyo (金橋) (now Heungnyunsa 興輪寺, see note 245, below)
2. Samcheongi (三川歧) (now Yeongheungsa 永興寺)
3. Yonggungnam (龍宮南, i.e. South of the Dragon Palace, now Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺,

If we look in the *National History* (*Guksa*),[8] we find that in the second month of the third year, *gyeyu*, of Gaeguk (553) the fourteenth year of King Jinheung's reign,[9] a yellow dragon (黃龍) appeared at the site when a new palace was built to the east of Wolseong. It was said that the king thought this strange and to put it right converted the palace into Hwangnyongsa (皇龍寺), Monastery of the Imperial Dragon.

The meditation rock is located behind the main Buddha Hall. I saw it long ago, and the rock was about five or six feet (*ja*) high and its circumference no more than three arm's-lengths.[10] It stood up like a pillar and was flat on the top. The temple has burned down twice since King

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see note 92, below)

4. Yonggungpuk (龍宮北, i.e. North of the Dragon Palace, now Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺, see note 185, below)
5. Sacheonmi (沙川尾) (now Yeongmyosa 靈妙寺, see note 203, below)
6. Sinyurim (神遊林) (now Cheonwangsa 天王寺)
7. Seocheongjeon (婿請田) (now Tamonsa 曇嚴寺).

[8] *Guksa* (*National History*) refers to the *Samguk sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*). The part cited is from the fourteenth year of King Jinheung's reign in volume 14. The text reads as follows: "In the second month of spring the king ordered the office responsible to build a new palace to the east of Moon Fortress. A yellow dragon appeared at the site and the king, considering it to be inauspicious, converted the palace into a Buddhist monastery and gave it the name of Hwangnyong (Yellow Dragon)." (春二月, 王命所司, 築新宮於月城東. 黃龍見其地, 王疑之, 改爲佛寺, 賜號曰黃龍.) NB the characters for 'yellow' (*hwang*: 黃) and 'emperor' (*hwang*: 皇) are homophones in Korean, and in the text of the *Samguk yusa* and all Silla monument inscriptions, the character for *hwang* in Hwangnyongsa is always written with the character, 皇.

[9] King Jinheung (眞興王, r. 540–576) was the twenty-fourth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Sammaekjong (三麥宗) or Simmaekbu (深麥夫). He was the grandson of King Jijeung and the son of King Beopheung's younger brother Ipjonggalmunwang. His mother was Gim-ssi the daughter of King Beopheung, and his queen consort was Lady Sado Bak-ssi. He acquired the strategically important territory of the Han River basin, which had belonged to Baekje, and killed King Seong of Baekje in battle. Subsequently he subjugated Daegaya and set up circuit monuments (*sunsubi*) from Changnyeong to Maun Pass and Hwangcho Pass on Mt. Pukhan on newly claimed territory. He founded the *hwarang* system and selected young, talented people as the driving force for the development of the nation.

[10] *Samju* (三肘): one *ju* (肘) is the distance from the tips of the fingers to the shoulder.

Jinheung built it and there was a split in the rock, which the monks of the temple had bound up with iron.

Panegyric:
Uncountable, the years Buddhism has been in decline,
The meditation rock alone has remained unchanged.
There have been many changes in the course of time,[11]
But still it sadly stands aloft and has not moved.

After the invasions from the west[12] the Buddha hall and pagoda were burned down and this stone was buried so that it became almost level with the ground.

迦葉佛宴坐石

玉龍集及慈藏傳, 與諸家傳紀皆云. "新羅月城東, 龍宮南, 有迦葉佛宴坐石. 其地卽前佛時伽藍之墟也. 今皇龍寺之地, 卽七伽藍之一也." 按國史, 眞興王卽位十四開國三年癸酉二月, 築新宮於月城東, 有黃龍現其地. 王疑之, 改爲皇龍寺. 宴坐石在佛殿後面, 嘗一謁焉, 石之高可五六尺來, 圍僅三肘, 幢立而平頂. 眞興創寺已來, 再經災火, 石有拆裂處, 寺僧貼鐵爲護. 乃有讚曰, 惠日沈輝不記年, 唯餘宴坐石依然. 桑田幾度成滄海, 可惜巍然尙未遷. 旣而西山大兵已後, 殿塔煨燼, 而此石亦夷沒, 而僅與地平矣.

If we look at the *Āgama Sūtra* (*Ahamgyeong*),[13] it is said that Kāśyapa, the

11 Literally, "the mulberry fields have become wide oceans."

12 The term *Seosan daebyeong* (西山大兵) used here refers to the Mongol invasions that occurred during the reign of King Gojong and particularly to the invasion of 1238 (in the twenty-fifth year of King Gojong's reign) when the Mongols reached as far as Gyeongju and burned down the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa.

13 The *Āgama Sūtra* (*Ahamgyeong*: 阿含經) is a Buddhist sūtra belonging to the Theravada school. Its core philosophy may be summarized as being the Four Noble Truths (*saje*: 四諦) and Dependent Origination (*yeongi*: 緣起). There are various versions of the *Āgama Sūtra* including the *Long Āgama Sūtra* (*Jangahamgyeong*: 長阿含經), the *Medium-length Āgama Sūtra* (*Jungahamgyeong*: 中阿含經), the *Increasing-by-One Āgama Sūtra* (*Jeungilahamgyeong*: 增壹阿含經) and the *Miscellaneous Āgama Sūtra*

third Buddha of the "Wisdom Kalpa",[14] appeared on earth when [the length of] human life was 20,000 years. In evidence of this if we calculate according to the law of increase and reduction (*jeunggambeop*), in the Formation Kalpa (*seonggeop*)[15] the length of everyone's life is limitless and then gradually

(*Jabahamgyeong*: 雜阿含經). The passage cited here may be found in the *Long Āgama Sūtra*. In the first volume (*gwon*) of the *Long Āgama Sūtra* are accounts of the periods when Seven Buddhas of the Past (see note 5, above) appeared and their respective human life-spans. According to this sutra the first Buddha of the past, Vipaśyin appeared at a time when people lived for 80,000 years, the second, Śikhin when people lived for 70,000 years, the third, Viśvabūm when people lived for 60,000 years, the fourth, Krakucchanda when people lived for 40,000 years, the fifth, Kanakamuni when people lived for 30,000 years, the sixth, Kāśyapa when people lived for 20,000 years, and the seventh, Śākyamuni (Seokgamoni: 釋迦牟尼) when people lived for 100 years.

14 The Wisdom Kalpa (賢劫, *hyeongeop*) or Bhadrakalpa is one of the "three kalpas" (*samgeop*: 三劫). The Korean term *geop* (Skt. *kalpa*) is a contraction of *geoppa* (劫波) or *gallappa* (羯臘波) and originally means "division" signifying an immensely long time period. The classification of kalpas differs according to the different sutras. The Wisdom Kalpa is also known as the Present-residing Kalpa *hyeonjaejugeop* (現在住劫) or the Manifestation Kalpa *hyeongeop* (現劫). As many sages appeared in this era it is also known as the Wisdom Kalpa. During this kalpa 1,000 Buddhas appeared to bring salvation to living beings, including Krakucchanda (Guryusonbul), Kanakamuni (Gunahammonibul), Kāśyapa (Gaseopbul) and Śākyamuni. The time it takes for the human lifespan to diminish from 84,000 years to 1 year and increase to 84,000 years again (a period of one decrease and one increase: *ilgamiljeung*) is called a Lesser Kalpa (*sogeop*: 小劫); according to such texts as the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra* (*Gusaron*) by Vasubandhu this time period amounts to 16,800,000 years. When the Small Kalpa is repeated twenty times it forms a Medium-length Kalpa (*junggeop*) during which time the world is formed. In the following twenty kalpas the world resides, in the next twenty kalpas it is destroyed, and in the following twenty kalpas it becomes completely empty. Four kalpas together: formation (*seong* 成), residing (*ju* 住), destruction (*goe* 壞), and emptiness (*gong* 空), make up a Major Kalpa. The Major Kalpa of the past is called the Solemn Kalpa (*jangeomgeop*: 莊嚴劫); the present Major Kalpa is known as the Wisdom Kalpa; and the future Major Kalpa is called the Constellation Kalpa (*seongsugeop*: 星宿劫).

15 The Formation Kalpa (*seonggeop*: 成劫) is the immensely long period required for the world to come back into existence and be repopulated with human beings after it has been destroyed and ceased to exist. After this world has been completely destroyed, as a result of the predominant power (Skt. *adhipati*: *jeungsangnyeok*: 增上力) of pure karma (*jeongeop*: 淨業), a gentle breeze arises. This is followed by the Wind Wheel, the Water Wheel and the Gold Wheel. Above the Gold Wheel arises Mt. Sumeru (Sumisan), the Seven Golden Mountains (Chilgeumsan), and the Four Continents (Sadaeju), followed by places that are habitable by human beings, the Four Heavens of the Four Deva-Kings

decreases until at the age of 80,000 years, when the Residing Kalpa (*jugeop*)[16] begins. From this time onwards human lifespan is reduced by one year every 100 years until it is just 10 years, a time period of one reduction (*ilgam*). It then increases again until a person's lifespan becomes 80,000 years, a time period of one increase (*iljeung*). In this way 20 time periods of reduction (*gam*) and 20 time periods of increase (*jeung*) make up one Residing Kalpa. During this Residing Kalpa 1,000 Buddhas appear on earth, and the current original master (*bonsa*) Śākyamuni Buddha is the fourth Buddha. Each of the four Buddhas appeared during the ninth period of reduction. [Going back] from world-honored Śākyamuni when [human lifespan is] 100 years to the time of Kāśyapa Buddha [when it was] 20,000 years is more than 2,000,000 years. Going back even further to the beginning of the Wisdom Kalpa at the time of the first honored one, Krakucchanda Buddha (Guryusonbul),[17] is also tens of thousands of years. How many more years must there be between the time of Krakucchanda Buddha and the beginning of time (*geopcho*) when life spans were without limit? As 2,230 years[18] have already elapsed since the time of the world-honored Śākyamuni until now, the eighteenth year, *sinsa*,

(Sacheonwangcheon), and the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods (Doricheon, see note 296, below).

16 The Residing Kalpa (*jugeop*) is the time-period during which living beings exist in the receptacle world (Skt. *bhājana-loka*: K. *gisegan*: 器世間), which is a world of various distinctions, and the world of sentient beings (*jungsaengsegan*: 衆生世間), in which living beings are the recipients of the Buddha's enlightening education. This world persists in peace and tranquility and is one in which human beings may reside safely.

17 Krakucchanda Buddha (Guryusonbul: 拘留孫佛) is the fourth Buddha of the Seven Buddhas of the Past (see note 5, above) and is the first of the One Thousand Buddhas (Cheonbul: 千佛) of the Wisdom Kalpa. He appeared when the lifespan of human beings was 40,000 years and is said to have attained enlightenment under the *śirīṣa* tree and to have enlightened 40,000 disciples all at once.

18 On the basis of this calculation the date referred to in the phrase "from the time of the world-honored Śākyamuni" would have been 949 BC. This date refers to the year of the Buddha's death. This date is the date used for the traditional Buddhist calendar in China, Korea and other countries within the Northern Buddhist tradition. Nowadays, however, in accordance with the decision of the Fourth World Buddhist Congress held in Kathmandu, Nepal in 1956, the Buddhist community around the world uses the common date of 544 BC for the death of the Buddha, in accordance with the Southern Buddhist tradition.

of the Zhiyuan[19] reign (1281); since the time of Krakucchanda Buddha and Kāśyapa Buddha until now, several tens of thousands of years have passed.

按阿含經, 迦葉佛是賢劫第三尊也, 人壽二萬歲時, 出現於世. 據此以增減法計之, 每成劫初, 皆壽無量歲, 漸減至壽八萬歲時, 爲住劫之初. 自此又百年, 減一歲, 至壽十歲時, 爲一減, 又增至人壽八萬歲時, 爲一增. 如是二十減二十增, 爲一住劫. 此一住劫中, 有千佛出世, 今本師釋迦, 是第四尊也. 四尊皆現於第九減中. 自釋尊百歲壽時, 至迦葉佛二萬歲時, 已得二百萬餘歲, 若至賢劫初第一尊拘留孫佛時, 又幾萬歲也. 自拘留孫佛時, 上至劫初無量歲壽時, 又幾何也. 自釋尊下, 至于今至元十八年辛巳歲, 已得二千二百三十矣, 自拘留孫佛, 歷迦葉佛時, 至于今, 則直幾萬歲也.

Our well-known Goryeo man of letters O Semun[20] has written in the *Yeokdaegi* that going back more than 49,600 years from the seventh year, *kimyo* of the Zhenyou[21] reign in the Jin dynasty (1219), is the *muin* year when Pangu[22] created heaven and earth. Also Gim Huiryeong, the Yeonhui Palace[23]

19 Zhiyuan (至元, 1264–1294) is the era name of Shizu (Khubilai) of the Yuan dynasty and is contemporaneous with the period from the fifth year of Goryeo King Wonjong's reign until the twentieth year of King Chungnyeol's reign.

20 O Semun (吳世文) lived during the period from the reign of the Goryeo king Uijong to the reign of Gojong. In the sixth year of the reign of Uijong (1152) he passed the Classics Licentiate Examination (Saengwonsi) and in the reign of Myeongjong (1170–1197), he attained the official post of Donggaksihak (東閣侍學).

21 Zhenyou (貞祐, 1213–1217) was the era name of Xuanzong (宣宗) of the Jin (金) dynasty. As this period only lasted five years, the seventh year of Zhenyou would in fact have been the third year of Xingding (興定) and the sixth year of the reign of King Gojong of Goryeo.

22 Pangu is a legendary Chinese god who appeared at the time when heaven and earth came into existence. *Ed. note:* see Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 307: "P'an Ku: the first divine human; *P'an* means coiled; *Ku* means antiquity; miraculous birth when sky and earth separated at creation; toward death, his body became parts of the universe; insects on his body became humans; myth originated in the southwest and is probably of non-Chinese origin."

23 During the reign of King Myeongjong (明宗, r. 1170–1197) the title of Princess Yeonhui (Yeonhuigongju: 延禧公主) was conferred on Princess Chang (Changgongju: 長公主), and the Yeonhui Palace (Yeonhuigong: 延禧宮) is thought to be connected to this princess.

Recorder,[24] has stated in the *Daeilyeokbeop* (大一曆法) that 1,937,641 years elapsed between the time of the creation of heaven and earth in the *sangwon gapja* year[25] and the *gapja* year of the Yuanfeng era (1084).[26] Furthermore, the *Zuangutu* (纂古圖) states that from the time of the creation of the universe (*kaebyeok* 開闢) until the time of "the capture of the *lin*"[27] (477 BCE) was 2,760,000 years. If we consult various Buddhist texts, we find that the age of this meditation rock dates from the time of Kāśyapa Buddha until today, yet in relation to the time that has passed since the original creation of heaven and earth, its age is barely that of a little child. As the time periods given in the accounts of these three authors do not even amount to the age of this 'infant rock,' their tales of the creation of heaven and earth must be extremely inaccurate.

有本朝名士吳世文, 作歷代歌, 從大金貞祐七年己卯, 逆數至四萬九千六百餘歲, 爲盤古開闢戊寅. 又延禧宮錄事金希寧所撰大一曆法, 自開闢上元甲子, 至元豊甲子, 一百九十三萬七千六百四十一歲. 又纂古圖云, 開闢至獲麟, 二百七十六萬歲. 按諸經, 且以迦葉佛時至于今, 爲此石之壽, 尙距於劫初開闢時爲兒子矣. 三家之說, 尙不及玆兒石之年, 其於開闢之說, 疎之遠矣.

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24 "Recorders" (*noksa*: 錄事) were low-ranking officials with secretarial duties allocated to each administrative office in the Goryeo era. They were usually ranked from grade seven to grade nine.

25 *Sangwon* (上元) *gapja* (甲子) refers to the first year of the first of three sexagenary cycles, which are thought of as comprising a large unit of era change. It is said that at the end of every 180 years there is a return back to the beginning. The first sexagenary cycle of sixty years is called *sangwon* (上元), the next sixty-year cycle is called *jungwon* (中元) and the final sixty-year cycle is called *hawon* (下元).

26 Yuanfeng (元豊) is an era name from the reign of Shenzong (神宗) of the Northern Song dynasty and refers to the years 1078 to 1085. This era coincides with the period lasting from the thirty-second year of the reign of Goryeo's Munjong to the second year of Sonjong's reign.

27 The "capture of the *lin*" (*huolin*: 獲麟) is a reference to an incident that occurred in the Spring and Autumn Period in the spring of the fourteenth year (481 BC) of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu when "hunting in the west [he] caught a *lin*" (西狩獲麟). When Confucius edited the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*: 春秋), he finished with this article, so the phrase has come to mean "putting down one's pen" (*jeolpil*: 絶筆) on completing a text. Here it signifies the period of ancient human history from the beginning of the world until the end of the Spring and Autumn Period.

4-2.
King Aśoka's Pagoda at Liaodong Fortress 遼東城育王塔

Introduction:

This passage, cited from *Jishenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 by the Tang monk Daoxuan 道宣, introduces the Aśoka Pagoda at Liaodong Fortress. It states that this pagoda, which was discovered and identified by a Goguryeo king, was a three-story earthen pagoda and that important Sanskrit texts were retrieved from inside it. The king subsequently constructed a seven-story wooden pagoda, said to have rotted long ago. Furthermore, it is recorded that there were ancient Buddha images in Liaodong in the latter days of the Goguryeo dynasty, based on an account by Xue Rengui, who participated in the Goguryeo-Tang wars. In order to clarify exactly when these facts occurred, Iryeon follows various lines of historical research; the legend of King Aśoka, who built 84,000 pagodas all over the world, is also presented here, apparently in order to establish the veracity of the facts.

Annotated Translation:

The *Sanbao gantong lu*[28] records as follows: Concerning the pagoda[29] next

28 *Sanbao gantong lu* (三寶感通錄) is a book written by the Tang Buddhist monk Daoxuan (596–667) in the first year (664) of the Linde era. It is also called the *Jishen sanbao gantong lu* (集神三寶感通錄) or simply *Gantong lu* (感通錄) and is in three volumes. The book is a collection of records of pagodas, temples, Buddha images, sutras, and historical sites and records relating to more than 150 instances of miraculous inspiration (*gantong*) experienced by Buddhist monks from the time when Buddhism first entered China in the Later Han period until the early years of the Tang dynasty period in which the author lived. The parts cited in this text are taken from the beginning of the volume of the *Sanbao gantong lu* mentioned above, namely, *Zaming shenzhou shanchuan cangbao dengyuan* 20 (雜明神州山川藏寶等緣二十), which is a title in the table of contents. The content is from the chapter entitled, *Tang Liaokoushan beng ziran chu xiangyuan* 50 (唐遼口山崩自然出像緣五十).

to Goguryeo's Yeodongseong,[30] in the past an old man said, "long ago when the Divine King (Seongwang)[31] of Goguryeo was making a tour of his country's borders, he arrived at this fortress and seeing a cloud of five colors covering the ground, he went up to it, looked inside the cloud and discovered a monk standing there holding a staff. Whenever he went closer the monk suddenly disappeared, but if he looked from a distance, he reappeared. Nearby was a three-story pagoda made of earth with a top that looked like an upturned iron cooking pot, but he did not know what it was. On going up to it again, all he found was tough grass. After digging down one *kil*, a staff and shoes emerged. After digging further down an inscription emerged written in Sanskrit.[32] When he asked his attendants about these things, they told him that it was a Buddhist pagoda. When the king asked them about this in detail, they replied, "This used to belong to a Han dynasty king

29 A tomb discovered in Bangchon, Yongbong-ri, Suncheon-gun, Pyeongannam-do has a mural with an inscription, identifying Yeodong Fortress and showing a three-story pagoda (appearing as a wooden pagoda) standing inside the walls of the fortress. Because of the inscription the tomb is known as Yeodongseong or Liaodong Fortress Tomb. (*Ed. note*: *a drawing of the mural is shown in* Kim Won-yong, *Hanguk pyeokhwa kobun, Hanguk munhwa yesul taegye,* 1, Seoul: Ilchisa, 1983, 2nd printing, p. 47).

30 Yeodongseong (Liaodongcheng) Fortress was a Goguryeo fortress located near present-day Liaoyang (遼陽) in Liaoning Province (遼寧省) in China. In Han times this place was called Xiangping-xian (襄平縣) and was the seat of government of the Liaodong Commandery (遼東郡). Yeodongseong Fortress was Goguryeo's strongest bastion in the Liao River region and as such was the place where Goguryeo blocked the fierce onslaughts of the Sui dynasty's vast invading armies.

31 Two Goguryeo kings were referred to as *seongwang* (聖王: Divine Kings) Dongmyeong *seongwang* (東明聖王: r. BC 37–19) and King Gwanggaeto (廣開土王: r. 381–413). As Dongmyeong ruled long before the acceptance of Buddhism any connection seems unlikely, whereas King Gwanggaeto belonged to the time of its introduction. But as the term *seongwang* was generally used when referring to any king, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that this instance refers to King Gwanggaeto. In the latter part of this section the phrase "subsequently Buddhism was propagated for the first time" suggests that here *seongwang* refers to a predecessor of King Sosurim (r. 371–384) during whose reign Buddhism was first transmitted to Goguryeo.

32 The term used for Sanskrit in the text is *beomeo* (梵語), Brahmi.

whose name was Putu"[33] (*this was originally King Xiutu*[34] *who sacrificed to Heaven and the Golden Man*[35])."[36] Because of this the king[37] acquired faith and constructed the seven-story pavilion. Subsequently Buddhism was propagated for the first time, and the whole story came to be known. Now its

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33 Putu (Podo: 蒲圖) was one of a variety of ways of translating the term Buddha into classical Chinese. Although the term Fotuo (Bulta: 佛陀) was most commonly used, other terms such as Futu (Budo: 浮屠) Fotu (Buldo: 佛圖) Putu (Podo 蒲圖) and Xiutu (Hyudo: 休屠) were also used.

34 King Xiutu (休屠王): the name Xiutu was another transliteration of the Sanskrit word Buddha, used in early Chinese translations; it was also sometimes used as a term for a Buddhist monk. There is a record in the Xiongnu Biographies (*juan* 110) of the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*: 史記) of a Buddha statue being brought back to China after the conquest of the Xiongnu before Buddhism had been accepted in China: "[We] attacked the Xiongnu … and obtained the Golden Man (金人) by means of which King Xiutu offers sacrifices to Heaven" (擊匈奴得胡首虜騎萬八千餘級, 破得休屠王祭天金人) and another in the Biography of Huo Qubing (霍去病) (*juan* 55) of the *Hanshu* (漢書) "[Huo] obtained the Golden Man by means of which King Xiutu offers sacrifices to Heaven" (收休屠祭天金人). In both these records "King Xiutu" and "Xiutu" are references to the king of the Xiongnu. In the "Accounts of the Western Barbarians" (西夷傳) section of the *Brief Account of the Wei Dynasty* (*Weilüe*: 魏略) we find the following passage, "In the first year of Yuanshou (2 BC), during the reign of Emperor Ai, the National University Student Jing Xian received verbal instructions from Yicun, the envoy of the king of the Da Yuezhi, on the Xiutu (Buddhist) sūtras …" (哀帝元壽元年, 博士弟子景憲, 受大月氏王使伊存口傳休屠經). As the term "Xiutu sūtras" in this passage refers to Buddhist sūtras, we can see that Xiutu was also used as another way of transcribing the word Buddha." In the comment on this passage Iryeon has not grasped the fact that the term Putu (Kr. Podo) refers to the Buddha but in his commentary equates Putu with King Xiutu and in so doing seems to miss the basic meaning of this passage about a Buddhist pagoda.

35 The term Golden Man (*geumin*: 金人) is used to refer either to Buddha or a Buddha statue. According to the *Shiji* (*Records of the Historian*), a Golden Man was brought to China by a general of Han Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 BC). (*Ed. note*: *the north wall of the early Tang dynasty Cave 323 at Mogao near* Dunhuang *depicts the Emperor worshipping not one but two Golden Men, installed in the Ganquan Palace. The two images are depicted as standing Buddhas*).

36 Iryeon's comment in this section is not in the *Sanbao gantong lu* and has been newly added to the *Samguk yusa*. (*Ed. note*: *for the sake of clarity, Iryeon's comments in the text will be printed in italics throughout).*

37 The term "king" here is understood to refer not to Iryeon's comment immediately preceding it but to the Goguryeo king, thus preserving the original meaning in the *Sanbao gantong lu* as well as fitting in with the general meaning of the passage.

height has been reduced, and the wooden pagoda has rotted and collapsed. There is nothing strange about the fact that King Aśoka[38] constructed pagodas all over Jambudvīpa,[39] which he unified.[40]

Also during the Longshuo[41] era of the Tang dynasty there was a war to the west of Liaodong, and when Commander[42] Xue Rengui[43] reached the

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38 In the text the term Yugwang (Ch. Yuwang: 育王) refers to King Aśoka (Ayugwang; Ch. Ayuwang: 阿育王). The transcribed term for King Aśoka is Ayugwang (阿育王), and the translated term is Muuwang (Ch. Wuyouwang: 無憂王) "without-sorrow king". He was the third king of the Indian Maurya dynasty and ruled from 268 to 232 BC. He unified India and protected Buddhism. In the early years of his reign he ruled tyrannically and greatly increased his territory but converted to Buddhism and ruling justly with a caring and altruistic spirit, he presided over an era of peace and prosperity in Indian history. Regarding the transmission of Buddhism, during the period of King Aśoka's rule it is said that 84,000 temples and pagodas were constructed throughout the country and that the Third Buddhist Council was convened. He spread Buddhist teachings not only throughout his own territory but also abroad and set up stone pillars known as the Pillars of Aśoka inscribed with his edicts, which were also inscribed on rocks in an effort to spread Buddhist teachings. One of these pillars that has survived to this day provides detailed information about the location of important Buddhist sites. Inscribed on the pillars are special pardons, the prohibition of killing, accounts of altruistic deeds, such as the planting of trees and the digging of wells by the sides of roads. Among Buddhist believers King Aśoka is revered as a Wheel-Turning King (Skt. *Cakravartin*; K. *Jeollyun seongwang*: 轉輪聖王) who carried out an ideal form of government.

39 In the text Jambudvīpa is transcribed in Chinese characters as Yeombujeju (Ch. Yanfutizhou: 閻浮提洲). In Buddhist cosmology Jambudvīpa is an island continent located to the south of Mt. Sumeru (Sumisan). It is also transcribed in Chinese characters as Seombujeju (Ch. Shanbutizhou: 贍部提洲), Yeombujebipaju (Ch. Shanfutibingpozhou: 閻浮提鞞波洲), Yeju (Ch. Huizhou: 穢洲) and Yesuju (Ch. Huishuzhou). With Mt. Sumeru at the center, if the human world is divided into north, south, east and west, Jambudvīpa is said to be located in the south. On this continent there are said to be 16 large countries, 500 medium-sized countries and 100,000 small countries, and Buddha is said to have appeared only on this southern continent of Jambudvīpa. Originally Jambudvīpa was a term used to designate India but later it came to mean the world inhabited by human beings. Because it is located in the south it is frequently referred to as Namseombuju (Ch. Nanshanbuzhou: 南贍部洲).

40 The content of this particular topic is taken directly from the *Jishen sanbao gantong lu, juan* 20 (*T.*2106, 52:409 a24~b04) with a few variant characters.

41 Longshuo (龍朔) was an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Gaozong and designates the years 661–663. It coincided with the first three years of the Silla king Munmu's reign.

42 According to the *Samguk sagi*, *gwon* 7, in 671, the eleventh year of King Munmu's reign, Xue

old territory of Liaodong, which had been attacked by the Sui monarch, he saw a Buddha statue on a mountain, completely abandoned and desolate with no one going there. He asked an old man about this, and the man replied, "This is something which appeared here in a previous era." He immediately made a drawing of it as it was then and returned to the capital[44] (*this is all contained in the yakja ham*).[45]

If we examine the geographical records (*dilizhi*)[46] of the Former Han[47]

Rengui (see note 43, below) styled himself as "Xingjun zongguan Xue Rengui" (行軍摠管薛仁貴) in a letter that he sent to King Munmu, but is not known whether he ever actually held this position. Furthermore, there are no corroborating sources to indicate that he already held this position during the time period cited in the text (ca. 661–663). The official post of *xingjun* was a temporary position of adjutant or army commander.

43 Xue Rengui (薛仁貴) was a Tang general from Longmen (龍門) in Jiangzhou (绛州) (present-day Beishan County [稗山縣] in Shanxi Province [山西省]). During the reigns of Taizong and Gaozong he suppressed the Khitan and Göktürk (Ch. Tujue: 突厥), and when Tang established the Protectorate-General to Pacify the East (Andong *duhufu*: 安東都護府) after the fall of Goguryeo, he was installed as Acting Protector-General to Pacify the East (*jianjiao* Andong *duhu*: 檢校安東都護). In the eleventh year of King Munmu's reign (671) he invaded Silla under the title Supreme Commander of the Army against Silla (Jilindao *xingjun zongguan*: 鷄林道行軍總管) and met with defeat when he engaged the Silla forces in battle at Cheonseong (泉城) in 675. In the following year he invaded again and was defeated at Gibeolpo (伎伐浦) in Soburi (所夫里). In 681 he was appointed Envoy to Guazhou (Guazhou *cishi*: 瓜州刺史) and Governor of Daizhou (Daizhou *dudu*: 代州都督). Subsequently he was appointed the Benwei Supreme General (*Benwei dajiangjun*: 本衛大將軍) and given the title Duke of Pingyang [Pyeongyang] (Pingyang jun gong: 平壤郡公).

44 Although some of the characters are different, this passage is taken almost word for word from the *Tang Liaokoushan beng ziran chuxiang yuan* 50 (唐遼口山崩自然出像緣五十) section of the *Jishen sanbao gantong lu* (*T*.2106, 52:413c01)

45 *Yakja ham* (若字函) refers to the container that held the *Sanbao gantong lu* in the Goryeo Tripitaka (Goryeo Daejangyeong). In order to distinguish the different containers used to store the Goryeo Tripitaka each one was assigned a Chinese character in the order that they appear in the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Cheonjamun*). But in the extant Goryeo Tripitaka the *Sanbao gantong lu* is kept not in the *yakja ham* but in the *uja ham* (右字函). The *yakja ham* is the 283rd container and the *uja ham* the 465th. It would seem, therefore, that the character *yak* (若) has been confused with the character *u* (右).

46 This reference is to the geographical record (*dilizhi*) of the *Han History* (*Hanshu*: 漢書) and the *Records of Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo Zhi*: 三國志), but there is no geographical record in the latter. The geographical record in the *Hanshu* states that "Liaodong belongs to Youzhou, with 55,972

and the Three Kingdoms, we find that Yeodongseong was beyond the Yalu River and belonged to Youzhou[48] in the Han Empire. We do not know which king the Divine King of Goguryeo was. Some people say it was the Divine Emperor Dongmyeong,[49] but this does not seem to be correct. King Dongmyeong ascended the throne in the Jianzhao era of Emperor Yuan of the Former Han dynasty (37 BCE) and passed away[50] in the *im'in* year of the Hongjia era of Emperor Cheng (19 BCE). At that time *pattra* leaves (*paeyeop*)[51] were still unknown in the Han Empire, so how would it have already been possible for the emperor's subjects abroad to have recognized writing in Sanskrit? Nevertheless, as Buddha was called King Putu, perhaps even in Former Han times there were people who knew the scripts of the western regions (西域)[52] and so recognized the inscriptions as being in

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households and 272,539 inhabitants in 18 counties (遼東郡 秦置 屬幽州 戶五萬五千九百七十二 口二十七萬二千五百三十九 縣十八)." Volume 37 of *Samguk sagi* merely states, "The *Book of Han* says that Liaodong is 3,600 *li* distant from Luoyang (漢書志云 遼東郡 距洛陽三千六百里)."

47 The Former Han (Qian Han: 前漢; Western Han [Xi Han: 西漢] in the text) lasted from 206 BC to AD 8. Although the Han dynasty lasted for about 400 years altogether, there was a short interregnum when Wang Mang (王莽) seized the throne and established the Xin (新) dynasty (8–25). Chang'an (長安) was the capital of Former Han and Luoyang (洛陽) the capital of Later Han (Hou Han: 後漢: 25–219). Due to the location of the capitals the Former Han is also known as Western Han and the Later Han as Eastern Han.

48 Youzhou was located in the region covered by the present-day Chinese provinces of Shandong, Hebei, and Liaoning. At the time of Former Han Youzhou controlled ten commanderies including those of Liadong, Lelang and Xuantu. For Yeodongseong, see note 31, above.

49 The Divine Emperor Dongmyeong (Dongmyeong seongje: 東明聖帝) is a reference to the founder of Goguryeo King Dongmyeong (Dongmyeongwang: 東明王).

50 In the text the honorific term *seungha* (昇遐) is used to refer to the death of King Dongmyeong.

51 *Paeyeop* (貝葉) is the short form of *paedarayeop* (貝多羅葉) and means *pāttra* leaf. Because these leaves are large and thick, they were used in India for recording sūtras before the use of paper became widespread. The leaves of the *tāla* palm (*darasu*: 多羅樹) are the best for copying texts because they are long and have a dense texture. The leaves were dried carefully and then cut into standard lengths and sūtras were engraved onto them using a sharp instrument such as a pin, iron stylus or a knife. Sūtras made in this way are known as *paeyeopgyeong* (貝葉經).

52 Broadly speaking Seoyeok (Ch. Xiyu: 西域, the Western regions) refers to India and Central

Sanskrit.

If we examine the ancient legends (*gojeon*),[53] we find that King Aśoka commanded a host of spirits to erect a pagoda in every place with a population of nine hundred million. In this way it is said that in Yeombugye[54] 84,000 pagodas were erected, concealed inside large stones. Now auspicious omens are frequently appearing here and there, such is the unfathomable inspiration of the relics of the Buddha's eternal body (*jinsin sari*).

Panegyric
King Aśoka's treasure pagodas have spread all over the world,
Soaked by rain and shrouded in cloud, they are mottled with lichen.
Imagining the pilgrims' reverent gazes in the past,
How many have pointed out these mounds for spirit worship?

遼東城育王塔

三寶感通錄載. 高麗遼東城傍塔者, 古老傳云, "昔高麗聖王, 按行國界, 次至此城, 見五色雲覆地, 往尋雲中, 有僧執錫而立. 既至便滅, 遠看還現. 傍有土塔三

Asia, but in a narrow sense it refers to the Xinjiang and the Tianshan region. Here it refers to India. In Buddhist histories it often signifies the land route from India along which Buddhism was transmitted. In the third century BC Xiyu referred to Sogdiana which included various countries including Bactria (Ch. Daxia: 大夏), part of Afghanistan, Kashmir, Parthia (Ch. Anxi: 安息), northern Persia, and Kangju (康居), which were under the rule of Dayuezhi (大月氏) (modern day Xinjiang and the eastern part of Kazakhstan). Those that were Buddhist included Yuezhi (月氏) (Turkestan, Afghanistan and the northern part of India), Anxi, Kangju (the northern part of Turkestan and southern Siberia), Gandhāra and Kashmir to the west and Khotan, Kucha, Kashgar and Turfan to the east of the Pamir Plateau.

53 In *Chuming sheli biaota* (初明舍利表塔) in the introduction of the *Sanbao gantong lu* there is a story about a child offering a handful of dust to the Buddha. Due to this deed, one hundred years after Buddha's death the child was reborn as a king who had spirits build 84,000 stūpas. (*T*.2106, 52:404a20). A similar story may also be found in *On the Destruction of Falsehood* (*Poxie lun*: 破邪論) compiled by Falin (法琳). (*T*.2109, 52:484c02). As this story about King Aśoka's construction of Buddhist stūpas appears in various Buddhist texts it is impossible to know with any certainty which work is being referred to by the term "ancient legends" (*gojeon*: 古傳).

54 The term Yeombugye (閻浮界) refers to Jambudvīpa, the realm inhabited by humans, located to the south of Mt. Sumeru.

重, 上如覆釜, 不知是何. 更往覓僧, 唯有荒草. 掘尋一丈, 得杖并履, 又掘得銘, 上有梵書. 侍臣識之云"是佛塔." 王委曲問詰, 答曰,"漢國有之, 彼名蒲圖王[本作休屠王祭天金人.]." 因生信, 起木塔七重, 後佛法始至, 具知始末. 今更損高, 本塔朽壞. 育王所統一閻浮提洲, 處處立塔, 不足可怪.

又唐龍朔中, 有事遼左, 行軍薛仁貴, 行至隋主討遼古地, 乃見山像, 空曠蕭條, 絶於行往. 問古老云"是先代所現.", 便圖寫來京師[具在右函.]

按西漢與三國地理志, 遼東城在鴨綠之外, 屬漢幽州. 高麗聖王, 未知何君. 或云東明聖帝, 疑非也. 東明以前漢元帝建昭二年卽位, 成帝鴻嘉壬寅升遐. 于時漢亦未見貝葉, 何得海外陪臣, 已能識梵書乎. 然稱佛爲蒲圖王, 似在西漢之時, 西域文字或有識之者, 故云梵書爾.

按古傳, 育王命鬼徒, 每於九億人居地, 立一塔, 如是起八萬四千於閻浮界內, 藏於巨石中. 今處處有現瑞非一, 蓋眞身舍利, 感應難思矣.

讚曰 育王寶塔遍塵寰, 雨濕雲埋蘚纈斑. 想像當年行路眼, 幾人指點祭神墦.

4-3.

The Pasa Stone Pagoda at Geumgwan Fortress 金官城婆娑石塔

Introduction:

This chapter concerns a stone pagoda in the capital of ancient Geumgwan Gaya, located in the Gimhae region. This stone pagoda, part of which still remains today, is made from a type of stone that is not found in Korea, and because of its unusual shape the opinion that it was made in another country has persisted. This chapter records that the pagoda was transported from the Indian kingdom of Ayodhyā by Princess Heo Hwangok, the consort of Gaya's first sovereign King Suro, when she came to Gaya in AD 42. This theory of the transmission of Southern Buddhism (Theravada) to Gaya is controversial, and the pagoda's shape differs from that of Indian stūpas. Therefore, Iryeon himself does not acknowledge the introduction of Buddhism at this time and he adds that the monastery was built in 452. Nevertheless, in relation to this, he also introduces the anecdotes and historical remains connected with Heo Hwangok's arrival in Gaya. This suggests that Iryeon, while understanding Buddhism as being centered on the Three Kingdoms, considered that it was also transmitted to Gaya at this time.



Pasa Stone Pagoda, Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do

Annotated Translation:

The Pasa Stone Pagoda[55] at Hogye Monastery[56] in Geumgwan[57] was brought there from Ayodhyā[58] in the western regions[59] in the twenty-fourth year, *musin,* of the Jianwu era[60] of the Eastern Han dynasty (AD 48) by Queen Heo Hwangok,[61] the consort of Sejo, King Suro,[62] when this district was the

55 Pasa Stone Pagoda (Pasa *seoktap*: 婆娑石塔; see note 78, below): the Chinese characters in the name Pasa mean the undulating motion of waves or the sound of leaves rustling in the wind. The characters are also used to transcribe the Sanskrit word *vasa*, which means "to stay."

56 Hogyesa (Tiger Stream Monastery: 虎溪寺) was located in Gimhae County in South Gyeongsang Province. "Hogye: this [stream] is located in the middle of the city. The source of the stream is in Mt. Bun (Bunsan: 盆山) and it flows south to Gangchang-po (江倉浦). It comes to an end six *li* to the south of Gangchang-po Prefecture." *Newly Enlarged* [*Edition of*] *the Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (*Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*: 新增東國輿地勝覽 [hereafter *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*] vol. 32, Gimhae, section on Mountains and Rivers).

57 Geumgwan-ju (金官州) is the present-day city of Gimhae in South Gyeongsang Province. As the royal capital of Gaya it was originally called Garakguk (駕洛國) or Gaya (伽倻) and later Geumgwan-guk (金官國). During the reign of the Silla King Beopheung it was annexed by Silla and was called Geumgwan-gun (金官郡). In the reign of King Munmu it was referred to as the Minor Capital Geumgwan (Geumgwan Sogyŏng [金官小京] but is referred to as Geumhae Sogyŏng [金海小京] in the "Geographical Records" [*Jiriji*] of *Samguk sagi*). In Goryeo, under King Seongjong (r. 981–997) it became Geumju (金州). (*History of Goryeo* [*Goryeosa*: 高麗史] vol. 5, *Jiriji*, Geumhae [地理誌 金州]). The name Geumgwanju is, therefore, not to be found in any geographical record (*jiriji*). Nevertheless, in his comment in the chapter entitled "The Record of Garakguk" (*Garakgukgi*: 駕洛國記) in *Samguk yusa*, Iryeon mentions that the author of the original *Garakgukgi* was a retainer (*munin*) of the Governor of Geumgwan (Geumgwan jijusa: 金官知州事). It is clear, therefore, that in Iryeon's time the name Geumgwan was in use.

58 The term for the ancient Indian state of Ayodhyā, which was located in the middle reaches of the Ganges River, is Ayutaguk (阿踰拖國). However, some scholars believe that Ayutaguk refers to the southern region of China.

59 In the present context Seoyeok (西域, see note 53, above) refers to India.

60 Jianwu (建武) is the era name of the Later Han emperor Guangwudi and refers to the years 25–56. It coincides with the second to twenty-third year of King Yuri of Silla.

61 Queen Heo (Heo Hwanghu: 許皇后) was the consort of the founding king of Gaya, King Suro. It is said that she was originally a princess from Ayodhyā. Her family name was Heo (許) and her given name Hwangok (黃玉). In a dream her parents, the king and queen of Ayodhyā, were told to send her to be the spouse of King Suro and so she came to Gaya by sea. (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, *Garakgukgi*) According to this account she arrived in Gaya in AD 48, became queen at the age of 16 and died in

Geumgwan Kingdom.[63] On receiving her parents' command, the princess set out across the sea heading east, but she was unable to proceed because of the anger of the god of the waves and returned. On reporting to her father the king, he ordered this pagoda to be embarked. Only then was she able to cross the sea in peace and arrive at the southern coast [of Geumgwan-guk] where she dropped anchor. Because of the beauty of the red sail, red banner and jewels [that place] is now called Jupo (主浦);[64] the mountain ridge where she first took off her red trousers[65] is called Neunghyeon (綾峴),[66] and the place where the red banner was first brought ashore is called Gichulbyeon (旗出邊).[67]

King Suro took her as his wife and together they ruled the country

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189 at the age of 157.

62 Sejo (世祖) King Suro (首露王) was the founding king of Gaya. The people in the Gaya region were originally ruled by nine leaders (nine *gan*: 九干). One day, an unusual sound came from Guji Peak (Guji-bong: 龜旨峯), a purple rope descended from the sky at the end of which was a golden chest containing six golden eggs. When the chest was opened again the following day, it was found to contain six boys. The people bowed down to them and as they had appeared on the fifteenth day of the month, the first of them was given the name Suro (首露) and the other boys were also made kings of the five Gaya states (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, *Garakgukgi*). According to this record King Suro ascended the throne at the age of 42 and died at the age of 158 in 199.

63 The Geumgwan Kingdom (Geumgwan-guk: 金官國) was Geumgwan Gaya, the early, central state of the Gaya Federation. It was located in the Gimhae region and was annexed by Silla in 532.

64 Jupo (主浦) was a port located to the south of Gimhae. "Jupo: located 40 leagues (*li*) to the south of the city. The river rises in Mt. Myeongwol (明月山) and flows southwards into the sea." *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 32, Gimhae, section on Mountains and Rivers).

65 According to *Garakgukgi*, when Queen Heo arrived in Gaya, she moored her ship at the Byeolpo Ferry and went ashore. Resting on a high hill, she took off the red silk trousers she was wearing and offered them as a bridal gift to the mountain god. After this she visited King Suro (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, *Gii*: 記異 [Marvels]).

66 Neunghyeon (綾峴) is a hill located thirty *li* to the south of Gimhae. *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 32, Gimhae, section on Mountains and Rivers).

67 The above account is almost identical with that found in *Garakgukgi*, but in the latter there is no mention of the "god of the waves."

for more than 150 years.[68] At that time, however, no monasteries had been founded and Buddhism was not accepted on the Korean peninsula (Haedong). As Buddhism had probably not yet entered and the people in that region neither believed in it nor followed it, [69] the original record has no mention of a monastery being established.[70]

In the second year, *imjin*, of the reign of the eighth monarch King Jilji[71] (452) a monastery was built at that place.[72] Also, Wanghusa (The Queen's Monastery)[73] was built at that place (*as this was in the time of Ado*[74] *and King*

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68 According to tradition, King Suro ascended the throne in 42 and met his queen consort in 48. Queen Heo predeceased him in 189, and King Suro died in 199. They reigned over the country together for 142 years and King Suro was on the throne for a total of 158 years.

69 Iryeon understandably rejects the possibility that Queen Heo transmitted Buddhism to the Korean Peninsula in the time of King Suro. Nevertheless, the *Samguk yusa* does mention that in an old record (*gogi* 古記) there is an account that King Suro believed in Buddhism, which is based on the *Gwanbul sammae gyeong* (觀佛三昧經).

70 "The original record" (*bon-gi* 本記) refers to *Garakgukgi*.

71 King Jilji (Jiljiwang: 銍知王, r. 450–492) was the eighth king of Gaya.

72 According to *Garakgukgi*, in 452 King Jilji built a Buddhist monastery called Wanghusa (王后寺) at the place where King Suro had married, in order to offer prayers for the soul of Queen Heo, the ancestral mother of the dynasty. The text states: "He built a monastery. He also constructed Wanghusa" but these statements should be taken as referring to a single monastery. Also according to the *Garakgukgi*, King Jilji sent an envoy to survey a level field of ten *gyeol* near the temple and allocated it to defray the expenses of making offerings to the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha).

73 In the Gaya era, Wanghusa was a Buddhist monastery located on Mt. Jangyu (長遊山). "Wanghusa: Its old site was on Mt. Jangyu. King Jilji, the eighth-generation descendant of King Suro, built the temple at the place where the tent had been erected and the wedding held and named it Wanghusa, but subsequently it was closed down and rebuilt in Jangwon." *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 32, "Gimhaedo hobu gojeok" [金海都護府古蹟])

74 Ado (阿道; also called Ado 阿度 and Adu 阿頭) lived at the time of either King Michu or King Nulji of Silla and was the first person to introduce Buddhism to Silla. According to Ado's Memorial Stela: Ado *bonbi* (我道本碑) (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "Ado Lays the Foundation [for Buddhism] in Silla" [Ado gi Ra: 阿道基羅]), he was born from the union between his mother Go Doryeong 高道寧 from Goguryeo and Wo Juema 我堀摩 from the Cao-Wei 曹魏 Kingdom, who visited Goguryeo as an envoy. With the encouragement of his mother he left home to become a Buddhist monk at the

Nulji,[75] *it happened before the time of King Beopheung*)[76] and even now the

age of five and at the age of sixteen went to Wei where he studied under monk Xuanzhang (玄彰). At the age of nineteen he returned to Goguryeo and from there in the second year of the reign of King Michu (263) he went to Silla. While staying at Seori (西里) near the royal fortress, he entered the palace and requested to be allowed to practice Buddhism, but, shunned by the people, he went into hiding at the house of Morye (毛禮) in Ilseon Prefecture (一善縣). In 264 Princess Seongguk (成國公主) fell ill and was treated by shamans (*mudang*) and physicians to no avail: Ado entered the palace and cured her illness. When the king asked what he wished for, he asked that he be permitted to build a Buddhist monastery at Cheongyeong Forest to vigorously promote Buddhism and pray for blessings on the nation. The king gave permission, and Heungnyunsa (興輪寺) was established. Ado lectured on the Buddha dharma there, and Morye's younger sister Sa-ssi (史氏) also left home to become a Buddhist nun and founded Yeongheungsa (永興寺) at Samcheongi. It is said that when King Michu died, because the people of Silla were bent on causing him harm, Ado returned to the house of Morye, and after constructing his own tomb, closed the door and was never seen again. This story about Ado during the reign of King Michu is thought to be a legend that arose later after Buddhism had been transmitted to Silla. According to *Samguk sagi*, Ado came to Silla with three attendants in the reign of King Soji (西知) and after arriving at the house of Morye in Ilseon County, died several years later without falling ill. His three attendants expounded on the Sūtras and the Vinaya and some people acquired faith. This occurred between the time of Mukhoja (Ch. Mohuzi) and that of Ich'adon. But it states that two years earlier in 374 following Sundo (Ch. Shundao), Ado came to Goguryeo and that Ibullansa was built for him and that he was installed as its abbot in 375 (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 18, fourth and fifth year of King Sosurim's reign; *Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "Sundojoryeo [順道肇麗]"). From these accounts there appear to have been a number of people with the name Ado in different periods in Silla and Goguryeo. There are those of the opinion, therefore, that Ado was not the name of a particular person but was a general term used to designate a Buddhist monk, because of the phonetic similarity of the name Ado to "child's head" (*adu*: 兒頭), referring to the shaved head of a Buddhist monk.

75 King Nulji (r. 417–458) was the nineteenth king of Silla. His family name was Gim, his father was Naemul Maripgan and his mother Lady Boban (Boban buin: 保反夫人), the daughter of Michu Isageum. His queen consort was the daughter of Silseong Isageum. According to both *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa*, the term *maripgan* (麻立干) was first used for "king" at this time, but the title had already been used by his father, Naemul Maripgan. In order to throw off the influence of Goguryeo, Nulji contrived to change the existing policy of sending royal hostages there. In 438 he enacted the "ox-cart law" (*uchabeop*: 牛車法); and when Goguryeo attacked Baekje in 455, he made an offensive and defensive alliance (*gongsu dongmaeng*: 攻守同盟) with Baekje and went to its aid. During his reign Mukhoja (墨胡子) from Goguryeo began to spread Buddhism in the Seonsan region.

76 King Beopheung (r. 514–540) was the twenty-third king of Silla. His family name was Gim (金) and his given name, Wonjong (原宗). He was the eldest son of King Jijeung (r. 500–514). His mother

blessings [of Queen Heo] are invoked. This and the fact that it warded off the Wa raiders from the south may be clearly seen in the annals of this country (*bonguk bongi*: 本國本紀).[77]

The pagoda is a square five-story pagoda, and its carving is very unusual. There are reddish speckles in the stone, which is an extremely soft substance that has not come from this region.[78] According to the *Compendium of Herbs* (Ch. *Bencao*: 本草), this color was proved to be blood from a rooster's comb.[79] Geumgwan-guk is also called Garak-guk. All this is recorded in the *Garakgukgi*.

Panegyric
The loading is done, the sails are set, the red banner flies,
We pray to the spirits to still the angry waves.
How could they help Hwangok alone to the shore?
From ancient times they have blocked the angry whales of the Wa.

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was Lady Yeonje (Yeonje buin: 延帝夫人) Bak-ssi (朴氏), and his queen consort was Lady Bodo (Bodo buin: 保刀夫人) Bak-ssi. On the basis of reforms carried out in the reign of King Jijeung, he enacted new laws and established a Ministry of War (Byeongbu, 兵部) as a central administrative organ in 517 (the fourth year of his reign). He reorganized the military system, officially recognized Buddhism and made efforts to restructure the Silla kingdom as a centralized monarchic state. In 536 (the twenty-third year of his reign) he used a new era title, Geonwon (建元), for the first time.

77 Another reference to *Garakgukgi*. The term "Wa raiders" refers to Japanese pirates.

78 The Pasa Stone Pagoda has survived to the present and may be found in front of the tomb of King Suro's queen in Gusan-dong, Gimhae-si, Gyeongsangnam-do. On the surface of its rectangular stone base there is a protruding stone support on which are balanced several additional large stones (at present six). Not only can various signs of damage be seen on the sides and undersides of each of these stones, but the overall damage and erosion is so severe that is difficult to estimate the original form of the pagoda. The stone itself is unusual in that it is characterized by many red specks. (*Ed. note: a mottled red sandstone is characteristic of early Buddhist sculptures from Mathura*).

79 The *Compendium of Herbs* (*Bencaojing*: 本草經) is a book said to have been written by Shennong (神農). It is also called *Shennong's Compendium of Herbs* (*Shennong bencaojing*: 神農本草經). It provides a record of 365 different medicines and separates them into upper, middle, and lower categories. It was continuously augmented during the Liang and Tang eras, and in the late Qing dynasty Li Shizhen (李時珍) made a thorough revision of the work and published it in fifty-two fascicles in 1871 under the title *Compendium of Herbs* (*Bencao gangmu*: 本草綱目)

金官虎溪寺婆娑石塔者, 昔此邑爲金官國時, 世祖首露王之妃, 許皇后名黄玉, 以東漢建武二十四年戊申, 自西域阿踰陁國所載來. 初公主承二親之命, 泛海將指東, 阻波神之怒, 不克而還, 白父王, 父王命載玆塔. 乃獲利涉, 來泊南涯. 有緋帆茜旗珠玉之美, 今云主浦, 初解綾袴於岡上處曰綾峴, 茜旗初入海涯曰旗出邊. 首露王聘迎之, 同御國一百五十餘年. 然于時, 海東未有創寺奉法之事. 蓋像教未至, 而土人不信伏, 故本記無創寺之文.

逮第八代不知王二年壬辰, 置寺於其地. 又創王后寺[在阿道訥祇王之世, 法興王之前.], 至今奉福焉. 兼以鎭南倭, 具見本國本記.

塔方四面五層, 其彫鏤甚奇, 石微赤斑色, 其質良脆, 非此方類也. 本草所云, 點鷄冠血爲驗者, 是也. 金官國, 亦名駕洛國, 具載本記.

讚曰 載厭緋帆茜旆輕, 乞靈遮莫海濤驚. 豈徒到岸扶黄玉, 千古南倭遏怒鯨.

4-4.

The Goguryeo Monastery Yeongtapsa 高麗靈塔寺

Introduction:

This is a story about the establishment of a monastery called Yeongtapsa (Spirit Pagoda Monastery) by an eminent monk from the late Goguryeo period, Bodeok, who excelled in expounding the *Nirvāna Sūtra*. A detailed account of Bodeok may be found in "The Raising of the Dharma," (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3) in the chapter entitled, "Bojang devoted himself to Daoism and so Bodeok Moved His Hermitage." This article portrays the situation when Bodeok was active in Goguryeo and provides important information such as the facts that while Bodeok was living in Pyeongyang Fortress, he was invited to a dharma assembly (*beophoe*, 法會) in the mountains at which he lectured on the *Nirvāna Sūtra* and that he undertook Seon meditation training in a mountain near Pyeongyang. The octagonal form of Yeongtapsa's seven-story pagoda is characteristic of Goguryeo.

Annotated Translation:

Yeongtapsa

In *Lives of Monks* (*Seungjeon*)[80] it is stated, "The style (*ja*) of the monk

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[80] It is not clear which book the *Lives of Monks* (*Seungjeon*: 僧傳) refers to. Bodeok (普德) was a monk who lived in Goguryeo under King Bojang (r. 642–668). In the chapter entitled "Bojang devoted himself to Daoism and so Bodeok moved his hermitage" (寶藏奉老普德移庵) in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "The Raising of the Dharma" (Heungbeop), Iryeon states that there is a precise record about Bodeok in the *Lives of Monks* (*Seungjeon*: 僧傳), and a biography (*bonjeon*: 本傳), so it would appear that there were various accounts of Bodeok's life. We can also surmise that Bodeok's biography was included in the original *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseungjeon*: 海東高僧傳), but it

Bodeok[81] was Jibeop, and he was from Yonggang Prefecture[82] in Goguryeo." Detailed information appears about him in the biography below.

Bodeok had always lived in Pyeongyang Fortress,[83] but an elderly monk came from his mountain dwelling[84] and invited him to lecture on the sūtras. The master firmly declined to do so but in the end reluctantly went and delivered lectures on the more than forty fascicles of the *Nirvāna Sūtra*.[85]

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does not appear in the surviving fragment of that work.

81 Bodeok was well known as a *nirvāna* scholar (*yeolban hakja*) in late Goguryeo. But after Yeon Gaesomun seized power, with the promotion of Daoism and the suppression of Buddhism, Bodeok fled to Mt. Godae (孤大山), which was in Baekje territory. It was from Bodeok that, after originally intending to study abroad in China, Wonhyo (see note 549, below) and Uisang (see note 367, below) of Silla learned about *nirvana* (see *Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "The Raising of the Dharma," "Bojang devoted himself to Daoism and so Bodeok moved his hermitage," and *The Collected Writings of National Preceptor Daegak* (*Daegak guksa munjip*: 大覺國師文集) vol. 17, 孤大山景福寺飛來方丈禮普德聖師影, 韓 4 559a).

82 According to the history of Yonggang Prefecture (Yonggang-hyeon: 龍岡縣) in *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 52, the place name Yonggang-hyeon first appeared in Goryeo times, so in this way we know that the *Lives of Monks* (*Seungjeon*) was compiled in the Goryeo period. Yonggang Prefecture is now Yonggang County in present-day South Pyeongan Province.

83 Pyeongyang Fortress was the fortified capital city (*doseong*: 都城) built in Goguryeo times and was located inside the boundary of present-day Pyeongyang. Its walls were approximately 23 km in circumference. Today four of them, namely, the inner wall (*naeseong*: 內城), northern wall (*bukseong*: 北城), middle wall (*jungseong*: 中城) and outer wall (*oeseong*, *naseong*: 外城, 羅城) are still extant, together with the sites of gates and buildings. The fortress is located to the north of a bend in the Daedong River; it was rebuilt in the early Goryeo period and continuously repaired throughout the Joseon period down to the present day.

84 In the text the characters for "mountain dwelling" (*sanbang*: 山房) are erroneously written as "mountain region" (*sanbang*: 山方).

85 The original name of the *Nirvāna Sūtra* (*Yeolban gyeong*: 涅槃經) was the *Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra* (*Dae banyeolban gyeong*: 大般涅槃經), which exists in both Theravada and Mahāyāna versions. In general the Theravada version provides an account of the Buddha's achievements before and after his death by focusing on historical incidents. In the Mahāyāna version, on the other hand, the philosophical and religious significance of the text is emphasized. Through the means of the Buddha's last sermon explanations were given for such ideas as the "eternally abiding (*sangju*: 常住) Buddha body" (*bulsin*: 佛身), the meaning of *nirvāna*, and the "theory of the Buddha nature" (Bulseongnon: 佛性論), which maintained that all sentient beings were capable of becoming Buddha. There is a six-

On leaving that place, he went to Mt. Daebo[86] to the west of the fortress and practiced Seon meditation in a rock cave.[87] A divine being came and entreated him, "This place would be a good place for you to live." Placing his staff in front of him, he pointed to the ground and said, "Under here there is an octagonal, seven-story, stone pagoda."[88] Because of this Bodeok established a monastery,[89] called it Yeongtapsa (Spirit Pagoda Monastery)

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fascicle Chinese translation (*Hanyeokbon*: 漢譯本) by Faxian (法顯) of Eastern Jin (東晉) entitled *Da bannihuan jing* (大般尼洹經), and a forty-fascicle translation by Dharmakśema (曇無讖), an Indian monk in Northern Liang, entitled *Daban niepan jing* (大般涅槃經) and also known as the "northern text." There is also a thirty-six fascicle version of the *Da banniepan jing* known as the "southern text" (南本), which was compiled during the Southern Song dynasty by Huiguan (慧觀). Huiyan (慧嚴) compared and corrected these two translations. The study of the *Nirvāna Sūtra* by later generations was generally based on this southern text. In the text above, however, the phrase "more than forty fascicles of the *Nirvāna Sūtra*" is thought to indicate that Iryeon was referring to the forty-fascicle translation by Dharmakśema.

86 Mt. Daebo (Daebo-san: 大寶山) is located thirty-seven *li* to the south of Pyeongyang (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 51, Pyeongyang-bu sancheon [平壤府 山川]). There has been some debate over the possibility of a connection between Mt. Daebo and the eminent Chinese Buddhist monk and renowned exponent of the *Nirvāna Sūtra*, Lingyu (靈裕, 518–605), who built the Sacred Grotto of Great Abiding (Ch. Dazhu shengku: 大主聖窟), in which he practiced Chan meditation.

87 As mentioned in the preceding note, connections have been made between this "rock cave" and the Sacred Grotto of Great Abiding, in which were enshrined the Three Honored Buddhas (*samjonbul*), namely, Vairocana, Maitreya and Amitābha, the thirty-five Buddhas, the seven Buddhas of the past, and the twenty-four sacred teachers who transmitted Buddhism after the Buddha's death (*Sejon geose jeonbeop seongsa*: 世尊去世傳法聖師).

88 A particularly large number of octagonal stone pagodas were built in Goguryeo. In Baekje and Silla the pagodas were generally rectangular in shape. Investigations of the pagoda foundations discovered at the Geumgangsa site (Geumgangsaji: 金剛寺址) and at Jeongneungsa (定陵寺) have shown that they were all octagonal pagodas.

89 In the text the term *jeongsa* (pure dwelling: 精舍) refers to a Buddhist monastery. The term *jeongsa* was interchangeable with the term *jeongnyeo* (diligence; lit. pure thoughts: 精慮) and signified a place where one diligently applied oneself to the pursuit of wisdom and virtue, namely, a Buddhist monastery. Etymologically the term *jeongsa* derives from various Sanskrit words such as *ārāma* (garden, grove; Ch. *alanmo*: 阿藍摩) and *saṁghārāma*, (lit. a garden for a group of Buddhist monks, i.e. a monastery; *seunggaram*; Ch. *sengqielan*: 僧伽藍).

and dwelt there.

高句麗 靈塔寺

僧傳云,"釋普德, 字智法, 前高麗龍岡縣人也." 詳見下本傳.

常居平壤城, 有山方老僧, 來請講經. 師固辭不免, 赴講涅槃經四十餘卷. 罷席, 至城西大寶山, 穴下禪觀. 有神人來請,"宜住此地." 乃置錫杖於前, 指其地曰, "此下有八面七級石塔." 掘之果然. 因立精舍, 曰靈塔寺, 以居之.

4-5.
The Sixteen-foot Buddha Statue at Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺丈六

Introduction:

This chapter concerns the Sixteen-foot Buddha image at Hwangnyongsa, ranked first among the "Three Jewels of Silla." In consideration of this, an account of the founding and completion of Hwangnyongsa is presented and in the latter part the successive abbots of the monastery are introduced, based on various other sources. As if to claim that Hwangnyongsa is an ancient monastery with origins that can be traced back to the era of the Buddhas of the past when Kāśyapa Buddha practiced Seon meditation, this account maintains that King Aśoka of India tried to make a Buddha triad (Seokka samjonsang) but ultimately failed and so sent all the materials to a place with a predestined karmic affinity. When the ship reached the coast at Ulju the sixteen-foot Buddha image was completed immediately from the materials and the design that accompanied it. Although Aśoka was born one hundred years after Buddha entered nirvāna, and reigned before the making of the first Buddha images, Iryeon includes this legend about his efforts to create a Buddha image.

It appears that the records of the monastery's construction were extant in Iryeon's time, and the account of precisely how much copper and gold was used in the creation of the image is also striking. From the account that tears flowing from the sixteen-foot statue were taken as an omen of the demise of King Jinheung, we can surmise that there was a close relationship between the royal family and Hwangnyongsa. By making a personal tour of the site, Iryeon confirmed the condition of the monastery and recorded that as a result of the Mongol invasions the temple had been burnt to the ground and the Buddha images melted down.



Site of Buddha triad at Hwangnyongsa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do

Annotated Translation:

The Sixteen-foot Buddha statue at Hwangnyongsa

In the second month of the fourteenth year, *gyeyu*, (553) of the twenty-fourth Silla monarch King Jinheung,[90] when the Purple Palace[91] was being erected to the south of Dragon Palace (Yonggung 龍宮), a yellow dragon appeared there, so the building was converted into a monastery and named Hwangnyongsa[92]

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90 For King Jinheung, see note 9, above.

91 The term *jagung* (purple palace: 紫宮) for the royal palace is derived from *jamigung* (lit. purple hidden palace: 紫微宮). The term *jami* is the name of a constellation to the north of the Great Bear constellation (Bukdu chilseong 北斗七星) and is the place where the Emperor of Heaven (Cheonje; Ch. Tiandi: 天帝) resides.

92 Hwangnyongsa (皇龍寺) was located in Guhwang-dong, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province, and the site still remains today. It is one of the so called *chilcheo garamji* (七處伽藍址, see note 7, above). As such it was the foremost monastery in Silla in terms of scale and rank. It also played an important role in relation to the ideology and arts of Silla. In 553 a new palace was being built to the east of Wolseong. After the appearance of a yellow dragon (黃龍), the building's name was changed

(Monastery of the Imperial Dragon).[93] In the year *gichuk* (569) a wall was built around it, [thus] the structure was completed in seventeen years.[94]

A short time later a large ship appeared on the sea from the south and anchored at Sapo in Hagok Prefecture[95] (*present-day Gokpo in Ulju*). On examination a dispatch (*cheommun*)[96] was found on which was written,

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to Hwangnyongsa and it was completed in 569, after seventeen years of construction. In 584 the main Buddha hall (*geumdang*: 金堂) was completed and in 645 a nine-story wooden pagoda was erected. The pagoda and the sixteen-foot Buddha image (*jangnyuksang*) were considered to be two of the Three Jewels of Silla. The foundation stones of such important buildings as its middle gate (*jungmun*: 中門), wooden pagoda (*moktap*: 木塔) and its main Buddha hall (*geumdang*: 金堂) as well as the sites of the lecture hall and cloister behind the main Buddha hall still remain visible today (see the illustration showing the stones that supported the three main images in the Buddha hall).

93 This accords with the account found in the *Samguk sagi*: "In the second month of spring of the fourteenth year [of Jinheung's reign, 553] the king ordered the responsible department to build a new palace to the east of Wolseong, but a yellow dragon appeared in that place. Considering this to be inauspicious, the king converted it into a monastery and bestowed the name Hwangnyongsa on it." (*Samguk sagi,* vol. 4, King Jinheung 14 (553) 十四年 春二月, 王命所司, 築新宮於月城東, 黃龍見其地. 王疑之, 改爲佛寺, 賜號曰皇龍.)

94 The statement that the building was completed after seventeen years in 569 refers to the time it took to complete the surrounding wall of Hwangnyongsa. The *Samguk sagi* says that the building work was completed in 566: "In the twenty-seventh year (of the reign of King Jinheung) the construction work finished" (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 4, twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Jinheung [566] 皇龍寺畢功). In fact the construction of the monastery continued with the completion of the sixteen-foot Buddha image in 574 and of the main Buddha hall in 584.

95 Hagok Prefecture (Hagok-hyeon: 河曲縣) is now the city of Ulsan. It was originally the Silla village, Gurahwachon (屈阿火村), but was designated as a prefecture during the reign of King Pasa, and in the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765, see note 175, below) it was called either Hagok (河曲) or Haseo (河西). ("at the time of King Pasa, Gurahwachon was taken and made into a prefecture and at the time of King Gyeongdeok, its name was changed [to Hagok (河曲)]. It is now Ulju (蔚州)." [*Samguk sagi*, vol. 34, *Japji* (雜志) 3, 河曲一作西縣, 婆娑王時, 取屈阿火村, 置縣, 景德王改名, 今蔚州]). At the time of King Taejo of Goryeo it became Heungnyeo Urban Prefecture [Heungnyeo-bu: 興麗府] and later became Jiuljusa [知蔚州事]. [*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*: 新增東國輿地勝覽] vol. 32, "Ulju geonchi yeonhyeok" [蔚州 建置沿革])

96 *Cheommun* (牒文) was a type of official document or dispatch that was sent from lower level offices to higher ones.

"King Aśoka[97] of India (Seocheonchuk)[98] collected 57,000 *geun* of copper (*hwangcheol*),[99] and 30,000 *pun* of gold (*another account gives 47,000* geun *of iron and 1,000* yang *of gold but this appears to be a mistake; yet another account gives 37,000* geun [*of iron*]) [with which he] intended to cast a statue of Śākyamuni Buddha with two attendant Buddhas but he was unable to complete it, so he loaded everything onto a boat and set it adrift praying that it would reach a country with a karmic affinity and become a sixteen-foot Buddha image, and he also included models for a statue of Buddha and two bodhisattvas."

The district official took the document and reported to the king, who ordered the selection of a piece of high and clear ground[100] on the eastern side of the district fortress and the construction of Dongchuk Monastery[101] where the Buddha triad could be enshrined and attended. The gold and iron were sent to the capital and in the third month of the sixth year, *gapja,* of the Taijian[102] era (thirty-fifth year of King Jinheung's reign, 574) [according to the monastic record, it was the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the *gyesa* year (thirty-fourth year of King Jinheung's reign, 573)]

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97 For King Aśoka , see note 38, above.

98 India was divided into five regions, north, south, east, west and centre, which together were called Ocheonchuk (五天竺). Seocheonchuk was the western region of India. This reference to Seocheonchuk appears to be a mistake, as King Aśoka was the king of Magadha in the east.

99 *Hwangcheol* (黃鐵, literally 'yellow iron') is a mineral derived from nickel, which is opaque, yellow in color and has a metallic sheen. Here the term refers to copper.

100 In the text the term for the "piece of high and clear ground" is *sanggae* (爽塏), which means a place that is high and dry.

101 Dongchuk Monastery (Dongchuksa: 東竺寺) is located on the summit of Mt. Magol in Dongbu-dong, Ulsan, South Gyeongsang Province. It was constructed in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Jinheung and looks down on the ports of Mipo (尾浦) on its left and Yeompo (鹽浦) on its right.

102 Taijian (569–581) is an era name from the reign of Emperor Xuan (宣帝) of the Southern Dynasty (南朝) of Chen (陳) and coincides with the period from the thirtieth year of Silla King Jinheung's reign to the third year of King Jinpyeong's reign.

cast a one-*jang*-six-*cheok* statue of Buddha,[103] successfully accomplishing it at the first attempt.[104] Its weight was 35,007 *geun,* and it contained 10,198 *pun* of gold.[105] The two bodhisattva statues were each made up of 12,000 *geun* of iron and 10,136 *pun* of gold. One year after they were enshrined in Hwangnyongsa, tears flowed from the sixteen-foot statue of Buddha down to its heels and soaked the ground all around for one *ja*, which was an omen of the (future) demise of King Jinheung[106] (*it is also said that this statue of Buddha was made at the time of King Jinpyeong,*[107]

103 In the text the term *jangnyuk jonsang* (丈六尊像) refers to a statue of the Buddha that was one *jang* (一丈) and six *cheok* (六尺) high. This is the height of a "life-size" Buddha image (*deungsinsang*: 等身像). Based on various sūtras, the average height of a person in the time of the Buddha was said to be approximately eight *cheok*, and as Buddha was said to be twice the height of the average person, he was said to have been one *jang* and six *cheok* tall. The usual standing statue of Buddha (*ipsang*: 立像), therefore, is one *jang* and six *cheok* high, and the usual seated statue (*jwasang*: 坐像) eight *cheok* (*Ed. note: there are ten* cheok *in one* jang, *the length of which varies from 2.25 meters at the time of Former Han to 3.11 meters in Tang times*).

104 In the text the term for "at the first attempt" is *ilgo* (一鼓), meaning at the first beat of a drum, used as a signal for an army to advance.

105 This is in accord with the record in the *Samguk sagi*. "In the third month of spring of the thirty-fifth year (574) Hwangnyongsa's sixteen-foot statue of Buddha was cast and completed. The weight of its copper was 35,007 *geun* and the weight of its gilding was 10,198 *pun*." (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 4, 35th year of King Jinheung's reign 三十五年 春三月, 鑄成皇龍寺丈六像. 銅重三萬五千七斤, 鍍金重一萬一百九十八分.)

106 "In the spring and summer of the thirty-sixth year [of King Jinheung's reign] the sixteen-foot statue at Hwangnyongsa shed tears which flowed down to its heels." (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 4, 36th year of King Jinheung's reign (575) 三十六年 春夏旱, 皇龍寺丈六像 出淚至踵).

107 King Jinpyeong (眞平王, r. 579–632) was the twenty-sixth king of Silla. His posthumous title was Baekjeong (白淨). He was the grandson of King Jinheung (眞興王) and the son of Crown Prince Dongnyun (銅輪). His uncle King Jinji was dethroned by the Hwabaek Council, and he ascended the throne in his place. During the fifty-four years of his long reign stability was secured both domestically and abroad. In the early years of his reign he established central offices such as the Wihwabu (位和府), Seonbusa (船府署), Jobu (調府), Seungbu (乘府), and Yebu (禮部) with responsibility for the core duties of government, systematized the structure of the government offices and established a clear division of tasks among the government departments. Toward the end of his reign he set up the Naeseong (內省), which was responsible for palace affairs, and he increased the

but this is a mistake).[108]

皇龍寺丈六

新羅第二十四眞興王 卽位十四年癸酉二月, 將築紫宮於龍宮南, 有黃龍現其地, 乃改置爲佛寺, 號皇龍寺. 至己丑年, 周圍墻宇, 至十七年, 方畢.

末幾, 海南有一巨舫 來泊於河曲縣之絲浦[今蔚州谷浦也.] 撿看有牒文云, "西竺阿育王, 聚黃鐵五萬七千斤, 黃金三萬分[傳云, 鐵四十萬七千斤, 金一千兩, 恐誤. 或云, 三萬七千斤.], 將鑄釋迦三尊像, 未就, 載舡泛海而祝曰, '願到有緣國土, 成丈六尊容', 并載模樣一佛二菩薩像. 縣吏具狀上聞, 勅使卜其縣之城東爽塏之地, 創東竺寺, 邀安其三尊."

輸其金鐵於京師. 以大建六年 甲午三月[寺中記云, 癸巳十月十七日], 鑄成丈六尊像, 一鼓而就. 重三萬五千七斤, 入黃金一萬一百九十八分. 二菩薩入鐵一萬二千斤, 黃金一萬一百三十六分. 安於皇龍寺, 明年像淚流至踵, 沃地一尺, 大王升遐之兆. 或云, 像成在眞平之世者, 謬也.

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number of personnel in the government offices. Through such continuous institutional improvements he established an independent monarchic authority. In the sixth year of his reign (584) he changed the era name from the Tang era name Jianfu (Geonbok: 建福) to the independent Silla era name of Gaewon (開元) in order to demonstrate Silla's autonomy in its relations with other countries; established regular diplomatic relations with the unified dynasties of Sui and Tang; and sent eminent Buddhist monks such as Wongwang (圓光) and Damyuk (曇育) to China for study. In this way King Jinpyeong promoted Buddhism and Silla received cultural benefits. After the territorial expansion of King Jinheung's reign Silla came under continuous attack from Goguryeo and Baekje, which King Jinpyeong successfully blocked. His daughter Queen Seondeok (宣德王) inherited his throne and became the first queen of Silla.

108 In both the *Samguk yusa* and the *Samguk sagi* it is stated that the sixteen-foot statue of Buddha was completed in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Jinheung: here Iryeon introduces the opinion that the statue was made in the following reign of King Jinpyeong and then expresses the judgment that this opinion is mistaken. Looking at Buddhist sculptural styles from the perspective of today, there is an opinion that the statue was created at a later date, based on the fact that Buddha statues in the so-called King Aśoka style were made from the middle of the 7th century. Nevertheless, there is no reason to think that Hwangnyongsa's Sixteen-foot Buddha Statue, one of the Three Treasures of Silla Buddhism, was created 100 years after the construction of the monastery. This account should be viewed as a legend that was intended to embellish the reputation of the Sixteen-foot Buddha Statue by linking it with the era of King Aśoka.

Another record states, “King Aśoka was born one hundred years after Buddha departed this world in Magadha (Daehyanghwaguk)[109] in India (Seocheonchuk), and lamenting that he was unable to attend Buddha directly in his lifetime, he collected several *geun* of gold and iron and tried three times to make a statue of Buddha but without success. At that time only the king’s son the crown prince did not participate in the task, and when the king asked him why, the crown prince said, ‘I already knew that this venture would not succeed because it is something that cannot be accomplished with one’s own power.’ The king agreed and loaded everything on to a ship and sent it out to sea. It traveled around all 16 great states of Jambudvīpa,[110] its 500 medium-sized states, its 10,000 small states and its 80,000 townships,[111] but in none of them could the statue be cast successfully. Finally it arrived in Silla, and King Jinheung[112] had it cast in Muning Forest, and the Buddha statue was completed with all the correct identifying features (*sangho*).”[113]

109 In the text the term Daehyanghwaguk (大香華國) is another name for the ancient Indian state of Magadha (Magadaguk: 摩揭陀國). Because there were so many flowers in the royal palace in its capital located to the south of the Ganges River, it was given the name Kusumapura (Gusomaboraseong: 拘蘇摩補羅城), which was translated as Hyanghwagungseong (Perfumed Flower Palace Capital: 香花宮城). According to the *Record of the Western Regions (Da Tang xiyu ji:* 大唐西域記), *juan* 8, the name of the royal capital of Magadha was subsequently changed to Pataliputra (Ch. Bozhalizicheng: 波吒釐子城).

110 In the text the term given for Jambudvīpa is Namyeombuje (南閻浮提), which can also be written as Namyeombuju (南閻浮洲). See also note 39, above.

111 The numbers 16, 500, 10,000 and 80,000 are the generic names given to the states of Jambudvīpa in Buddhist sūtras.

112 For King Jinheung, see note 9, above.

113 *Sangho* (Skt. *lakṣaṇa-vyañjana*: 相好便膳那): *lakṣaṇa* (‘distinctive marks’) refers to the thirty-two physical characteristics of the Buddha that are easily distinguishable; *vyañjana* (‘making clear’) refers to the eighty physical characteristics of the Buddha that are subtle and difficult to distinguish. Together they are known in Korean as *sangho* (相好). It is said that the Buddha acquired these features as a result of rigorous self-discipline carried out over a period of 100 great *kalpas* whereby he acquired the so called *lakṣaṇa-vyañjana* karma. It is also said that an ideal Buddhist sovereign, a wheel-turning king (Skt. *cakravartin*), would have the “thirty-two signs” but that only buddhas and bodhisattvas would have the “eighty secondary characteristics.” See also notes 219–221, below.

In translation Aśoka means "no worries" (*mu-u*). Later Daedeok Jajang[114] went to study in China and arrived at Mt. Wutai (Odaesan)[115] where the incarnate bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was moved to grant him this oracle, "The stone from which Śākyamuni Buddha and Kāśyapa Buddha preached and sat in meditation is still in Hwangnyongsa in your country. Because of this India's King Wuyou (Aśoka) collected several *geun* of copper and sent it off across the sea. Around 1,300 years later it arrived at your country and the [Buddha statue] was completed and attended in that monastery. This happened because of the karmic affinity of dignity and virtue (related to this site)." [A record in a different source confirms this] After the Buddha statue was completed the Buddha triad at Dongchuksa was also moved to Hwangnyongsa where it was attended.

The monastic records state, "The main Buddha hall (*geumdang*) was constructed in the sixth year, *gapjin* (584), of King Jinpyeong;[116] during

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114 For Jajang, see note 3, above.

115 Mt. Wutai (Odaesan: 五臺山) is located in Wutai County, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province in China. Its five peaks soar up into the sky, but they are flat rather than pointed at the top, thus giving rise to the name "Five-Terrace Mountain." With its lofty refreshing peaks, it was also called "Clear Cool Mountain" (Cheongnyangsan: Ch. Qingliangshan: 清凉山); in "Bodhisattva's Dwelling Places" (Bosaljucheopum: 菩薩主處品) in the *Flower Adornment Sūtra* (*Hwaeomgyeong*; *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; Ch. *Huayanjing*: 華嚴經, see note 520, below) there is a passage which states that there is a "clear cold mountain in the north" where the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī resides, giving rise to the belief that Mañjuśrī dwelt in Mt. Wutai. It is one of the four great spiritual mountains (Sidalingshan: 四大靈山) in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. Of its five peaks, the Northern Terrace is the highest, and the most prominent place for the offering of prayers. It had been considered a holy place in mountain worship belief since Later Han times and after Northern Wei it became renowned as a Buddhist holy ground, with people who studied the *Flower Adornment Sūtra* going to Mt. Wutai to cultivate themselves. In the second half of the 8th century Bukong (Amoghavajra, see note 236, below) built the Jin'ge Monastery there and made Mt. Wutai a holy ground for Esoteric Buddhism. Then Chengguan (澄觀) of the Huayan School, while teaching at Dahuayan Monastery, reasserted Mt. Wutai as a Huayan holy ground and until the Qing era it remained a centre of fervent Buddhist faith with Korean and Japanese monks continually making pilgrimages there (*Ed. note: for further detailed information on Mt. Wutai, see* Robert M. Gimello "Chang Shang-ying on Wu-T'ai-shan" in Susan Naqin and Chün-fang Yü, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992: 89–149).

116 For King Jinpyeong, see note 107, above.

the reign of Queen Seondeok,[117] the monastery's first abbot was the monk Hwanhui, a member of the true-bone (*jingol*) lineage.[118] The second abbot was National Overseer (Guktong)[119] Jajang, then National Overseer Hyehun,

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[117] Queen Seondeok (宣德王, r. 632–647) was the twenty-seventh sovereign of Silla. Her family name was Gim (金) and her given name Deok-man (德曼). She was the eldest daughter of King Jinpyeong and her mother was Lady Maya (Maya buin: 摩耶夫人) of the Gim clan. When King Jinpyeong died without a male heir, she was selected by the Hwabaek Council and became the first woman to ascend the throne in the history of Silla. In the third year of her reign (634), she changed the era name to "Benevolent Peace" (Inpyeong: 仁平) and constructed Bunhwangsa (芬皇寺). In 635 she established Yeongmyosa (靈廟寺, see note 203, below). In her efforts in such areas as providing relief she strove to extend benevolent government throughout the country, and in order to prevent the continual attacks on Silla from Baekje and Goguryeo, she encouraged the reception of Tang culture and maintained a close relationship with that country. She established the Cheonseongdae observatory and in accordance with Jajang's proposal constructed the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa. She maintained her rule with the assistance of such able figures as Gim Chunchu and Gim Yusin (see notes 313 and 315, below), but died in middle of an uprising led by members of the old Silla aristocracy, Bidam and Yeomjong.

[118] The true-bone (*jingol*: 眞骨) lineage was the highest rank in the Silla aristocracy. From the beginning the aristocracy in Silla had been divided into eight different ranks from holy bone (*seonggol*: 聖骨) through true-bone, head rank six (*yukdupum*: 六頭品), head rank five (*odupum*: 五頭品), head rank four (*sadupum*: 四頭品) and so on down to head rank one (*ildupum*: 頭品). Members of the aristocracy were assigned to a rank in accordance with their lineage and various restrictions were placed on their political and social activities, including the official posts they were allowed to hold, the size of home they were allowed to live in, the personal ornaments they were allowed to wear and so on. Members of the royal Gim clan, the clans of former kings and royal consorts belonged to the true-bone ranking system and were able to hold positions as ministers in government departments and to reach the highest official ranks of head rank five and above in the seventeen-rank official hierarchy of Silla.

[119] National Overseer (*guktong*: 國統) was the highest position in the hierarchy of Buddhist monks in the Silla dynasty. Other terms used for this position were *seungtong* (僧統) and *saju* (寺主). The official post of National Overseer was first created in the twelfth year of King Jinheung's reign (551) with the appointment of Hyeryang (惠亮), who had fled from Goguryeo. Beneath the National Overseer were various monastic officials such as the Chief Buddhist Monks (*daedoyuna*: 大都維那) and the Chief Monastic Scribes (*daeseoseong*: 大書省), who assisted the National Overseer and carried out the administration of the Buddhist clergy in Silla. In each province and county the administration of the monasteries was entrusted to a Provincial Overseer (*jutong*) and a County Overseer (*guntong*), who it is presumed received instructions from the National Overseer.

followed by the monk Sangnyul."[120] After the fire that occurred during this war,[121] the sixteen-foot Buddha statue and the two bodhisattva statues all melted and only a small statue of Śākyamuni Buddha still remains.

Panegyric
The true hometown is not to be found in this world of dust,
Our country has the greatest response from burning incense.
It was not that King Aśoka could not accomplish the task,
It was just that [the statue] came in search of the ancient site at Wolseong.

別本云,"阿育王在西竺大香華國, 生佛後一百年間, 恨不得供養眞身, 化金鐵若干斤, 三度鑄成無功. 時王之太子獨不預斯事, 王使詰之, 太子奏云, '獨力非功, 會知不就.' 王然之, 乃載舡泛海. 南閻浮提十六大國 五百中國 十千小國 八萬聚落, 靡不周旋, 皆鑄不成, 最後到新羅國. 眞興王鑄之於文仍林, 像成, 相好畢備. 阿育 此翻無憂. 後大德慈藏西學, 到五臺山, 感文殊現身授訣. 仍囑云,"汝國皇龍寺, 乃釋迦與迦葉佛 講演之地, 宴坐石猶在, 故天竺無憂王, 聚黃鐵若干斤泛海 歷一千三百餘年. 然後乃到而國, 成安其寺, 蓋威緣使然也." (與別記所載不同). 像成後, 東竺寺三尊 亦移安寺中.
寺記云, 眞平六年甲辰, 金堂造成, 善德王代, 寺初主眞骨歡喜師, 第二主慈藏國統, 次國統惠訓, 次廂律師云. 今兵火已來, 大像與二菩薩皆融沒, 而小釋迦猶存焉.
讚曰 塵方何處匪眞鄉, 香火因緣最我邦, 不是育王難下手, 月城來訪舊行藏

120 During the reign of Queen Seondeok only members of the true-bone lineage became the abbots of Hwangnyongsa, and it seems that this position was held in conjunction with that of National Overseer, the highest position in the Silla Buddhist clerical hierarchy.

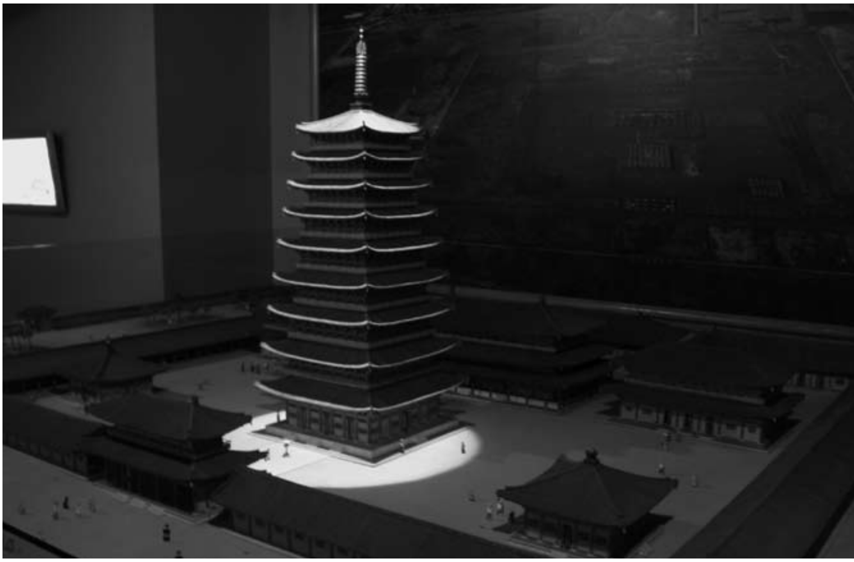
121 "This war" refers to the Mongol invasion of Goryeo that took place in the twenty-fifth year of King Gojong's reign (1238), during which Hwangnyongsa was burned to the ground.

4-6.
The Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺九層塔

Introduction:

This chapter concerns the Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa that, along with the Sixteen-foot Buddha image in the same monastery, and King Jinpyeong's Heaven-Bestowed Jade Belt (Cheonsaokdae)[122] was one of the Three Treasures of Silla. Based on the "Biography of Jajang" (Jajangjeon) supplemented by monastic records (*sajung girok*) it tells how Jajang received inspiration from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mt. Wutai in China and met a divine being (*sinin*) who told him that if he constructed a nine-story pagoda and held a Festival of the Eight Vows (*palgwanhoe*), neighboring countries would surrender, the royal family would be at ease, and foreign enemies would not be able to cause harm. On being entrusted with this information Jajang returned to Silla, proposed the construction of the pagoda and invited a master craftsman from Baekje. Furthermore, quoting the monastery accounts (*chaljugi*), Iryeon records the scale of the pagoda and claims that by constructing it Silla was able to unify the Three Kingdoms. The text also maintains that Goguryeo was intending to invade Silla, but because the king found out about the Three Jewels of Silla, namely, the Sixteen-foot Statue at Hwangnyongsa, the Nine-Story Pagoda, and the Jade Belt Bestowed by Heaven, he called off the invasion. Also, quoting the *Dongdoseongnipgi* and *Samguk sagi*, the author provides supplementary information on the sources

122 The Heaven-Bestowed Jade Belt (Cheonsaokdae: 天賜玉帶) was the belt that King Jinpyeong was said to have received from heaven. In the year of King Jinpyeong's accession to the throne (579) a heavenly messenger descended into the courtyard of the palace with a jade belt (*okdae*: 玉帶) that he had brought with him from the Lord on High (Sangje; Ch. Shangdi: 上帝). The king received the belt and wore it as a symbol of his authority when he officiated at national sacrificial rites for the gods of grain and earth and the ancestral shrine of the royal family.



Model reconstruction of Hwangnyongsa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do

relating to the construction of the Hwangnyongsa pagoda and explains what changes occurred in the period after the construction of Hwangnyong Monastery up until the Goryeo dynasty, focusing on the damage caused by lightning strikes and subsequent repairs, and concluding with its destruction by fire during one of the Mongol invasions. It is a story that tells of the protection given to Silla by such immense artifacts as this statue and pagoda, which were both invested with the power of the Buddha, had deeply meaningful origins, and were built through the efforts of the nation.

Annotated Translation:

In the fifth year of the reign of Queen Seondeok,[123] the twenty-seventh monarch of Silla, the tenth year, *byeongsin*, of the Zhenguan era (636),

123 For Queen Seondeok, see note 117, above.

Master Jajang[124] went abroad to study in China[125] and was moved to receive the dharma from the incarnate bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mt. Wutai[126] (*a detailed account may be found in the biography in this work*).[127] The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī also said, "As your nation's sovereign is a member of India's *kshatriya*[128] class, she has already received the assurance of enlightenment (*vyakarana*)[129] from the Buddha and so [your country] has a special karmic destiny and you are not the same as the Dongyi[130] and the Gonggong.[131]

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124 For Jajang, see note 3, above.

125 The (probably mistaken) view that Jajang went to study abroad from 636 (rather than 638) is first found in the *Samguk sagi*. The most accurate records concerning Jajang from the Silla period are the present chapter of *Samguk yusa*, which is from an independent Korean source, and the *Supplement to the Lives of Eminent Buddhist Monks* (*Sokgoseungjeon*: 續高僧傳) vol. 24 "Biography of Jajang," (*Ed. note: see note 673 to Chapter 4–19, below*) both of which clearly record that he went to Tang China in 638.

126 For Mt. Wutai, see note 115, above.

127 "The biography in this work" (*bonjeon,* 本傳), is a reference to the chapter "Jajang Establishes the Vinaya" (Jajang jeongyul [慈藏定律] in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 24). (*Ed. note: see chapter 5-6 in this volume*).

128 In the text the term *challi* (Skt. *kṣatriya*; Ch. *chali*: 刹利) is a shortened form of *chaljeri* (Ch. *chadili*: 刹帝利). It originally meant "ruler of the land" and was the second of the four *varnas* (social orders) in the ancient Indian caste system and designated the royal lineage and military class responsible for political rule and military leadership. Here it is a reference to the Śākya clan, which was the royal family of Kapilavastu. Queen Seondeok's father King Jinpyeong's name was Baekjeong (白淨) meaning "pure" or "unsullied" and her mother the queen consort's name was Lady Māyā (摩耶, the name of Śākyamuni's mother), implying that their daughter Queen Seondeok ("of good virtue") was descended from the royal Śākya clan.

129 The Chinese characters for *vyakarana* in the text is *sugi* (Ch. *shouji*: 授記) with the basic meaning of "assurance [of attaining enlightenment]." Other translations for *vyakarana* are *sugyeol* (Ch. *shoujue*: 授決), and *gibyeol* (Ch. *jibie*: 記別). Originally when the sūtras were divided into twelve types, *vyakarana* meant the explanation of doctrine through the methods of analysis of teachings or dialogue, but its meaning changed, and the term came to be used to mean enlightening a disciple or predicting where a disciple would be born in the next world. In later times it came to mean only predicting someone's future enlightenment or title (*myeongho*: 名號) on attaining Buddhahood.

130 Eastern Barbarians (Dongyi: 東夷): from early times China considered itself to be the centre of world civilization, Zhonghua (中華), and viewed the nations surrounding it as barbarians, calling those in the east, Yi (夷), in the west, Rong (戎), in the south, Man (蠻), and in the north, Di (狄).

131 The Gonggong (共工) was one of the four barbarian tribes, Sixiong (四凶), at the time of Yao and

As your mountains and rivers are wild and your people's nature rough, they hold many deviant and heretical beliefs, and sometimes the gods of heaven bring down disasters upon them. But because there are monks in the country who are attentive to the teachings of the Buddha,[132] the sovereign and her ministers are at peace and its common people in harmony." As he finished speaking he disappeared. Jajang knew that this was an apparition of a great saint and shedding bitter tears he withdrew.

When Jajang was passing along the banks of the Taihe Pool[133] in China, suddenly a divine being appeared and asked him, "Why have you come here?" Jajang replied, "I came here to attain ultimate enlightenment (*bori*)."[134] The divine being bowed and asked, "Does your country have any difficulties?" Jajang said, "To the north of our country are the Malgal, and the south is close to the Wa people. Goguryeo and Baekje take it in turns to

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Shun, namely, the Gonggong (共工), Danzhu (丹朱), Kun (鯤), and Sanmiao (三苗).

132 In the text the phrase "monks ... who are attentive to the teachings of the Buddha" is *damun bigu* (多聞比丘), meaning monks who listen to many sūtras and sermons. Buddhist monks were traditionally divided into two basic types (*ijong bigu*: 二種比丘), those who enjoyed memorizing the sūtras and researching widely into the written texts of Buddhism but did not engage in devotional or meditation practice were referred to as *damun bigu*, whereas those who were not well-versed in the sūtras and Buddhist doctrines but engaged wholeheartedly in devotional practices were referred to as *gwacheon bigu* (寡淺比丘), i.e. monks of little learning.

133 Taihe Pool (Taihechi: 太和池), the place where Jajang received the instruction to build a nine-story pagoda, is thought to be Yuhua Pool (Yuhuachi: 玉花池) on Mt. Wutai.

134 The term *bori* (Ch. *puti*: 菩提) is a phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit term *bodhi*, which has various meanings including enlightenment (*gak*: 覺), wisdom (*ji*: 智), knowledge (*ji*: 知), and the way (*do*: 道). As a Buddhist term it means ending the suffering of this world and attaining the wisdom of *nirvāna*. *Bori* signifies the wisdom attained by the Buddha, *pratyekabuddha* (*yeongak*: 緣覺)—meaning "enlightened through dependent arising," or individual enlightenment—and *śrāvakas* (*seongmun*: 聲聞)—meaning monks who attain *nirvāna* but lack the insight and compassion of a bodhisattva. Among these three types of *bodhi* that of the Buddha is the highest and without limit and so it is called "supreme correct enlightenment" (Skt. *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*; *anyokdara sammak sambori*; Ch. *a'nouduoluo sanmiao sanputi*: 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提). The same term also exists in Chinese translations such as "peerless correct perfect enlightenment" (*musang jeongdeung jeonggak*; Ch. *wushang zhengdeng zhengjue*: 無上正等正覺) and "unsurpassed correct universal wisdom" (*musang jeongbyeon ji*; Ch. *wushang zhengbian zhi*: 無上正遍智)

violate our borders, and this rampant pillaging by our neighbors is the great anxiety of our people. The divine being said, "As your country's sovereign is a woman, there is virtue, but because there is no dignity, your neighboring countries are taking advantage.[135] Go back to Silla quickly." Jajang asked, "If I return to my homeland, what benefit will there be?" The god replied, "The dharma guardian dragon (*hobeomnyong*) of Hwangnyongsa is my eldest son. He received orders from Brahmā[136] to go and protect that monastery. If you return to Silla and construct a nine-story pagoda your neighboring countries will surrender, the Nine Han[137] will come bringing tribute and the royal family will enjoy eternal peace. If after constructing the pagoda, you hold an Eight Vows Festival (*palgwanhoe*)[138] and pardon criminals, your

135 The words of the Tang emperor, pointing out the powerlessness of the queen, are included in the *Samguk sagi*. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 5, twelfth year of the Queen Seondeok's reign, "The Emperor said ... Your country is ruled by a woman, and will be thought little of by neighboring countries. Without a Lord to control bandits, in no year will there be peace. I shall send you a Regent, to be ruler in your country. A king alone is not enough: he must send troops to defend, bring peace to the country, and by taking responsibility achieve self-control; these are the three policies" 帝曰, ... 爾國以婦人爲主, 爲鄰國輕侮, 失主迎寇, 靡歲休寧. 我遣一宗支, 與爲爾國主, 而自不可獨王, 當遣兵營護, 待爾國安, 任爾自守, 此爲三策.)

136 In the text Brahmā is transcribed as Beomwang (Ch. Fanwang: 梵王), which is a shorter form of Beomcheonwang (Ch. Fantianwang: 梵天王). As the Heavenly Lord (Cheonju: 天主) of the first meditation heaven (*choseoncheon*: 初禪天) of the form realm (Skt. *rūpa-dhātu*; Ch. *sejie*: 色界; K. *saekgye*), Brahmā is one of the Buddhist guardian deities who together with Indra (Jeseokcheon; Ch. Dishitian: 帝釋天, see note 248, below) attends the Buddha.

137 The Nine Han (Guhan: 九韓) is another term for Nine Yi (Gui: 九夷), namely, the nine countries beyond the borders of Silla.

138 The Eight Vows Festival (Palgwanhoe; Ch. Baguanhui: 八關會) was one of the major Buddhist festivals, in which for one day and one night the following vows were strictly kept: not killing any living things (*bulsalsaeng*: 不殺生), not taking anything from anyone that was not given (*bultudo*: 不偸盜), not engaging in immorality (*bulsaeum*: 不邪淫), not lying (*bulmangeo*: 不忘語), not drinking alcohol (*buleumju*: 不飲酒), not adorning oneself with flowers (*buli hwaman jangsik jasin*: 不以華鬘裝飾自身), not singing or dancing (*bulgamu gwancheong*: 不歌舞觀聽), and not sitting or lying down in an elevated, luxurious place (*bujwawa gogwang hwaryeosangjwa*: 不坐臥高廣華麗床座). To these is added a ninth instruction, not to eat except at the appropriate time (*bulbisi sik*: 不非時食). In China the Eight Vows Festival had existed from before the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and became widespread in Tang times. It was introduced into the Korean peninsula in the Three Kingdoms era and

foreign enemies will not be able to inflict any harm on you. Also if you build a temple by the sea to the south of the capital[139] for my sake and invoke blessings for me, I will also repay that favor." So saying he presented a (piece of) jade and vanished, never to appear again (*the monastic records*[140] *state that* [*Jajang*] *received the reason for constructing the pagoda from Chan Master Yuanxiang at his residence in Mt. Zhongnan*).[141]

In the seventeenth year, *gyemyo* (643) of the Zhenguan[142] era on the sixteenth day [of the third month],[143] Jajang returned with Buddhist sutras,

in Goryeo times developed into a naturalized festival in combination with native practices and beliefs.

139 Although the text *gyeonggi nam* (京畿南) literally means "south of the capital," the term *gyeonggi* refers not merely to the capital but also to the surrounding region.

140 The content of the monastic records (*sajung gi*: 寺中記) is also found in the "Record of the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda" so this may be a direct reference to this record or to another monastic record based on this kind of source. "In the twelfth year, *gyemyo* (643) of King [Seondeok, Jajang] decided to return to his own country. When he took his leave of Chan Master Yuanxiang (圓香禪師) at Mt. Nan, the Seon master said, 'As I look upon your country with concern, if you build a nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa, all the countries to the east of the sea will surrender to your country.'" (王之十二年癸卯歲, 欲歸本國, 頂辭南山圓香禪師. 禪師謂曰, 吾以觀心, 觀公之國, 皇龍寺建九層窣都波, 海東諸國, 渾降汝國. 皇龍寺九層木塔刹柱本記) *Yeokju Hanguk godae geumseok mun* [譯註 韓國古代金石文] vol. 3, p. 367)

141 Mt. Zhongnan (Zhongnanshan: 終南山), height 2604 meters, is also called Mt. Nan (Nanshan: 南山) and is located forty kilometers south of Xi'an (西安) (former Chang'an: 長安), the capital of Shaanxi Province (陜西省) in China. It is located in the middle of the Qinling Mountains, which run from east to west, and the region includes Mt. Cuihua (Cuihuashan: 翠華山), South Wutai (Nanwutai: 南五臺) and Mt. Li (Lishan: 驪山). In Sui and Tang times it was a focal region for Buddhism and many eminent monks including Daoxuan (道宣), Zhiyan (智儼) and Zongmi (宗密) practiced there. Many Buddhist monasteries and various Buddhist schools flourished in the region, including the Vinaya School (Gyeyuljong; Ch. Jieluzong: 戒律宗), the Avataṃsaka School (Hwaeomjong; Ch. Huyanzong: 華嚴宗), the Dharmalakṣaṇa School (Beopseongjong; Ch. Faxiangzong: 法相宗), the Pure Land School (Jeongtojong; Ch. Jingtuzong: 淨土宗) and the Chan (Zen) School (Seonjong; 禪宗).

142 Zhenguan (貞觀, 627–649), is an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Taizong (太宗). It coincides with the period from the forty-ninth year of King Jinpyeong's reign to the third year of Queen Jindeok's reign.

143 In the text Iryeon only provides the day without the month, but according to *Samguk sagi*, Jajang returned to Silla in the third month of the twelfth year (643) of Queen Seondeok's reign.

Buddha statues, *kāṣāyas*, and gifts bestowed on him by the Tang emperor,[144] and reported to the sovereign concerning the construction of the pagoda. Queen Seondeok consulted with her ministers who responded, "Only after inviting a craftsman from Baekje, will this be possible." So they sent an invitation to Baekje with gifts of precious silk. A craftsman called Abiji[145] accepted the royal command and handled the timber and stone. Ichan[146] Yong Chun (also called Yong Su)[147] competently supervised[148] the work at the head of two hundred lesser craftsmen. On the day when the central pillar of the pagoda (*chalju*)[149] was being set up, Abiji witnessed in a dream the fall of his own country Baekje and feeling mistrust in his heart, ceased working. Suddenly the earth began to quake violently and in the darkness an old monk and a strong man emerged from the doorway of the main Buddha hall (*geumdang*), set up the pillar and then both vanished never to appear again. At this Abiji felt remorse and completed the construction of the pagoda.

皇龍寺九層塔
新羅第二十七善德王卽位五年, 貞觀十年丙申, 慈藏法師西學, 乃於五臺感文殊授法[詳見本傳]. 文殊又云, 汝國王是天竺刹利種王, 預受佛記, 故別有因緣, 不同東夷共工之族. 然以山川崎嶮, 故人性麤悖, 多信邪見, 而時或天神降禍. 然有多聞比丘, 在於國中, 是以君臣安泰, 萬庶和平矣. 言已不現. 藏知是大聖變化, 泣血而退.

144 The Tang emperor referred to here is Taizong (r. 627–649).

145 Abiji (阿非知) was the Baekje artisan who built the Hwangnyongsa's Nine-Story Pagoda. According to the "Record of the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda" (Hwangnyongsa Gucheungtap chalju bongi: 皇龍寺九層塔刹柱本記) his name was Abi (阿非).

146 The title *ichan* (伊飡) was given to a second-rank official in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of officials. The titles *igan* (伊干) and *icheokchan* (伊尺飡) were also used.

147 Yong Chun (龍春) or Yong Su (龍樹) was the father of Taejong (太宗) (King Muyeol: 武烈王, see note 870, below) of Silla.

148 In the text the term *gango* (幹蠱), which means a son taking over and completing the work of his father, is used. It has the meaning of handling a project competently.

149 The term *chalju* (刹柱) means the central supporting pillar of a pagoda, based on the central foundation stone (*simchoseok*: 心礎石).

經由中國太和池邊, 忽有神人出問, “胡爲至此?” 藏答曰, “求菩提故.” 神人禮拜, 又問, “汝國有何留難?” 藏曰, “我國北連靺鞨, 南接倭人, 麗濟二國, 迭犯封陲, 隣寇縱横, 是爲民梗.” 神人云, “今汝國以女爲王, 有德而無威, 故隣國謀之, 宜速歸本國.” 藏問, “歸鄉, 將何爲利益乎?” 神曰, “皇龍寺護法龍, 是吾長子, 受梵王之命, 來護是寺. 歸本國, 成九層塔於寺中, 隣國降伏, 九韓來貢, 王祚永安矣. 建塔之後, 設八關會, 赦罪人, 則外賊不能爲害. 更爲我於京畿南岸, 置一精廬, 共資予福, 予亦報之德矣.” 言已, 遂奉玉而獻之, 忽隱不現[寺中記云, 於終南山圓香禪師處, 受建塔因由.].

貞觀十七年癸卯十六日, 將唐帝所賜經像袈裟幣帛而還國, 以建塔之事聞於上. 善德王議於群臣, 群臣曰, “請工匠於百濟, 然後方可.” 乃以寶帛請於百濟. 匠名阿非知, 受命而來, 經營木石, 伊干龍春[一作龍樹]幹蠱, 率小匠二百人. 初立刹柱之日, 匠夢本國百濟滅亡之狀, 匠乃心疑停手, 忽大地震動, 晦冥之中, 有一老僧一壯士, 自金殿門出, 乃立其柱, 僧與壯士, 皆隱不現. 匠於是改悔, 畢成其塔.

The “Pagoda Pillar Record” (*chaljugi*)[150] states, “The height from the iron plate (*cheolban*)[151] is 42 *ja* and the height beneath it is 183 *ja*.”[152] Jajang divided up the one hundred relics (*sari*) that he had received in Mt. Wutai and enshrined them in the [Hwangnyongsa] pagoda pillar, the altar (*gyedan*) at Tongdo Monastery[153] and the pagoda at Taehwa

150 The *Pagoda Pillar Record* (*chaljugi*: 刹柱記): when a pagoda is constructed a space is made in the central foundation stone (*simchoseok*: 心礎石) on which the pagoda pillar (*chalju*: 刹柱) is placed and records relating to the construction of the pagoda are placed inside it. In fact in the course of excavation, the “Record of the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda” (Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap chalju bongi: 皇龍寺九層塔刹柱本記) was discovered inside the central foundation stone of Hwangnyongsa’s pagoda, thus verifying the actuality of such records.

151 The iron plate (*cheolban*: 鐵盤) refers to the iron “dew-plate” (*noban*: 露盤) on which the decorative pillar (*sangnyun*: 相輪) at the top of a pagoda stands.

152 The content of *Chaljugi* is the same as stated here. (“Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap chalju bongi” *Yeokju Hanguk godae geumseok mun* (譯註 韓國古代金石文) vol. 3, p. 368: 鐵盤已上 高七步, 已下高卅步三尺.)

153 Tongdo Monastery (Tongdosa: 通度寺) is located on Mt. Yeongchwi (Yeonchwisan: 靈鷲山) in Habuk-myeon, Yangsan-gun, South Gyeongsang Province. When Jajang became Chief Abbot of State (*daeguktong*: 大國統), he constructed Tongdosa in the fifteenth year of Queen Seondeok’s reign (646). The Buddha’s *śarīras* (*sari*: 舍利), *kāṣāya* (*gasa*: 袈裟) and the Buddhist canon (*Daejanggyeong*:

Monastery[154] and thus complied with the request of the dragon of Taihe Pool (*Taehwa Monastery is to the south of Agok Prefecture, now Ulju, and was also founded by Dharma Master Jajang*).

After the construction of the pagoda, heaven and earth became peaceful, and the Three Han were unified, so how could this not have been through the miraculous assistance of the pagoda?

Subsequently the king of Goguryeo intended to conquer Silla but [someone] reported, "Because of the three treasures in Silla, it is not possible to invade."

"What are you talking about?" [the king] asked.

"They are the Sixteen-foot Buddha Statue at Hwangnyongsa, the Nine-Story Pagoda and King Jinpyeong's Heaven-Bestowed Jade Belt (Cheonsaokdae)" [the person] replied, and in the end the plan was abandoned. Similarly, because of the Nine Tripods (Jiuding)[155] of Zhou, the Chu people[156] did not dare to set their sights on the north.

Panegyric
Spirits reverently help to quell the capital,
And roof tiles seem to be flying on the dazzling red and green [rafters].

大藏經) Jajang brought back from Tang China were enshrined within its Diamond Ordination Platform (*geumgang gyedan*: 金剛戒壇), behind the Main Buddha Hall (*daeungjeon*: 大雄殿). The platform remains to this day and the monastery, with its many other historical remains, is the head temple of the fifteenth parish of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism (Daehan Bulgyo Jogyejong) and one of the great monastic institutions of Korea. (*Ed. note: see chapter 4-13, below*).

154 For Taehwasa (太和寺), see note 332, below.

155 Nine Tripods (Jiuding: 九鼎): King Yu (禹) of Xia (夏) collected metal from the Nine States (Jiuzhou: 九州) and made nine tripods symbolizing them. They were handed down through the three dynasties from Xia (夏) to Yin (殷) and then to Zhou (周) and were considered treasures of the Son of Heaven.

156 The Chu (楚) Kingdom was one of the largest states in China in the Warring States period. It was centered around present-day Hubei Province and as one of the Seven Warring States (Zhanguo qixiong: 戰國七雄) was so powerful that it was on a par with the state of Qin, which eventually conquered it.

Climbing aloft and looking down, behold the submission of the Nine Han,
And know that throughout the world there will be peace on earth.

刹柱記云,“鐵盤已上高四十二尺 已下一百八十三尺.” 慈藏以五臺所授舍利百粒, 分安於柱中, 并通度寺戒壇 及大和寺塔, 以副池龍之請. [太和寺在阿曲縣南, 今蔚州, 亦藏師所創也.]
樹塔之後, 天地開泰, 三韓爲一, 豈非塔之靈蔭乎.
後高麗王將謀伐羅, 乃曰,“新羅有三寶, 不可犯也.” “何謂也?” “皇龍丈六 并九層塔 與眞平王天賜玉帶.” 遂寢其謀. 周有九鼎, 楚人不敢北窺, 此之類也.
讚曰 鬼拱神扶壓帝京, 輝煌金碧動飛甍. 登臨何啻九韓伏, 始覺乾坤特地平.

Also in the *Record of the Founding of the Eastern Capital* (*Dongdo seongnip gi*)[157] by Anhong[158] a renowned sage of the Korean peninsula (Haedong) states, "Because the twenty-seventh sovereign of Silla was a queen, although there was the Dao there was no dignity and so the Nine Han invaded. If a nine-story pagoda is constructed south of the Dragon Palace (Yonggung) at Hwangnyongsa, it will be possible to prevent the calamities brought on by our neighboring countries. The first story [defends against] Japan (Ilbon:

157 There is some disagreement among scholars over whether Anhong (安弘) was in fact the author of *Record of the Founding of the Eastern Capital* (*Dongdo seongnip gi*: 東都成立記). According to one view because the term Nine Han (Guhan: 九韓) leaves out the names of Goguryeo and Baekje and includes the names of the Five Dynasties from the end of the Tang era and also uses the Goryeo term "Eastern Capital" for Gyeongju, the work was in fact written at the end of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo and falsely attributed to Anhong. According to another view the term "Nine Han" is merely a literary embellishment that was put in later, and the original work was in fact written by Anhong.

158 Anhong (安弘): According to one view Anhong is the same person as Anham (安含, 579–640) whose biography "Anham *jeon*" appears in *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong goseungjeon*: 海東高僧傳) while there is another view that he is not the same person. Anham was the grandson of *ichan* Sibu (詩賦). In the twenty-third year of the reign of King Jinpyeong (601), he went to Sui to study and five years later returned to Silla with Bimarajinje (Ch. Pimozhendi), Nong Jiatuo and others. He wrote a book of prognostications (*chamseo*: 讖書), which is considered by some to be the *Record of the Founding of the Eastern Capital* (*Dongdo seongnip gi*: 東都成立記).

日本), the second China (Junghwa; Ch. Zhonghua: 中華), the third Wuyue (Owol: 吳越), the fourth Tangna (托羅),[159] the fifth Eungyu (Ch. Yingyou: 鷹遊),[160] the sixth Mohe (Ch. 靺鞨 Malgal, Mogher), the seventh Danguk (Ch. Danguo: 丹國),[161] the eighth Yeojeok (女狄),[162] and the ninth Yemaek (Ch. Huimo: 穢貊).

Also on consulting the *Guksa* (*Samguk sagi*) and the monastery's old records, [we find that], "King Jinheung founded this monastery in the *gyeyu* year (553), then the pagoda was completed in the time of Queen Seondeok in the nineteenth year, *eulsa,* of the Zhenguan era (645). In the sixth month of the seventh year, *musul* (698), since the accession to the throne of King Hyoso[163] in the founding year of the Shengli era (692), it was struck by lightning (*the old records of the monastery state that this happened at the time of King Seongdeok*,[164] *but this is an error, as there was no* musul *year during*

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159 The name Tangna (托羅) first appears in the section on Mahan in the first volume of the *Samguk yusa*. Tangna is another version of the term Tamna (耽羅), which was the name used for Jeju Island in the Goryeo dynasty.

160 The location of Eungyu (Ch. Yingyou: 鷹遊) is not known. It is thought by some to be another name for Baekje.

161 Danguk (Ch. Danguo: 丹國) refers to the realm of the Khitans (Ch. Qidan: 契丹).

162 Yeojeok (女狄) appears to refer to the Jurchen (女眞).

163 King Hyoso (孝昭王, r. 692–702) was the thirty-second king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Yihong (理洪) or Yigong (理恭). He was the eldest son of King Sinmun (r. 681–692). His mother, Queen Sinmok (Sinmok wanghu: 神穆王后) of the Gim clan, was the daughter of Heumun (欽運). He was invested as the crown prince in 691 and ascended the throne at a young age in 692. In the early years of his reign he established the Medical Academy (Uihak: 醫學) for teaching medicine and appointed a doctor of medicine (*uihakbaksa*). In 695 he regularized the circulation of goods in the royal capital by the establishment of a Western Market (Seosijeon: 西市典) and a Southern Market (Namsijeon: 南市典) to complement the existing Eastern Market (Tongsijeon: 東市典). In 698 he gave an audience to envoys from Japan and in 699 sent envoys to Tang China and in this way kept amicable diplomatic relations with both countries. He was also known as King Hyojo (孝照王), see note 697, below.

164 King Seongdeok 聖德王 (r. 702–737) was the thirty-third king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name was originally Yunggi (隆基) but was later changed to Heunggwang (興光). As the second son of King Sinmun he was the younger brother of King Hyoso. When King Hyoso

the reign of King Seongdeok). At the time of the thirty-third monarch, King Seongdeok, it was restored, and in the sixth month of the *muja* year (868) under the forty-eighth monarch, King Gyeongmun,[165] it was struck by lightning a second time, and restored for the third time during the same reign.[166] In the fifth year from the ascension to the throne of the Goryeo King Gwangjong[167] in the tenth month of the *gyechuk* year (953), it was struck by lightning a third time, and in the thirteenth year, *sinyu*, of the reign

died without a son he was selected by the Hwabaek Council. His first queen consort was Seongjeong wanghu (成貞王后) but in the fifteenth year of his reign she was expelled from the palace and King Seongdeok took Sodeok wanghu (炤德王后) as his new queen consort. On the basis of political stability King Seongdeok strengthened the royal authority. In 717 he placed portraits of Confucius and his disciples, which had been brought from Tang China, in the National Academy and promoted Confucian studies. He established the post of *tongmun baksa* (通文博士) for drafting diplomatic correspondence with Tang China in 714 and sent envoys to China about forty-three times during his reign. In 722 he enacted the "able-bodied land" (*jeongjeon* 丁田) system, in which land was allocated to male adults. In 732 he attempted to attack Balhae; as the route was blocked by snow this attack was called off, but at this time he did acquire the territory south of the Pae River (浿江), present-day Daedong River (大同江).

165 King Gyeongmun 景文王 (r. 861–875) was the forty-eighth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name was Eungnyeom (膺廉). His father was Gyemyeong (啓明) and his grandfather King Huigang (僖康王). He ascended the throne as the son-in-law of King Heonan, who had no son. In the midst of the incessant factional rivalry over the royal succession in late Silla he was succeeded by his sons King Jeonggang and King Heongang, and his daughter Queen Jinseong, who brought stability to the royal succession. He managed to suppress the plots of the capital aristocracy and quell the uprisings in the outlying regions and sought to bring stability by maintaining close relations with Tang China, but because of the many natural disasters during his reign, the life of the common people was difficult. The record of the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda, which was repaired at this time, discovered inside the central foundation stone provides us with important historical information.

166 The records of damage to the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in the *Samguk sagi* are as follows: in the seventeenth year of King Seongdeok's reign (718) the pagoda shook, in the sixth month of the eighth year of King Gyeongmun's reign (868) it again shook, and in the eleventh year of the same reign it was rebuilt and was completed in the thirteenth year with nine stories reaching a height of twenty-two *jang*. In the fourth year of King Gyeongae (927) the pagoda leaned toward the north.

167 Gwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975) was the fourth king of Goryeo. According to the *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo*) in the fourth year of Jeongjong's reign (952) there was a fire (Vol. 53, "Ohaengji [五行志]").

of Hyeonjong[168] (1021), it was restored for the fourth time. In the second year, *eulhae*, of Jeongjong[169] (1035) it was struck by lightning a fourth time and restored for the fifth time [under] Munjong[170] in the *gapjin year* (1064). In the last year, *eulhae* of Heonjong[171] (1095) it was struck by lightning for the fifth time, and [under] Sukjong[172] in the *byeongja* year (1096) it was restored for the sixth time. Also in the sixteenth year, *musul*, of Gojong[173] (1238) in the winter, during the Mongol invasion,[174] the pagoda, the monastery, the Sixteen-foot Buddha statue and all the buildings were burned down."

又海東名賢安弘撰東都成立記云, "新羅第二十七代 女王爲主, 雖有道無威, 九韓侵勞. 若龍宮南皇龍寺 建九層塔, 則隣國之災可鎭, 第一層日本, 第二層中華, 第三層吳越, 第四層托羅, 第五層鷹遊, 第六層靺鞨, 第七層丹國, 第八層女狄, 第九層穢貊."

又按國史及寺中古記, "眞興王癸酉 創寺, 後善德王代 貞觀十九年乙巳, 塔初成, 三十二孝昭王卽位七年 聖曆元年戊戌六月, 霹靂[寺中古記云, 聖德王代, 誤也.] 聖德王代 無戊戌, 第三十三聖德王代庚申歲, 重成, 四十八景文王代戊子六月, 第二霹靂, 同代 第三重修, 至本朝光宗卽位五年癸丑十月, 第三霹靂, 顯宗十三年辛酉, 第四重成. 又靖宗二年乙亥, 第四霹靂. 又文宗甲辰年, 第五重成. 又獻宗末年乙亥, 第五霹靂, 肅宗丙子, 第六重成. 又高宗二十六年戊戌冬月, 西山兵火, 塔寺丈六殿宇皆災."

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168 Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1010–1031) was the eighth king of Goryeo. According to the *Goryeosa*, vol. 4, "Sega Hyeonjong" [世家 顯宗] the pagoda was repaired in the third year of Hyeonjong's reign (1012).

169 Jeongjong (靖宗, r. 1034–1046) was the tenth king of Goryeo.

170 Munjong (文宗, r. 1046–1083) was the eleventh king of Goryeo.

171 Heonjong (獻宗, r. 1094–1095) was the fourteenth king of Goryeo. According to the *Goryeosa* (vol. 10, "Sega Heonjong" [世家 獻宗]; vol. 53 "Ohaengji" [五行志]) there was a fire and repair work was carried out in the first year of his reign (1094).

172 Sukjong (肅宗, r. 1095–1105) was the fifteenth king of Goryeo.

173 Gojong (高宗, r. 1213–1259) was the twenty-third king of Goryeo.

174 In the text the phrase *Seosan byeonghwa* (西山兵火) refers to the Mongol invasions and Goryeo resistance to them. See note 12, above.

4-7. The Hwangnyongsa Bell, Bunhwangsa's Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha Statue and the Bongdeoksa Bell 皇龍寺鐘 芬皇寺藥師 奉德寺鍾

Introduction:



Great King Seongdeok's Divine Bell, Gyeongju National Museum

This chapter tells the story of Hwangnyongsa's great bell, Bunhwangsa's statue of Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru and Bongdeoksa's bell, which together symbolized the golden age of Unified Silla's Buddhist culture in the mid-eighth century. It provides a record of the size in precise units of the Hwangnyongsa bell, which was four times larger than the still extant Bongdeoksa bell (*see illustration*), and also tells about King Gyeongdeok, who initiated its creation, the donors, and the artisans who made it. It also provides information about the scale of Bunhwangsa's statue of Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru. King Gyeongdeok created the Hwangnyongsa bell and the Bunhwangsa statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru and began the manufacture of the Bongdeoksa bell for his father King Seongdeok but was unable to complete it. It was finally completed in accordance with his intention in the reign of King Hyegong, who had it enshrined in Bongdeoksa, which was built for King Seongdeok. King Gyeongdeok, aware of the instability of royal authority in the mid-Silla period, pushed forward a restructuring of the administration and a policy of reform, and the creation of these artifacts was in line with his policy as they had a symbolic significance that enhanced the dignity of the monarchy. This record also shows that the three monasteries which held these artifacts were the central monasteries of Buddhism, which was considered of great importance to the ruling house at that time. As can

be ascertained from the Bongdeoksa bell, which is still in existence, Silla was capable of producing outstanding, solemn artifacts through its artistic and technical capabilities. The inscription on the bell itself confirms the high cultural level embodied in these artifacts, and is evidence of the high status of artisans at that time. Due to the different reasons for their foundation, the accounts of the construction of Bulguksa and Seokbulsa in the same era of King Gyeongdeok are recorded separately in the "Filial Piety" (*hyoseon*) chapter of Volume 5. But if we examine these two accounts together, we can see Iryeon's intention to bring together the whole essence of Silla culture in this one chapter.

Annotated Translation:

The thirty-fifth monarch of Silla, King Gyeongdeok,[175] cast the Hwangnyongsa bell[176] in the thirteenth year, *kabo*, of the Tianbao[177] reign

[175] King Gyeongdeok 景德王 (r. 742–765), the son of King Seongdeok (聖德王) and the younger brother of King Hyoseong (孝成王), was the thirty-fifth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Heonyeong (憲英). His mother was the queen mother Sodeok (Sodeok taehu: 炤德太后). His consorts were Lady Sammo (三毛夫人) and Queen Gyeongsu (景垂王后), who were both members of the Gim clan. In order to stabilize royal authority he carried out a root and branch reform of government based on Han Chinese precedents. In 757 he reinstated the "stipend village" (*nogeup* 祿邑) system for disbursing official salaries, established the system of 9 provinces (*ju*: 州), 5 minor capitals (*sogyeong*: 小京), 117 counties (*gun*: 郡), and 239 prefectures (*hyeon*: 縣), gave Chinese character designations for place names and also for government offices and posts. He also made efforts to revive Buddhism and in 754 had the Hwangnyongsa bell cast, established Bulguksa (佛國寺), Seokbulsa (石佛寺), better known as Seokguram 石窟庵 (Sokkuram), and Gulbulsa (掘佛寺, see note 216, below). He also endeavored to repair all the monasteries and to create various Buddhist structures such as pagodas and Buddha statues.

[176] This bell no longer exists. According to other records, however, it was a very large bell that weighed around 500,000 *geun*, more than four times the weight of the 120,000-*geun* bell at Bongdeoksa.

[177] Tianbao (天寶, 742–756) was an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (玄宗). It coincides with the first to fifteenth year of King Gyeongdeok's reign.

(754). Its height was one *jang* three *cheok* (thirteen feet), its thickness was nine *chon* (inches) and it weighed 497,581 *geun*.[178] The donors were the *ichan*[179] Hyojeong[180] and Lady Sammo,[181] and the craftsman was a *hajeon*[182] official from the Isang household.[183] A new bell was made in the reign of Sukjong:[184] its height was six *cheok* and 8 *chon*.

In the following year, *eulmi* (755), [King Gyeongdeok] cast the bronze statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru at Bunhwangsa.[185] It weighed 306,700 *geun* and the

178 At this time in China, one *jin* (*geun*) was equivalent to 661g (23 oz.). See Wilkinson 2000:238.

179 *Ichan*, see note 146, above.

180 The dates of birth and death of Hyojeong (孝貞) are unknown, but he was a true-bone aristocrat from Silla. In the first month of the thirteenth year of King Seongdeok's reign (714), after first serving as a *wimun* (魏文) official, he became an administrative head, *jungsi* (中侍), with the rank of *ichan*. He held this post for four years until he retired in 718.

181 Lady Sammo (Sammo buin: 三毛夫人) was the daughter of *ichan* Gim Sunjeong (金順貞) and became the first queen consort of King Gyeongdeok but was expelled from the palace for failing to produce an heir. Her expulsion is thought to have been the result of the power struggles that took place during King Gyeongdeok's reign as he sought to strengthen his royal authority.

182 *Hajeon* (下典) was a low-ranking official in the offices for walls (Byeokjeon: 壁典) and for gardens (Jawonjeon: 莿園典) in the palace in the Silla era and assisted the higher-ranking *ganong* (看翁) officials.

183 The Isang household (Isangtaek: 里上宅) was one of the thirty-nine wealthy households (*geumiptaek*: 金入宅), which are mentioned in the Jinhan section in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, "Marvels."

184 Sukjong (肅宗, r. 1095–1105) was the fifteenth king of Goryeo.

185 Bunhwangsa (芬皇寺) faced Hwangnyongsa and was located in Guhwang-dong, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. It was built in the third year of King Seondeok's reign (634) and is the fourth of the seven monastic sites in Silla that were believed to be connected to the seven Buddhas of the past (see note 7, above). This was the monastery where Jajang stayed on his return from Tang China and where Wonhyo was active in the mid-seventh century and where he wrote the *Commentary on the Flower Adornment Sūtra* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra*). After Wonhyo's death, it is said that his son Seol Chong made a statue of his father and enshrined it in Bunhwangsa. Today there are various buildings including the Bogwang Hall (普光殿) in which a standing statue of the Medicine Buddha (Yaksayeorae; Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūrya) is enshrined, a monk's assembly hall (*seungdang*: 僧堂) and a bell pavilion (*jonggak*: 鐘閣). The Bunhwangsa Stone Pagoda (Bunhwangsa mojeon seoktap: 芬皇寺模塼石塔), which is National Treasure No. 30, a stone well and a memorial stela to Wonhyo known as the Hwajaengguksa bi (和諍國師碑) are also located at this site.

craftsman was *nama*[186] Ganggo from Bonpi-bu.[187]

[King Gyeongdeok] also donated 120,000 *geun* of bronze (*hwangdong*) and intended to cast a great bell for his father King Seongdeok,[188] but died before this could be accomplished. His son Geonun,[189] King Hyegong,[190] in the Dali[191] era in the twelfth month of the *gyeongsul* year (770) ordered the responsible officials to gather craftsmen, complete the bell, and enshrine[192]

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186 In the text the term *naemal* (乃末) is another term for *nama* (奈麻), the eleventh rank in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of officials.

187 Bonpi-bu (本彼部) was one of the six urban prefectures centered around Gyeongju in the Silla era. It is thought to have included the area of present-day Inwang-dong.

188 For King Seongdeok, see note 164, above.

189 Geonun (乾運) was the given name of King Hyegong (惠恭王).

190 King Hyegong (r. 765–780) was the thirty-sixth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Geonun (乾運). He was the eldest son of King Gyeongdeok (see note 175, above) and his mother was Lady Manwol (Manwol buin: 滿月夫人) of the Gim clan. After the death of King Gyeongdeok he ascended the throne at the tender age of seven. The political situation became unstable due to a power struggle that broke out among the powerful members of the true-bone aristocracy as they jockeyed for political influence after having previously been restrained by a powerful monarch. As a consequence, during the sixteen years of King Hyegong's reign many political revolts occurred and in the end King Hyegong and his queen were both assassinated. Subsequently the mid-period of Silla, characterized by a stable centralized monarchy, which lasted from the reign of King Muyeol until King Hyegong, during which King Muyeol's direct lineal descendants had succeeded to the throne, now came to an end, and the late period began when Silla society was plunged into disorder.

191 Dali (大歷) was an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Daizong (代宗) and refers to the years 766–779. The era coincides with the second to fifteenth years of King Hyegong's reign.

192 The Divine Bell of King Seongdeok, known as the Bongdeoksa Bell, was originally enshrined in Bongdeoksa but was moved to Yeongmyosa (靈妙寺) in 1460 after a flood. It is now kept in the Gyeongju National Museum. "The Bongdeoksa bell was cast by the Silla king Hyegong with a weight of 120,000 *geun*, and its sound carries for more than 100 *li*. Later when the monastery was submerged by the north stream in the fourth year of the Tianshun (天順) era (the sixth year of Sejo's reign, 1460), the bell was moved to Yeongmyosa." ("奉德寺鍾, 新羅惠恭王鑄鍾, 銅重十二萬斤, 撞之聲聞百餘里. 後寺淪於北川, 天順四年, 移懸于靈妙寺." *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 21, Gyeongju). See also note 201, below.

it in Bongdeok Monastery.[193] This monastery was founded by King Hyoseong[194] in the twenty-sixth year, *muin*, of the Kaiyuan[195] era (738) in order to invoke blessings on his father King Seongdeok. Therefore the bell's inscription reads "Great King Seongdeok's Divine Bell" (*King Seongdeok is King Heunggwang the Great, the father of King Gyeongdeok*;[196] *as the bell was originally made from the gift of gold donated by Gyeongdeok for his father, it is called the Seongdeok Bell*). In obedience to the royal command, Hallimnang[197]

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193 Bongdeoksa (奉德寺) was founded in the second year of King Hyoseong's reign (738) for the sake of the king's deceased father King Seongdeok (聖德王). The monastery was used to offer prayers for the wellbeing of the royal family (*wonchal*: 願刹) throughout the reigns of the Silla kings Seongdeok, Hyoseong, Gyeongdeok and Hyegong (702–780). King Hyoseong (see following note) also established the Bongdeoksa Office (Bongdeoksa seongjeon: 奉德寺成典) for the administration of monasteries patronized by the royal family. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 37, "Jikgwanji," Bongdeoksa seongjeon [奉德寺成典])

194 King Hyoseong 孝成王 (r. 737–742) was the thirty-fourth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Seunggyeong (承慶). His mother was Queen Sodeok (炤德王后) and his queen consort was Lady Hyemyeong (惠明夫人) of the Gim clan. In the reign of the previous king Seondeok, he took the normalized diplomatic relations with Tang on to a higher level and adopted various elements of Chinese culture including the *Daodejing*. Investing his younger brother Heonyeong (憲英, later King Gyeongdeok) as the crown prince, he strove to strengthen the royal authority and also suppressed a rebellion stirred up by the father of one of the palace women.

195 Kaiyuan (開元) was an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (玄宗) and refers to the years 713–741. It coincides with the twelfth year of King Seondeok's reign to the fifth year of King Hyoseong's reign.

196 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175, above.

197 *Hallimnang* (翰林郎) was an official post in the Silla period. The *hallimnang* was head of the Hallimdae (翰林臺), which was the government body in Unified Silla that was responsible for drafting royal orders and responding to royal questions. Silla's Hallimdae was originally called the Tongmunbaksa (通文博士) but was renamed in the reign of King Gyeongdeok. The Hallimdae was modeled on Tang China's Hanlinyuan (翰林院) and was staffed by various officials including *hallimnang*, *hallimdaejo* (翰林待詔) and *hallimseosaeng* (翰林書生). The post of *hallimnang* was usually filled by someone who was very proficient in composition and scholarship. Especially the post of *hallimnang,* who was highest ranking official in the Hallimdae, was filled by literary men of that time who had studied abroad in Tang China and many of whom were from the head rank six (*yukdupum*: 六頭品) lineage. Around 880 when the name of the Hallimdae was changed to Seoseowon (瑞書院), the title of *hallimnang* was also changed to *seoseohaksa* (瑞書學士) and played a central role in the literary world of late Silla.

Gim Pilwol,[198] who held the combined posts of *josan daebu*[199] and *taeja sauirang*,[200] wrote the inscription but because it is very complex it is not recorded [here].[201]

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198 The dates of birth and death of Gim Pilwol (金弼粤) are unknown. He was a man of letters in the middle period of Silla. On inscriptions his name is read as Gim Pilo (金弼奧). His name is also written as Gim Pilhae (金弼奚).

199 *Josan daebu* (朝散大夫) was a civil official rank title in Tang and Goryeo. In Tang it was a lower junior fifth rank and in Goryeo it was also a lower junior fifth rank and was the thirteenth rank in a twenty-nine-rank system.

200 *Taeja sauirang* (Ch. Taizisiyilang: 太子司議郎; Remonstrance Secretary to the Heir Apparent) was an upper senior sixth rank (*jeongyukpumsang*; Ch. *zhengliupinshang*: 正六品上) in Tang. In Silla times in 752 the title covered one *sangdaesa* (Ch. *shangdashe* 上大舍) official and one *chadaesa* (Ch. *cidashe*: 次大舍) official in the Crown Prince's Office (Donggunga; Ch. Donggongya 東宮衙). In Goryeo times according to the ranking system established during the reign of King Munjong, in 1068 the post applied to one *taesa* (大師), one *taebu* (大傅), and one *taebo* (大保) at junior first rank, one *sosa* (小師), one *sobu* (少傅) and one *sobo* (少保) at junior second rank, four *bingaek* (賓客) at junior third rank, one *jwaseoja* (左庶子) and one *useoja* (右庶子) at junior fourth rank, one *siganghaksa* (侍講學士) and one *sidokhaksa* (侍讀學士) also at junior fourth rank, one *jwachanseon* (左贊善) and one *uchanseon* (右贊善) at senior fifth rank, one *jungsain* (中舍人) and one *jungyun* (中允) at senior fifth rank, one *sema* (洗馬) and one *jeonnae* (典內) at junior fifth rank, one *munhak* (文學) and one *sauirang* (司議郎) at senior sixth rank and one *sidoksa* (侍讀事). Based on this we can assume that in Silla times *taeja sauirang* was an official post in the crown prince's palace.

201 The Bongdeoksa Bell praises the merit of King Seongdeok (r. 702–737) but in fact was made for the purpose of supplicating for the prosperity of important members of the royal family. It was begun but not finished in the first year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok (742) and completed in the seventh year of the reign of King Hyegong (771). If we divide the contents of the inscription on the bell into five sections, they are as follows: the first section emphasizes the supernatural quality of the sound of the bell that enables the perfect voice (*woneum*: 圓音) of the single vehicle (*ilseung*: 一乘) to be heard. The second section praises the merits of King Gyeongdeok and includes a prayer for the peace of the country and blessings on its people and that the merit of the king will become part of the bell and be praised eternally by the ringing of the bell. The third section praises the filial piety of King Gyeongdeok's son, King Hyegong who sponsored the casting of the bell. Fourthly, it praises the virtue and filial piety of King Hyegong who completed the bell when his father died leaving the project unfinished. Fifthly it describes the sense of emotion and mystery felt on completion of the bell and the effectiveness of the bell. It also prays that when the bell rings the whole world will be able to receive joyful blessings. These sections are followed by a four-line poem (*sa*: 詞). At the end the names and official titles of the thirteen people who contributed to the casting of the bell are

皇龍寺鐘 芬皇寺藥師 奉德寺鐘

新羅第三十五景德大王, 以天寶十三甲午, 鑄皇龍寺鐘, 長一丈三寸, 厚九寸, 入重四十九萬七千五百八十一斤. 施主孝貞伊湌三毛夫人, 匠人里上宅下典. 肅宗朝, 重成新鐘, 長六尺八寸.

又明年乙未, 鑄芬皇藥師銅像, 重三十萬六千七百斤, 匠人本彼部强古乃末.

又捨黃銅一十二萬斤, 爲先考聖德王, 欲鑄巨鐘一口, 未就而崩. 其子惠恭大王乾運, 以大曆庚戌十二月, 命有司鳩工徒, 乃克成之, 安於奉德寺. 寺乃孝成王開元二十六年戊寅, 爲先考聖德大王奉福所創也. 故鐘銘曰, 聖德大王神鐘之銘.[聖德乃景德之考, 興光大王也. 鐘本景德爲先考所施之金, 故稱云, 聖德鐘爾.] 朝散大夫 兼太子司議郎 翰林郎 金弼粵 奉敎撰鐘銘, 文煩不錄.

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listed in rows. Among them, Gim Ong (金邕) and Gim Yangsang (金良相) were powerful members of the aristocracy who opposed the royal authority. In 777 Gim Yangsang submitted a memorial concerning the politics of the time to King Hyegong; in 780 he raised a rebellion and after seizing power became King Seondeok (r. 780–785).

4-8.
The Sixteen-foot Statue at Yeongmyosa 靈妙寺丈六

Introduction:

Yeongmyo Monastery is the place where in the time of King Seondeok, Yangji, who is considered to have been Silla's greatest artist, created a statue of the Buddha and other images. The story is also mentioned in Volume 4 of "Exegetes," in the chapter, "Yangji Sets His Staff to Work" (Yangji Saseok), where there is a record of the re-gilding of the statue at the time of King Gyeongdeok and how much this cost. Iryeon notes that in another account, the *Biography of Yangji*, the cost is said to be the original cost of the statue. In this chapter we can clearly see the importance that Iryeon placed on preserving historical records, even when they differ in detail.

Annotated Translation:

The account of Queen Seondeok's[202] founding of the monastery[203] and of the karmic affinity behind the creation of the Buddha statue is included in the

[202] For Queen Seondeok, see note 117, above.

[203] Yeongmyo Monastery (Yeongmyosa: 靈妙寺; also written as 靈廟寺) was built in the reign of Queen Seondeok and is the fifth of the seven monastic sites in Silla (see note 7, above). The exact site of the monastery is no longer known; it was once thought to be in Seocheon-ga, Seongjin-ri, Gyeongju, where some foundation stones survive, but recently a tile inscribed with the characters Yeongmyo (靈廟) was unearthed at the present-day Heungnyunsa (see note 245, below) and so local historians there believe that it was once Yeongmyosa. The monastery was an important one, which was established as an administrative monastery (*seongjeonsawon*: 成典寺院) and functioned both as a royal temple where prayers were offered for the Silla royal family and as a general administrative centre overseeing Buddhist monasteries. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, "Jikgwanji sang: Seongjeon sawon: 成典寺院")

Biography of Dharma Master Yangji (*Yangji Beopsa-jeon*).[204] In the twenty-third year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok (764)[205] the sixteen-foot Buddha Statue was re-gilded, at a cost of 23,700 *seok* of tax grain (*in* Yangji-jeon [*Biography of Yangji*] *it is stated that this was the cost incurred when the statue was first made*;[206] *both accounts are recorded here*).

靈妙寺丈六

善德王創寺, 塑像因緣, 具載良志法師傳. 景德王卽位二十三年, 丈六改金, 租二萬三千七百碩.[良志傳, 作像之初成之費. 今兩存之.]

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204 *Samguk yusa*, vol. 4, "Yangji Sets His Staff to Work" (Yangji saseok: 良志使錫). "[Yangji] made the Sixteen-foot Buddha Triad statues, the statues of the [Four] Heavenly Guardians, and the tiles for the monastery halls and pagoda of Yeongmyosa. He also created the images of the Eight Guardian Kings (Palbusinjang: 八部神將) carved on the lower part of the pagoda at Sacheonwangsa (四天王寺 Monastery of the Four Guardian Kings), and the main Buddha triad and the pair of bare-chested warrior guardians (*jwau geumgang sinjang,* 左右金剛神將) at Beomnimsa. He wrote the plaques for both Yeongmyosa and Beomnimsa. He also built a small pagoda with bricks he had previously shaped, and he also made 3,000 Buddhas, which he enshrined in the pagoda and attended with offerings in the monastery. When he made Yeongmyosa's sixteen-foot Buddha statue, he used the methods of going into silent meditation and intent contemplation. Therefore all the men and women living within the city's walls vied with each other to provide him with clay." (靈廟丈六三尊 天王像 幷殿塔之瓦, 天王寺塔下八部神將, 法林寺主佛三尊 左右金剛神等, 皆所塑也. 書靈廟 法林二寺額. 又嘗彫磚造一小塔, 竝造三千佛. 安其塔置於寺中, 致敬焉. 其塑靈廟之丈六也, 自入定, 以正受所對, 爲揉式. 故傾城士女爭運泥土.)

205 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175 above.

206 In the section entitled "Yangji Sets His Staff to Work," the explanation that the expense mentioned here was for the creation of the statue is given in the main text and the alternative explanation that it was for the regilding of the statue is provided in parentheses, that is to say, the opposite way round from the way it is explained in this section.

4-9. Mt. Sabul (Four Buddhas Mountain), Mt. Gulbul (Unearthing Buddha Mountain), and Mt. Manbul (Ten Thousand Buddhas Mountain) 四佛山 萬佛山 掘佛山

Introduction:

This chapter provides a varied depiction of the plastic arts of Silla. The story of the images of the Buddhas of the Four Directions (Sabangbul), which was the reason for the founding of Daeseungsa (Monastery of the Great Vehicle, i.e. Mahayana) is from the time of King Jinpyeong (r. 579–632), and the story of the images of the Buddhas of the four directions at Gulbulsa (Unearthing Buddha Monastery), which was unearthed below Baengnyulsa (Pine and Chestnut Monastery) is from the time of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765). Although the time period is different, in both stories it is the king who confirms the identity of the artifacts, and who is also the main person behind their discovery. The Buddhas of the Four Directions represent the ideal of the Buddha existing through space, and in the appearance of the artifacts in Silla territory and their discovery underground, we can recognize the prevailing belief that Silla had once been a Buddha Land (Bulgukto) over which the Buddha had presided. The statue of the Buddhas of the Four Directions of Daeseungsa on Mt. Sabul has survived until the present day, but it has been so badly eroded that it is not possible to discern which Buddha it represents. The Gulbulsa statue is unlike the typical Buddhas of the Four Directions mentioned in Buddhist writings and is carved in a style that is unique to Silla: it reflects the fact that belief in the Buddha Land was most prevalent in Silla at this time, and provides an insight into the characteristics of this belief. This chapter records the discovery of artifacts which confirm this belief. On the other hand the account of Mt. Manbul is a record that shows the outstanding ability in the art of modeling that existed in Silla. This miniaturized model of the world of the Buddha Land was an



Buddhas of the Four Directions, Gulbulsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do

outstanding artifact, and this record accepts the account as being basically factual, as the same content is also found in various Chinese records such as *Duyang zabian* (杜陽雜編, a record of miscellaneous events between 763 and 873). The capacity to create a model of a concrete and precise realization of the Buddha Land clearly demonstrates the level of Silla's plastic arts at that time. According to the description, this large-scale model of Mt. Manbul was truly impressive, around one *gil* (one *jang*, i.e. ten feet) high and with bells that rang when the wind blew. Through this record we can see that in the mid-eighth century at the time of King Gyeongdeok, a vigorous exchange of Buddhist culture was taking place between Silla and Tang. It also shows that in his reign, when artifacts representing the essence of Silla's plastic arts such as those at Bulguksa and Seokbulsa and the Bongdeoksa bell were created, this artistic capability became known and was highly praised in China.

Annotated Translation:

About one hundred leagues to the east of Jungnyeong (Bamboo Pass)[207] there is a lofty mountain. In the ninth year, *jeongmi*, of the reign of King Jinpyeong[208] (587)[209] a huge rock suddenly appeared after falling from the top of the mountain. Its four sides [each] measured around one *jang*, and it was carved with the Buddhas of the Four Directions (Sabangyeorae),[210] and all of them were draped in red silk. On hearing about this, the king went there and prostrated himself before it in awe. Finally he founded a monastery beside the rock and bestowed the name Daeseungsa on it. He invited a monk, whose name is not known, who recited the *Lotus Sūtra*,[211] to keep the

207 Jungnyeong (Bamboo Pass: 竹嶺) was an important ancient route, crossing the ridge of the Sobaek Mountain Range on the border between Daegang-myeon (大崗面), Danyang-gun in North Chungcheong Province and Punggi-eup, Yangju-si in North Gyeongsang Province. In *Samguk sagi*, vol. 2, in the fifth year of the reign of Adalla Isageum (158), it is stated that "in the third month of spring Jungnyeong (Bamboo Pass) opened (春三月開竹嶺)." The border region between Danyang in Chungcheong Province and Punggi in Gyeongsang Province is introduced in *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea,* vol. 14, "Danyang-gun" and vol. 25, "Punggi-gun."

208 For King Jinpyeong, see note 107, above.

209 The text states that the ninth year of the reign of King Jinpyeong was a *kapsin* year, but the ninth year of his reign was in fact a *jeongmi* year (587), and only the forty-sixth year was a *kapsin* year (624). Considering the great importance placed on the sexagenary cycle in the past, there is a possibility that the *kapsin* year (624) was intended, but as the record in the *Lake and Mountain Record* (*Hosan-rok*: 湖山錄) provides the date 588, the *jeongmi* year of King Jinpyeong (587) is given here as the most likely date.

210 The term used for "Buddhas of the Four Directions" in the text is Sabangyeorae (四方如來), which has the same meaning as Sabangbul (四方佛). The Buddhas of the Four Directions mentioned here still exist today on top of Mt. Sabul in Sanbuk-myeon, Mungyeong-gun in North Gyeongsang Province. They can be found by climbing the mountain from Daeseungsa's Yunpil Hermitage. They are approximately 295 cm high and 150 cm wide; seated Buddhas are carved on the east and west faces and standing Buddhas on the north and south faces. The images have been badly eroded and it is almost impossible to make out the original features of the carvings and even the outlines of the images barely remain. Among them the seated Buddha on the eastern face has survived somewhat better, and its style is thought to date to the eighth century, which is at odds with the record given here.

211 *Lotus Sūtra*: in the text the term is *Yeongyeong* (蓮經) which is a short form of *Myobeop yeonhwagyeong*, *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma* (Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, K. *Myobeop yeonhwa gyeong*, Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing*: 妙法蓮華經), usually referred to as the *Beophwa gyeong* (法華經), namely, the *Lotus Sūtra*. At the beginning of the Mahāyāna movement, this sūtra

rock clean and to attend it by burning incense continually. That mountain is called Mt. Yeokdeok or Mt. Sabul. When the monk died and his funeral was held, a lotus appeared on his grave.[212]

竹嶺東百許里, 有山屹然高峙. 眞平王九年丁未, 忽有一大石, 四面方丈, 彫四方如來, 皆以紅紗護之, 自天墜其山頂. 王聞之, 命駕瞻敬, 遂創寺嵒側, 額曰大乘

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uses the literary methods of symbolism, metaphor, and poetry to uncover the true spirit of the Buddha and praises the eternal Buddha (*guwon silseong ji bul*: 久遠實成之佛), who, from Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment through countless lifetimes, in which he appears in all kinds of transformation bodies, teaches subtle dharmas through various skilful means (Skt. *upāya*). It explains how the ultimate purpose of the three vehicles (*samseung*: 三乘) is for them to be gathered into one vehicle (*ilseung*: 一乘) for the salvation of all sentient beings. Revered as a sūtra containing the quintessence of Buddhist teachings, it is widely read and is considered one of the most important sūtras in Mahāyāna Buddhism. There are various Chinese translations including the ten-volume *Zheng fahua jing* (正法華經), translated by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu: 竺法護), the seven-volume *Miaofa lianhua jing* (妙法蓮華經), translated by Kumārajīva (Ch. Jiumaluoshi: 鳩摩羅什), and the seven-volume *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* (添品妙法蓮華經), translated by Jñānagupta (Ch. She'najueduo: 闍那崛多) and Dharmagupta (達磨及多).

212 Cheonchaek (天頙) who was active around the same period as Iryeon, went to look around Mt. Sabul. Quoting the *Old Chronicles of Silla* (*Silla gogi*: 新羅古記), he left behind the following record about the Buddhas of the Four Directions: "To the north of Sanhyang-hyeon in Sangju there is an exceedingly high mountain. Its peaks rise up one after the other, and to the east it faces Mt. Hwajang to which it is linked by Bamboo Pass (Jungnyeong). This is Mt. Sabul, also called Mt. Gongdeok. On examining the *Old Chronicles of Silla* in the Geonwon (建元, *recte* Geonbok 建福) era in the fifth year of King Jinpyeong's reign [corresponding to] the eighth year, *musin,* of the Kaihuang era of the Sui dynasty (588) suddenly a square rock measuring about one *jang* with four Buddhas carved on its four sides flew down from heaven in the midst of a five-colored cloud and was enshrined on the mountain peak. On hearing about this the king considered it to be extremely marvelous and went to the mountain and looking at it carefully offered prayers and was overcome with admiration. Subsequently he built a temple next to it, calling it Daeseungsa, and invited a person who was proficient in the *Lotus Sūtra*, and the monk Mangmyeong offered incense. The monk Mangmyeong then diligently offered incense every day, bowed before the Buddha image, and recited the *Lotus Sūtra*. For several years he practiced with courage and dedication. When he died his disciples buried him beside the rock and later a lotus flower blossomed on his grave. From that time onward they say that people have come from all directions, staff in hand, to bow before the Buddha images, and the people who find these divine traces come and go busily like ants and bees." (*Hosan-rok* 湖山錄, vol. 2, Record of a visit to Sabulsan, in *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛敎全書 6, 206–207).

寺. 請比丘亡名誦蓮經者主寺, 洒掃供石, 香火不廢. 號曰亦德山, 或曰四佛山. 比丘卒旣葬, 塚上生蓮.

Also, King Gyeongdeok[213] was making a royal visit to Baengnyulsa[214] and when he arrived at the foot of the mountain, he heard the sound of Buddhist chanting coming from under the ground and gave the order to dig in that place, revealing a massive rock on whose four sides the Buddhas of the Four Directions (Sabangbul)[215] had been carved. Because of this he founded another monastery there and called it Gulbulsa, Unearthed Buddha Monastery.[216] The name has now been mistakenly passed down as Gulseok

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213 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175, above.

214 For Baengnyulsa (栢栗寺), see note 294, below.

215 The term "Buddhas of the Four Directions" (Sabangbul: 四方佛) is an expression of the idea that the Buddha's presence pervades the whole world and refers to the four Buddhas who have been prepared for the Buddha lands (Bulgukto: 佛國土) of the four directions, namely, the north, south, east and west. Although these Buddhas differ according to different sūtras, they are usually Akṣobhya (Achokbul: 阿閦佛) in the east, Ratnasaṃbhava (Bosaengbul: 寶生佛) in the south, Amitābha (Amitabul: 阿彌陀佛) in the west, and either the "Subtle-voiced Buddha" (Mimyoseongbul: 微妙聲佛) or Amoghasiddhi (Bulgongseongchwibul: 不空成就佛) in the north, but in fact in many examples of carvings of the Buddhas of the Four Directions from Silla, the Medicine Buddha (Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru; Ch. Yaoshifo; K. Yaksabul: 藥師佛) faces the east, Amitābha the west, Śākyamuni Buddha (Seokgabul: 釋迦佛) the south, and Maitreya (Mireukbul: 彌勒佛) the north. The carving of the Buddhas of the Four Directions at Sabulsa is located at the site of Gulbulsa in Dongcheon-dong, Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang Province. A large rock that is approximately 3.5 meters high rises up from the ground with carvings of Buddhas on each of its four sides. On the eastern face is a carving of a seated Medicine Buddha, on the western face are images of a standing Amitābha, a standing Avalokiteśvara and a standing Mahāsthāmaprāpta, on the southern face there is a standing Buddha image that is thought to be Śākyamuni Buddha together with two standing bodhisattva images, and on the northern face there is a badly eroded image of a standing bodhisattva that is thought to be a depiction of Maitreya and an engraved image of Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces and six arms. The style and dating of this image corresponds with the time of King Gyeongdeok.

216 Gulbulsa (掘佛寺): for a comprehensive report on the site of this Buddhist monastery, see Munhwajae gwalliguk munhwajae yeonguso, 掘佛寺 遺蹟發掘調查報告書 (*Gulbulsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo*: A report on the excavation of the site of Gulbulsa), 1986).

(Unearthed Rock).[217]

又景德王遊幸栢栗寺, 至山下, 聞地中有唱佛聲, 命掘之, 得大石, 四面刻四方佛. 因創寺, 以掘佛爲號. 今訛云掘石.

The king also heard that the Tang emperor Daizong[218] deeply venerated Buddhism and ordered his artisans to make a five-colored carpet (*mopo*) and an artificial mountain more than one *gil* (ten feet) in height by carving sandalwood and decorating it with jewels and beautiful jade. It was then placed on the carpet. On the mountain were precipitous crags, weirdly shaped boulders, brooks and caves, and on each section (of the model) there were representations of the country's mountains and streams, and music played accompanying singing and dancing. If a gentle breeze blew through the window, bees and butterflies flying about, swallows and sparrows dancing as they flew were all seen at a glance, and it was impossible to distinguish whether they were real or artificial. Ten thousand Buddhas were enshrined in the centre, the largest of which was one *ch'i* (foot) on all sides and the smallest was eight or nine *pun* (inches). The heads of some of them were the size of a large [grain of] millet and the heads of others were the size of half a soya bean. The Buddha's hair (*nabal*), the lump on the crown of his head (*yukgye*)[219] and the white hair between his eyebrows

217 Gulseoksa (掘石寺): an inscription on a bronze, drum-shaped bell (*geumgo*: 金鼓) from the Goryeo era, excavated at the site of Gulbulsa, reads: "Given to Gulseoksa on North Mountain of the East Capital, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Sukjong of Goryeo (1183). Chief craftsman Uiseong" (大定二十三年癸卯四月日東京北山屈石寺排入重七斤次知造前副戶長李伯兪棟梁道人孝英大匠義誠). In the light of this record, it is clear that Gulbulsa was called Gulseoksa during the Goryeo period. Iryeon, therefore, mentions here that this name had been passed down erroneously.

218 Daizong (代宗, r. 762–779) was the eighth emperor of the Tang dynasty.

219 *Nabal* (螺髮) and *yukgye* (Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*: 肉髻) are both characteristic features of the Buddha's head. *Nabal* refers to the Buddha's hairstyle of a long plait of hair coiled on the top of the head and shaped like a turban or a shell. *Yukgye* is the Korean term for *uṣṇīṣa*, which is the fleshy protuberance on the crown of the Buddha's head, another of the thirty-two physical characteristics of a Buddha, see note 113, above.

(*baekho*),[220] his eyebrows and eyes were all clearly visible, and they had all the primary and secondary distinguishing features of the Buddha (*sangho*).[221] Even though it may be possible to give a rough description, but it is impossible to describe it in detail. Because of this it was called Mt. Manbul (Ten Thousand Buddhas).[222]

There were banners and canopies of engraved gold and jade with tassels,[223] mango trees,[224] gardenias,[225] flowers, fruits, majestic towers decorated with many jewels,[226] terraces, palaces, meditation halls, and pavilions. Even

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220 In the text the term *baekho* (Skt. *ūrṇā*: Ch. *baihao*: 白毫) is written as *baengmo* (白毛). The *ūrṇā* is one of the thirty-two physical characteristics of the Buddha and refers to a white hair that radiates light and curls towards the right between the Buddha's eyebrows. It is said that if the *ūrṇā* is straightened out it measures one *gil* [ten feet] and if it is coiled up it has the bright lucid appearance of a pearl and light radiates from it just like from the centre of the sun and illuminates all the Buddha lands. When sentient beings encounter this light the impediment of their evil karma is removed and their minds and bodies are filled with joy and peace. Therefore, among the thirty-two physical characteristics of the Buddha, it is considered the most outstanding.

221 See note 113, above.

222 This story about Mt. Manbul (Ten Thousand Buddha Mountain: 萬佛山) is almost identical to a story included in the Tang text *Duyang Miscellany* (*Duyang zabian*: 杜陽雜編) compiled by Su E (蘇鶚). The outstanding works of craftsmanship that Iryeon mentions here are also found in various other Chinese texts.

223 In the phrase "banners and canopies" (*beongae*: 幡蓋) referred to here "banners" may have included images painted on silk or other materials besides those mentioned, while "canopies" (often referred to as "heavenly canopies" [*cheongae*: 天蓋]), were suspended above three-dimensional images.

224 In the text the word *amna* (菴羅) is a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit word *āmra*, meaning mango tree. It is also transliterated as *ammulla* (菴沒羅), *ammarasu* (菴摩羅樹) *amnasu* (菴羅樹) and so on. Its translated term is *nasu* (奈樹). It is a tree that grows throughout India, which produces many small blossoms in the winter, but bears fruit only in May and June. It is generally considered to be the representative fruit of India.

225 In the text the word for gardenia is *dambok* (簷卜). The term is often used as a figure of speech for any beautiful flower. It is also one of the names given to the thousand buddhas of the Wisdom Kalpa (see note 14, above).

226 The phrase for "majestic towers decorated with many jewels" in the text is *baekbo* (百步), meaning "100 paces." But in the *Duyang Miscellany* (*Duyang zabian*: 杜陽雜編) mentioned in the note above we find the term *baixuan* (百琁), meaning "100 jewels," which in turn signifies a tower decorated with many jewels.

though they were small in size, they seemed to be alive and moving. At the front there was a circle of models of a thousand monks and below there were three bells made of the purest gold[227] each of which had a pavilion and floral scrolls[228] on them, together with [a beam in the shape of] a whale for striking the bell. When the wind blew the bells would chime, and the surrounding Buddhist monks would all prostrate themselves and touch their heads on the ground to the reverberating sound of chanting.[229] Thus the central feature[230] of the model of Mt. Manbul was the bells. Even though it is called "Ten Thousand Buddhas," it is impossible to record everything [about it].

As soon as it was complete [the king] sent envoys to present it (to Taizong). When Taizong saw it, he was amazed and said, "The craftsmanship of the people of Xinluo (Silla) is the work of Heaven not humans." So he placed his Nine-Radiance Fan[231] among the rocks and called [the Mt. Manbul model] "Buddha Light," On the eighth day of the fourth month he issued an imperial edict to all the monks belonging to the Liangjie[232] to

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227 In the text the term for purest gold is *jageum* (purple gold: 紫金), which is a shorter form of *jamageum* (purple refined gold: 紫磨金), referring to a type of gold with a purple sheen that was considered to be of the highest quality.

228 *Poroe* (蒲牢), "floral scrolls" refers to the decorative borders along the lower edges of Korean monastic bells (see Morohashi, *Daikanwa jiten,* 32271 and 20395.3).

229 The term for Buddhist chanting in the text is *beompae* (梵唄), (Sanskrit: *bhāṣā)*, which involves the chanting of Buddhist texts set to a melody in praise of the virtues of Buddha. Other terms for *beompae* include *seongpae* (聲唄), *gyeongpae* (經唄), *seongmyeong* (聲明), and *beomeum* (梵音). The term *pae* (唄) means to praise or to chant, and it is sometimes replaced by the terms *paenik* (唄匿) and *pasa* (婆師). *Beompae* chanting is usually carried out in the following three contexts: first, before and after lectures on the sūtras as part of the rituals surrounding such talks; second, when studying in the mornings and evenings; and third, when carrying out a confessional service in the monastery courtyard (*doryang chambeop*: 道場懺法) for the education of the laity.

230 In the text the expression *gwallyeo* (關捩) is similar to the term *gichuk* (機軸), which means axle, and also refers to a place that is central to an activity.

231 The Nine-Radiance Fan (*gugwangseon*; Ch. *jiuguangshan*: 九光扇) belonged to Emperor Suzong (r. 756–762), and was used annually on the Buddha's birthday.

232 In the text the phrase *liangjie sengtu* (兩街僧徒, K. *yangga seungdo*) means the "monks belonging

worship Mt. Manbul in the Palace Shrine (Neidaochang),[233] and he also commanded Amoghavajra[234] to recite the Tantric sūtras one thousand times.

to the Two Streets" (referring to the two areas of the Tang capital Chang'an, in which various large monasteries were situated, see under Xuanzong in the Tang History: *Jiu Tangshu, juan* 18 *xia*). In Tang times monks were initially under the administration of the Court of State Ceremonials (Honglusi: 鴻臚寺), subsequently they came under the Office of Daoist Worship (Chongxuanshu: 崇玄署), then in 694 during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian, all the Buddhist monks in the country came under the administration of the Bureau of Sacrifices (Cibu: 祠部). Subsequently in 747 during the reign of Xuanzong, they were placed under the administration of the Commissioner of Merit and Virtue in the Two Streets (Liangjie gongdeshi: 兩街功德使) before finally being placed under the Cibu again. In the same reign a monastic registrar (*seungnok*; Ch. *senglu*: 僧錄) was appointed under the auspices of the Liangjie gongdeshi; in 788 various changes took place bringing the Buddhist monks under the Grand Commissioner of Merit and Virtue (Da gongdeshi: 大功德使); subsequently they once more came under the control of the Liangjie gongdeshi.

233 The Palace Shrine (Neidaochang: 內道場) was a Buddhist shrine established inside the palace, which was responsible for holding ceremonies for the sake of the imperial family and the peace and prosperity of the state. It was particularly active in Tang times during the reign of Daizong (r. 763–779) when there were always more than 100 monks offering food before the Buddha images, chanting, and reciting sūtras.

234 Amoghavajra (Bulgong *samjang*; Ch. Bukong *sanzang*: 不空三藏) was a Buddhist monk from northern India who established the Tantric Buddhist tradition in China. In his Chinese name the title *sanzang* means "three baskets" (Skt. *tripitaka*) and refers to the three divisions of the traditional Buddhist canon, namely, the sūtras (*gyeongjang*; Ch. *jingzang*: 經藏), the monastic rules (*yuljang*; Ch. *lüzang*: 律藏), and the commentaries (*nonjang*; Ch. *lunzang*: 論藏). The title *sanzang* was, therefore, given to Buddhist monks who were well-versed in these three fields. Amoghavajra was a disciple of Vajrabodhi (金剛頂) by whom he was initiated into the *Tattvasaṃgraha* 金剛頂經 tradition of Tantric Buddhism. When his master died in 741, Amoghavajra travelled to India and Sri Lanka in 743, where he met Nagabodhi (Bohyeon asari) from whom he received the most recent Tantric teachings, and in 746 he returned to Chang'an, taking with him 500 Sanskrit texts. Subsequently he was invited to the palace several times, where he carried out esoteric consecration ceremonies (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Ch. *guanding*: 灌頂; K. *gwanjeong*) for Emperor Xuanzong and his officials, and conducted prayers for rain, while practising the dharma assiduously, in acknowledgment of which he received the title Zhizang (智藏) from Xuanzong. During the An Lushan rebellion in 755 Amoghavajra held esoteric rituals to suppress the rebel forces on behalf of Emperor Suzong (肅宗) and in 756 entered Daxingshansi (大興善寺) in Chang'an to perform esoteric rites for the protection of the nation. In 760 he carried out an esoteric consecration ritual (Ch. *guandingdaochang*: 灌頂道場) at Daxingshansi for vanquishing the rebels. Under Emperor Daizong, in 763, he established an esoteric consecration

People who saw this were all amazed by its intricacy.

Panegyric
Decorating the moon, Heaven has prepared the Buddhas of the Four Directions.
The bright hair[235] has risen out of the earth in a single night,
Ingenious skill has intricately carved the ten thousand Buddhas.
May the Buddha dharma spread throughout heaven and earth to all humanity.[236]

王又聞唐代宗皇帝優崇釋氏, 命工作五色氍毹, 又彫沈檀木與明珠美玉, 爲假山, 高丈餘, 置氍毹之上. 山有巉嵓, 怪石澗穴, 區隔每一區內, 有歌舞伎樂列國山川之狀. 微風入戶, 蜂蝶翺翔, 鷰雀飛舞, 隱約視之, 莫辨眞假. 中安萬佛, 大者逾方寸, 小者八九分. 其頭或巨黍者, 或半菽者. 螺髻白毛, 眉目的嚦, 相好悉備. 只可髣髴, 莫得而詳. 因號萬佛山. 更鏤金玉爲流蘇幡蓋, 菴羅薝蔔花果, 莊嚴百琁樓閣, 臺殿堂榭, 都大雖微, 勢皆活動. 前有旋遶比丘像千餘軀, 下列紫金鐘三簴, 皆有閣有蒲牢, 鯨魚爲撞. 有風而鐘鳴, 則旋遶僧皆仆, 拜頭至地, 隱隱有梵音, 盖關捩在乎鐘也. 雖號萬佛, 其實不可勝記. 旣成, 遣使獻之. 代宗見之, 嘆曰, "新羅之巧, 天造非人巧也." 乃以九光扇, 加置嵓岫間, 因謂之佛光. 四月八日, 詔兩街僧徒, 於內道場, 禮萬佛山, 命三藏不空, 念讚密部眞詮千遍, 以慶之, 觀者, 皆嘆伏其巧.

讚曰 天粧滿月四方裁, 地湧明毫一夜開. 妙手更煩彫萬佛, 眞風要使遍三才.

ritual and strove to ensure that it became a permanent practice for the offering of prayers for lasting peace in the nation. Furthermore, in the first year of the Yongtai era (765) in Daizong's reign official positions and titles were conferred on Amoghavajra and his deceased master Vajrabodhi. Amoghavajra also established the Jin'ge Monastery (金閣寺) on Mt. Wutai to promote faith in the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In 771 he submitted a list of his own translations of 77 esoteric texts in 101 volumes to the emperor, and these were officially included in the Chinese canon. He died in the same year at Jin'gesi (another source gives 774 as the date of his death).

235 The term *myeongho* (明毫), "bright hair" has the same meaning as *baekho* (白毫), referring to the *urna* or tuft of hair between the eyebrows of a Buddha, and is thus an allusion to the stone image of the Buddhas of the Four Directions.

236 In the text the phrase used for "throughout heaven and earth to all mankind" is "Three Powers" (*samjae*: 三才), referring to heaven (*cheon*: 天), earth (*ji*: 地), and humanity (*in*: 人).

4-10.

The Stone Maitreya Buddha Image at Saenguisa 生義寺石彌勒

Introduction:

This is a legend about the origin of the Maitreya Buddha image enshrined at Samhwa Pass in Mt. Nam near Gyeongju. It concerns a monk called Saengui who dug up a Buddha image from the ground and enshrined it as he had been told to do in a dream. The story is used to explain the origin of a monastery's foundation, and the monk's name is given to the monastery founded in this way. Such circumstances are frequently found in Silla Buddhist legends. This record is of particular interest because the stone Maitreya triad held today in the Gyeongju National Museum is thought to have been the one enshrined at Samhwa Pass. As an outstanding artifact that is representative of seventh-century Buddhist sculpture, this Maitreya statue has a distinctively youthful appearance with a large, inclined face and a tranquil smile. This legend, therefore, that recounts the origins of this renowned masterpiece is of great significance.

Annotated Translation:

At the time of Queen Seondeok[237] monk Saengui had long resided at Dojung Monastery. In a dream a monk led [him] up Namsan[238] and made

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[237] For Queen Seondeok (宣德王), see note 127, above.

[238] Namsan or Mt. Nam (南山) is the mountain located to the south of Gyeongju. The mountain joins the two peaks of Mt. Geumo (金鰲山) and Mt. Gowi (高位山) and is oval in shape, measuring 8 km from north to south and 4 km from east to west. It was one of the four holy grounds of Silla and many historical sites can be found here and there on its slopes. There are thirty-four valleys in total on its eastern, western and southern sides and scattered around each of them are tens of temple

him knot some grass together as a sign and, when they reached a valley to the south of the mountain, said to him, "I have been buried here so I ask you, master, to take me out and enshrine me on the top of the ridge." Awakening from the dream he went with his fellow monks to find the marked spot. When he reached the valley he dug the ground and a Maitreya statue[239] made of stone emerged, which he enshrined at the top of Samhwa Pass.[240] In the thirteenth year, *kapjin*,[241] of the reign of Queen Seondeok (644) he built a monastery and lived there. Later it came to be called Saengui (生義) Monastery (now it is erroneously called Seongui [性義]. This is the very Buddha for which monk Chungdam[242] prepared an offering of tea on the third day of the third month and the ninth day of the ninth month every year).[243]

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sites, stone pagodas, stone Buddha statues, and Buddha images carved on rock cliffs. Originally said to be the birthplace of the founding ancestor of Silla, Bak Hyeokgeose, Namsan, after the reception of Buddhism, was held to embody the Buddha land, leading to the creation of a multitude of Buddhist sites.

239 This sculpture is now held in the Gyeongju National Museum and is known as the Seokjo samjonbul (Stone Buddha Triad).

240 Samhwa Pass (Samhwaryeong: 三花嶺): This pass is mentioned in the second volume of *Samguk yusa*, entitled "Marvels" in the section, 'King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam and the Blessed Pyohun,' and again in the fifth volume of the same book, "Filial Piety" (*hyoseon,* 孝善), in the section, 'A Poor Woman Serves Her Mother.' In the latter section it is stated that Poseong Pavilion (Poseokjeong: 鮑石亭) on Namsan was also called Samhwasul (三花述). It is also said that there was a stone Buddha triad located on this ridge on Namsan, south of Gyeongju. There are two opinions concerning this ridge, one holding that it is on the northern side of Namsan and the other that is on the southern side, but there is insufficient evidence to support either claim conclusively.

241 The text actually states the "twelfth year" according to the calendar used by Iryeon in the Goryeo era; according to the reign system of the Silla era, however, it was the thirteenth year.

242 The dates of the birth and death of Chungdam (忠談) are unknown. He was a monk during the reign of King Gyeongdeok. He composed the *hyangga*, "Song to Reassure the People" (*Anmin ga*: 安民歌) and "Song in Praise of the Hwarang Gipa" (*Chan Giparang ga*: 讚者婆郎歌). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, "Marvels" 景德王 忠談師 表訓大德).

243 The same content is also found in *Samguk yusa* vol. 2, "Marvels," in the section, 'King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam and the Blessed Pyohun': "Every year on the third day of the third

生義寺石彌勒

善德王時, 釋生義, 常住道中寺. 夢有僧引上南山而行, 令結草爲標, 至山之南洞, 謂曰,“我埋此處, 請師出安嶺上.” 旣覺, 與友人尋所標, 至其洞掘地, 有石彌勒出, 置於三花嶺上. 善德王十三年甲辰歲, 創寺而居, 後名生義寺.[今訛言性義寺, 忠談師每歲重三重九, 烹茶獻供者, 是此尊也.]

month and on the ninth day of the ninth month, the monk brewed tea and offered it to the World-honored Maitreya at Samhwa Pass on Namsan (僧每重三重九之日, 烹茶饗南山三花嶺彌勒世尊).”

4-11. The Mural of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva at Heungnyunsa 興輪寺壁畫普賢

Introduction:

This story concerns the mural of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Bohyeon) at Silla's earliest Buddhist monastery, Heungnyunsa, in Gyeongju. At the time of King Gyeongmyeong (r. 917–924) in the latter days of Silla, Heungnyunsa's south gate and cloister were destroyed by fire; they were rebuilt in 921. It is said, however, that during this restoration work that Śakra (Indra, Kr. Jeseokcheon) descended from heaven and remained for ten days performing miracles, and as a consequence people's donations poured in, and craftsmen came of their own accord to complete the construction work. In order to praise this meritorious deed, the people requested that Śakra's figure be depicted in a mural in order to invoke his protection of the world, but Śakra told them it would be better if they painted and attended a picture of Samantabhadra rather than one of himself, and so this is how a picture of Samantabhadra came to be painted. Iryeon visited the site of this tale in person and verified that the Samantabhadra portrait was still in existence at that time. Through this legend of calling on the power of Śakra in order to overcome the difficulties of restoring a monastery in the midst of the confusion that was prevalent in the last days of Silla, we can learn a lot about the people's faith in Śakra and Samantabhadra at that time. This legend also shows us that Heungnyunsa, whose main Buddha hall enshrined an image of the Maitreya Buddha, had a deep connection with belief in Śakra. Given that the Sūtra Tower (*gyeongnu*) was on the left side of the monastery in the story, we can conjecture that the structural layout of the monastery must have been such that the Sūtra Hall was on the left of the main Buddha hall while the Drum Tower (*goru*) was on the right. Unlike in other chapters, no sources are cited in this chapter.

Annotated Translation:

At the time of the fifty-fourth Silla monarch King Gyeongmyeong[244] Heungnyunsa's[245] south gate[246] and cloisters on the left and right burned

244 King Gyeongmyeong (景明王, r. 917–924) was the fifty-fourth king of Silla.

245 Heungnyunsa (興輪寺) was located in Sajeong-dong, Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang Province. The monastery site is registered as Historical Site No. 15, and is the first of the seven monasteries in Gyeongju that are believed to have been built on sites that are connected to the Buddhas of the past (see note 7, above). King Beopheung first prepared the site for the monastery in the fourteenth year of his reign (527) after the martyrdom of Ichadon (see note 294, below), and in the twenty-second year of his reign (*eulmyo*, 535) cut down many trees in Cheongyeong Forest (天鏡林) and began construction work. It is said that the timber used for the pillars and crossbeams, as well as the foundation stones and other masonry, all came from this forest (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "Heungbeop" 原宗興法 猒髑滅身). The monastery was completed in 544 (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 4, second month of the fifth year of the reign of King Jinheung [眞興王]: "Heungnyunsa was completed [興輪寺成]"). In the following months people were granted permission to enter the Buddhist priesthood and serve the Buddha so that the monastery became a symbol of Silla Buddhism. A Maitreya Buddha Triad created by Gim Yangdo (金良圖), a prime minister in the reign of Queen Seondeok, was enshrined in the Main Buddha Hall of the monastery (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 5, Sinju, 密本摧邪), and sculptures of the "Ten Saints of Silla," honoring ten people who had made great contributions to the transmission and development of Buddhism in Silla were made and enshrined in the main Buddha hall of Heungnyunsa. Those honored in this way were Ado (阿道), Wichuk (猒髑), Hyesuk (惠宿), Anham (安含), Uisang (義湘), Pyohun (表訓), Sabok (蛇巴), Wonhyo (元曉), Hyegong (惠空), and Jajang (慈藏). It is said that young and old alike gathered at Heungnyunsa on the fifth day of the eighth month to hold a memorial rite for the anniversary of Ichadon's death. It was a tradition in Silla for men and women from the capital to circumambulate the Heungnyunsa pagoda from the eighth day until the fifteenth day of the second month, an activity said to ensure blessings in the coming year. It was during this ceremony that Gim Hyeon is said to have fallen in love with a tigress, who had taken the form of a beautiful young woman (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 5, "Inspirations" (Gamtong), 金現感通). There was also a legend that Gim Daeseong, who built Bulguksa and Seokbulsa (Seokgul Grotto) was reincarnated in the home of the prime minister of Silla as a result of having offered a donation to Enlightened Master (*gaesa*: 開士) Jeomgae (漸開) for the holding of a Six-Wheel Assembly (Yungnyunhoe: 六輪會). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 5, "Hyoseon" (Filial Piety), 'Daeseong's filial piety toward two generations of parents [大城孝二世父母]'). In this way Heungnyunsa held a central position in Silla Buddhism. The earliest monastery with this name is said to have been built by Ado (see note 74, above), who transmitted Buddhism to Silla (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "The Raising of the Dharma" (Heungbeop), Ado establishes a foundation in Silla [Ado gira]). The account states that in

down and were left unrepaired, so two monks Jeonghwa and Honggye joined together to collect donations in order to carry out the repairs. In the seventh year of the Zhenming[247] era, on the fifteenth day of the fifth month, Śakra Devānām-Indra[248] descended to the sūtra tower[249] on the left side of the

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the third year of the reign of King Michu (264) Ado, who had come from Goguryeo, cured Princess Seongguk (Seongguk gongju: 成國公主) of an illness, and in return the king permitted him to build a monastery. As a consequence he established Heungnyunsa. It is said that Ado made a house by weaving reeds together and while staying there gave sermons on the Buddha dharma and that sometimes flowers would shower down on him from heaven (ibid., quoted from the monument to Ado, *Ado bonbi*: 我道本碑).

246 The gates of Heungnyunsa suffered several calamities which are also recorded in *Samguk sagi* (vol. 5, fourth year of Taejong's reign (657): "The gate of Heungnyunsa collapsed of its own accord" [興輪寺門自壞]; vol. 7, fourth month of the eleventh year of the reign of King Munmu (671), "The south gate of Heungnyunsa shook" [震興輪寺南門]). Today the site of the monastery is registered as Historical Site No. 15, and in 1980 a new Heungnyunsa was constructed. But as a roof-tile inscribed with the words "Yeongmyosa (Yeongmyosa: 靈廟寺)" was unearthed at this site there is a growing body of opinion that the current Heungnyunsa site is in fact the site of Yeongmyosa, which was established in the reign of Queen Seondeok, and that the actual site of the original Heungnyunsa is now occupied by the Gyeongju Technical High School (Gyeongju Gongeop Godeung Hakgyo).

247 Zhenming (貞明) was an era name in the reign of Modi (末帝) of Later Liang and refers to the years 915 to 921. It coincides with the period lasting from the fourth year of King Sindeok to the fifth year of King Gyeongmyeong.

248 In the text the name for Śakra Devānām-Indra is Jeseokcheon (帝釋天). Śakra Devānām-Indra was also transliterated as Seokgajehwanindara (釋迦提桓因陀羅) or as the shorter form, Seokjehwanin (釋提桓因). The names Cheonjeseok (天帝釋) and Cheonju (天主) were also used. As the lord of heaven, who resides at the top of Mt. Sumeru in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (Doricheon, see note 296, below) Śakra Devānām-Indra, together with the four heavenly kings (*Sacheonwang*: 四天王), rules over the thirty-two heavens, protecting the Buddha Dharma and those who honor it, and conquering the legions of evil spirits (*asuras*) threatening the world. Indra was originally a Hindu god, who on entering the Buddhist pantheon came to be called Jeseokcheon (Ch. Dishitian: 帝釋天). According to the Buddhist sūtras, Indra was originally a Brahmin in the ancient Indian state of Magadha, who as a result of his accumulation of meritorious deeds such as alms-giving was finally reborn in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven and became the heavenly lord of the thirty-three heavens. After being adopted into Buddhism he was seen as a supreme god responsible for protecting Buddhism together with Brahmā (Beomcheon: 梵天) and resides in the City of Śakra (Skt. Sudarśana; Ch. Shanjian cheng: 善見城; K. Seongyeonseong) where he is guarded by the Ten Great Heavenly Sons (Sipdaecheonja: 十大天子). Six times a month, on the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and

monastery and remained there for ten days. During that time the monastery halls, pagoda, grass and trees, earth and stones all gave off a mysterious fragrance, a five-colored cloud shrouded the monastery and in the lotus pond to the south the fish and dragons leapt for joy. The people of the country, amazed by this occurrence that had never happened before, gathered there and donated jewels, silk and grain in mountainous quantities; craftsmen came of their own accord and after no more than a few days the construction was completed. When the Heavenly Emperor (Cheonje)[250] was intending to leave after the work was finished, the two monks said, "Revered Śakra, if you intend to return to your heavenly palace, please permit us to paint your sacred image so that we can make offerings before it with the utmost sincerity and thus repay your grace. Also, by thus bequeathing us your portrait[251] please protect this human world forever." Śakra replied, "My power of compassion (*wonnyeok*) is not as great as the miraculous enlightenment universally bestowed by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra.[252] So it would be better if you

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thirtieth days (Skt. *poṣadha*; K. *yukjaeil*: 六齋日) together with the four heavenly kings, the crown prince and his retinue, he is said to examine the good and evil, righteous and unrighteous deeds of everyone on earth, and those people who have not given alms, nor been filially pious and who have not purified themselves have their life spans shortened while conversely those who have earnestly pursued righteousness have their life spans lengthened. It is said that after Buddha Śākyamuni attained enlightenment, he became a guardian deity and went up to Trāyastriṃśa Heaven to expound the Dharma for the sake of his deceased mother Maya, and that Indra bowed down to him.

249 A sūtra tower (*gyeongnu*: 經樓) was a tower in which sutras were preserved. It was generally constructed beside the central building of the temple and opposite the drum tower (*goru*: 鼓樓). Both are important elements in the overall layout of a Buddhist monastery.

250 Cheonje (天帝) is another term used for Śakra Devānām-Indra.

251 The word for portrait in the text is *yeong* (影: shadow), which means the same as *jinyeong* (眞影: portrait). It is possible that the legend about a mural of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra at Heungnyunsa, and the intervention of Indra (Jeseok) was deliberately spread in order to encourage donations for restoration work on the monastery.

252 The Korean name for Samantabhadra in the text is Bohyeon bosal (普賢菩薩). He is the bodhisattva who represents the practice and vows (*haengwon*: 行願) of the Buddha. Together with the bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī (Munsubosal: 文殊菩薩), Samantabhadra attends Śākyamuni Buddha. He rides on a white elephant on the Buddha's right and is entrusted with virtuous intelligence (*ideok*:

paint that bodhisattva's portrait and devoutly offer sacrifices before it without ceasing." The two monks accepted this instruction and devoutly painted the portrait of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra on a wall, and that portrait remains there to this day.

興輪寺壁畫普賢

第五十四景明王時, 興輪寺南門及左右廊廡, 災焚未修, 靖和弘繼二僧, 募緣將修. 貞明七年辛巳五月十五日, 帝釋降于寺之左經樓, 留旬日, 殿塔及草樹土石, 皆發異香, 五雲覆寺, 南池魚龍, 喜躍跳擲. 國人聚觀, 嘆未曾有, 玉帛梁稻施積丘山, 工匠自來, 不日成之. 工旣畢, 天帝將還, 二僧白曰, "天若欲還宮, 請圖寫聖容, 至誠供養, 以報天恩, 亦乃因玆留影, 永鎭下方焉." 帝曰, "我之願力, 不如彼普賢菩薩遍垂玄化, 畫此菩薩像, 虔設供養, 而不廢宜矣." 二僧奉教, 敬畫普賢菩薩於壁間, 至今猶存其像.

理德), virtuous determination (*jeongdeok*: 定德) and virtuous practice (*haengdeok*: 行德). Mañjuśrī is usually depicted mounted on a lion on the Buddha's left and is entrusted with the Buddha's virtuous knowledge (*jideok*: 智德), virtuous wisdom (*hyedeok*: 慧德) and attainment of virtue (*jeungdeok*: 證德). Together these two bodhisattvas are harmoniously endowed with the Buddha's virtuous intelligence, wise determination, practice and attainment. Because of this Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, as the united leaders of all bodhisattvas, assist and enhance the transforming power of the Buddha. Samantabhadra's name means "universal sagacity" (*bohyeon*: 普賢) because his mysterious, all-pervading wisdom and goodness reach everywhere. In the chapter, "The Encouragement of Samantabhadra" (Bohyeonbosal gwonbal pum: 普賢菩薩勸發品) in the *Lotus Sūtra* Samantabhadra is said to ride on a white elephant with six tusks (*yugabaeksang*: 六牙白象) and to protect the practitioners of the *Lotus Sūtra*. In the chapter entitled, "Practices and Vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra" (Bohyeon haengwon pum: 普賢行願品) in the *Flower Adornment Sūtra* (Skt. *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; K. *Hwaeomgyeong*: 華嚴經), Samantabhadra's ten great vows are presented as follows: 1) to worship and respect all Buddhas (*yegyeong jebul*: 禮敬諸佛); 2) to praise the Thus Come Ones (*chingchan yeorae*: 稱讚如來); 3) to widely practice the giving of offerings (*gwangsu gongyang*: 廣修供養); 4) to repent for all karmic hindrances (*chamhoe eopjang*: 懺悔業障); 5) to joyfully pursue merit and virtue (*suhui gongdeok*: 隨喜功德); 6) to request that the Dharma Wheel be turned (*cheongjeon beomnyun*: 請轉法輪); 7) to request that the Buddhas remain in this world (*cheongbul juse*: 請佛住世); 8) always to follow the teachings of the Buddha (*sangsu bulhak*: 常隨佛學); 9) to be in constant accord with all living beings (*hangsun jungsaeng*: 恆順衆生); and 10) to transfer all merit and virtue universally (*bogae hoehyang*: 普皆迴向). It is said that when those who have put these vows into practice die, they will be led by Samantabhadra to be reborn in the paradise realm. As these Ten Great Vows became the model for all bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra is also called the Great Conduct (*daehang*: 大行) Bodhisattva.

4-12-1.

Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara: I. Jungsaengsa 三所觀音 I. 衆生寺

Introduction:

The title of this chapter refers to the images located in three monasteries, namely, Jungsaengsa, Baengnyulsa, and Minjangsa, which were well known for their connection with belief in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.[253] Belief in Avalokiteśvara is one of the most universally held faiths as it is a belief in the bestowal of salvation in one's lifetime from the sufferings and cravings of this worldly existence. Therefore, in order to match the title "Three Places with Images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," the three monasteries with Avalokiteśvara images should be treated as comprising one chapter. But in fact the title "Three Places with Images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara" is immediately followed by the subtitle, "Jungsaengsa," while "Baengnyulsa" and "Minjangsa" are apparently presented as separate chapter titles. Here we have retained the main title, "Three Places



Avalokiteśvara statue, National Museum of Korea

253 The "Images of Avalokiteśvara in Three Places" (Samso Gwaneum: 三所觀音) refers to the images of this bodhisattva enshrined at Jungsaengsa (衆生寺), Baengnyulsa (栢栗寺) and Minjangsa (敏藏寺). In the original wood-block printed *Samguk yusa*, this chapter was originally divided into three independent sections with the following titles, 'Samso Gwaneum Jungsaengsa,' 'Baengnyulsa,' and 'Minjangsa.' This arrangement, however, fails to make a clear connection between the title 'Images of Avalokiteśvara in Three Places (Samso Gwaneum)' and the three monasteries. Therefore, here the sections have been titled as follows to make this connection clear, 'The Images of Avalokiteśvara in Three Places–I Jungsaengsa,' 'The Images of Avalokiteśvara in Three Places–II Baengnyulsa' and 'The Images of Avalokiteśvara in Three Places–III Minjangsa.'

with Images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," and numbered the sub-sections on "Jungsaengsa," "Baengnyulsa" and "Minjangsa" as 12–1, 12–2, 12–3.

The first sub-section, entitled Jungsaengsa,[254] deals with the origins of the creation and enshrinement of the Avalokiteśvara image in that monastery and presents substantial instances of the miracles attributed to it. It is said that someone who had painted an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara in a moment of inspiration in China subsequently came to Silla and created the Avalokiteśvara image at Jungsaengsa. This account also contains the legend of the parents of Choe Seungno—a historical personage and a representative Confucian who lived around the time of late Silla and early Goryeo. The couple prayed to this image of Avalokiteśvara and the wife gave birth to a son who was protected by Avalokiteśvara during the conflict between Silla and Later Baekje. This chapter also contains a legend from the early Goryeo period when the Avalokiteśvara image collected donations in Gimhae and brought them to the monastery and a legend from the mid-Goryeo period concerning Avalokiteśvara's miraculous intervention to prevent the position of the abbot of the monastery from being usurped. The facts concerning the creation of this image are based on old Silla texts, whereas the accounts of miraculous interventions are quoted from accounts handed down by the local villagers. This section concerning the Avalokiteśvara image at Jungsaengsa is a source that shows that the worldly salvation offered by faith in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was welcomed in Silla society during the era of the Later Three Kingdoms and that this situation continued in the early Goryeo period. On the basis of this source there are those who claim that Avalokiteśvara in Silla times was portrayed with eleven heads, but the text simply states that the portrait of Avalokiteśvara that was painted in China had eleven heads. Although it is impossible to confirm that the image at Jungsaengsa was an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, the fact that it is said to have been created by someone who had already made an eleven-headed image makes it extremely

254 Jungsaengsa (衆生寺) is located in Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province.

likely. The various incidents of faith in the second half of this chapter also clearly show examples of popular belief in Avalokiteśvara.

Annotated Translation:

According to an old Silla legend, the emperor of China had a woman whom he loved dearly and whose beauty was without peer. "There have been few people like this in paintings in the past or present," said the emperor, and commanded someone who was good at painting to paint her portrait (*the name of the painter has not been passed down, but is said to have been Zhang Sengyou,*[255] *who was from the state of Wu. During the Tianjian*[256] *era in the Liang dynasty, he became a* shilang *official*[257] *and court painter*

[255] Zhang Sengyou (張僧繇) was a well-known painter from the Wu (吳) region (present-day Suzhou in Jiangsu Province) of the Liang dynasty (502–556) and was active in the early sixth century. He was highly adept at painting both Daoist and Buddhist figures and had a lively imagination and outstanding innate abilities. When Emperor Wu (武帝) of Liang established many monasteries he entrusted the painting of the murals to Zhang. He is also the person about whom the legend, "Painting the Pupil of the Dragon's Eyes" (*hualong dianjing*: 畵龍點睛) is told. According to this story, when Zhang was asked why he had not painted the pupils of the eyes of a dragon he had painted at Anlesi (安樂寺) in Jinling, he replied that if he painted them the dragon would fly away. As people did not believe him, however, he finally painted in the pupils, and in a moment the dragon bored through the wall and flew away. Zhang moved away from the three-dimensional painting methods such as "convex and concave painting" (Ch. *aotuhua*; K. *yocheolhua*: 凹凸畵), which had been transmitted from the regions to the west of China, and "brush and ink painting" (Ch. *bimo*; K. *pilmuk*: 筆墨) and established the "boneless method" (Ch. *mogufa*; K. *molgolbeop*: 沒骨法), which involved the use of bluish-green wash, and he is considered one of the masters of Buddhist painting. Although there are records about his "Portrait of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī" (*Wenshu pusa xiang*: 文殊菩薩像), "Portrait of the Sixteen Arhats" (*Shiliu luohan xiang*: 十六羅漢像) and "Portrait of the Heavenly Kings" (*tianwang xiang*: 天王像), none of his works have survived to the present day.

[256] Tianjian (天監, 502–519) is an era name from the reign of the Liang dynasty ruler Wudi (武帝) coinciding with the period lasting from the third year of the reign of King Jijeung to the sixth year of the reign of King Beopheung.

[257] *Shilang* (侍郎) was a vice-ministerial position in the central government.

in the Zhimi Pavilion in the Wuling Kingdom[258] *and subsequently held the posts*[259] *of General of the Right*[260] *and Governor of Wuxing,*[261] *so* [*the emperor*] *must have been an emperor during the Liang or Chen dynasties.*[262] *The fact that he is referred to in the records as a Tang Emperor is because the people of our country usually refer to China as Tang. As it is impossible to know from which period this emperor was, I have mentioned both* [*Liang and Chen*]). On receiving the imperial command the artist painted the portrait but he dropped his brush by mistake and left a red mark below the navel. He tried to put it right but was unable to do so. "Surely this is a red birthmark[263] that has been there since she was born," he thought as he finished his work and presented the portrait. When the emperor saw it he said, "This painting is very true to life,

258 The Wuling Kingdom (武陵王國): King Wuling was Xiaoji (蕭紀) the eighth son of Wudi of the Liang dynasty. In the thirteenth year of the Tianjian era (514) he was invested with the title Sovereign of Wuling (武陵郡王). He then became the Regional Inspector of Yizhou (Yizhou *cishi*: 益州刺史) and went to Shu (蜀, modern Sichuan), which he made wealthy and powerful. After the death of Wudi, he proclaimed himself the emperor of an independent Shu state with the era name Dazheng (大正). In the fifth year of the Taiqing (太清) (551) era Xiaoji's elder brother Yuandi (元帝) was attacked and the territory of Shu came under the control of Western Wei (西魏), and in 553 Yuandi's forces were defeated and he was killed. According to Zhang Yanyuan's *Record of Famous Paintings of the Past* (*Lidai minghua ji*: 歷代名畫記, 847), in which this record is included, Zhang Sengyou held the official position of *shilang* for the first time in the Tianjian era under Xiaoji, but this chronology is not certain. This also differs from the view generally held that Zhang Sengyou participated in Buddhist services held by Wudi and painted Buddhist images at various temples.

259 The passage, "張僧繇, 則是吳人也. 梁天監中爲武陵王國侍郎 直秘閣 知畫事, 歷右將軍 吳興太守," has been quoted almost verbatim from *Lidai minghua ji*. The only difference is the addition of the two characters 則是, "that is" after Zhang Sengyou's name.

260 General of the Right (*youjiangjun*: 右將軍) was an official post together with the General of the Left (*zuojiangjun*: 左將軍).

261 Governor of Wuxing (Wuxing *taishou*: 吳興太守): Wuxing Prefecture (Wuxing *xian*: 吳興縣) was located in present-day Huzhou (湖州) in Zhejiang Province (浙江省) in China.

262 The Liang (梁) dynasty lasted from 502 to 557 and was succeeded by the Chen (陳) dynasty, which lasted from 557 to 590.

263 The Chinese character in the text, *ji* (Ch. *zhi*: 誌), meaning "record," in this context has the same sound as *ji* (Ch. *zhi*: 痣), meaning "mole" or "birthmark."

but the birthmark below the navel is hidden, so how could you have known about it and painted it?" The emperor was extremely angry and had him thrown into prison[264] with the intention of punishing him when his prime minister said, "Everyone says that he is wise and honest so I implore you to forgive him." The emperor replied "If he is a wise and honest person then let him paint the person whom I saw in my dream last night and if he does so without any mistakes then I will forgive him." Thereupon the artist painted the image of "Avalokiteśvara with Eleven Faces"[265] and presented it. As it was exactly the same as what the emperor had seen in his dream, his doubts were assuaged and he forgave him. After the artist was released, he made a pledge with a learned man Fen Jie[266] saying, "I have heard that in Xinluo [Silla] the Buddha Dharma is honored and believed so what would be of greater benefit than to take a boat together over the sea and practice Buddhism

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264 The term used for "prison" in the text is *wonbi* (圓扉), which is the name for the door of the circular style of prison called *huantu* (圜土) in the Zhou (周) dynasty. Subsequently it came to be a name for the prison itself. The term *huanbi* (圜扉) was also used.

265 Avalokiteśvara with Eleven Faces (*sibilmyeon* Gwaneum; Ch. *shiyimian* Guanyin: 十一面觀音): This is one of the manifestations of Avalokiteśvara that gives form to his various powers of salvation. The three faces facing towards the front have a compassionate expression representing great love (*daeja*: 大慈), which when contemplated by living beings arouses kindheartedness. The three faces facing towards the left have an angry expression representing great pity (*daebi*: 大悲), which when contemplated by living beings arouses a sorrowful mind. The three faces facing towards the right have white canine teeth representing the expression of extraordinary admiration on witnessing pure karma and an exhortation to go forward along the path of Buddhism. One of the faces facing backwards has a big smile representing the bodhisattva's mysterious smile on witnessing the good and evil in living beings and encouraging them to reform their evil ways and embark on the true way. There is also one face on the top which has the appearance of Buddha, and symbolizes Buddha's retributive justice. There is no fixed method for representing the eleven faces of Avalokiteśvara. There are also images with seven faces above the original face and three more faces above them. Sometimes there is even an additional face of Buddha above them. In other cases there are three tiers of three faces above Avalokiteśvara's original face with a single Buddha face on the fourth tier.

266 Fen Jie (芬節) is thought to have been an official responsible for painting but his precise identity is not known.

together for the benefit of that eastern country?"[267] When he finally reached Silla, he created an Avalokiteśvara image[268] in this monastery (i.e. Jungsaengsa).[269] The people venerated it in awe and prayed before it, and so many blessings were obtained that it is impossible to record them."

三所觀音 衆生寺

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[267] The expression for eastern country in the text is *inbang* (仁邦), which can also be interpreted as "land of gentlemen." But when the five virtues of benevolence (*in*: 仁), righteousness (*ui*: 義), courtesy (*ye*: 禮), knowledge (*ji*: 智) and trust (*sin*: 信) are viewed as symbolizing the five directions with *in* representing the east, then the term *inbang* (eastern country) is a reference to Silla.

[268] The term used in the text for the Avalokiteśvara image is Daebi sang (大悲像). Avalokiteśvara's boundless goodwill is expressed by the phrase "great mercy, great pity" (*daeja daebi*: 大慈大悲). The term *jabi* (慈悲) is usually translated into English as "compassion," and an eternal and boundless heart of compassion is the essence of the bodhisattva's commitment to leading all sentient beings into *nirvāna*. The bodhisattvas' selfless love for all sentient beings and desire to make them joyful is referred to as mercy (*ja*: 慈), while their sympathy for the suffering of sentient beings and desire to remove this suffering is referred to as pity (*bi*: 悲), and so the heartfelt desire to release sentient beings from suffering and give them joy is referred to as compassion: *jabi*: 慈悲). The most unchanging and undiscriminating compassion is referred to as great mercy, great pity (*daejadaebi*: 大慈大悲) and is a term that is used to refer to Avalokiteśvara's boundless power to bring sentient beings to salvation.

[269] According to the story, this unknown painter had previously presented a portrait of Avalokiteśvara with Eleven Faces to the emperor, therefore it has often been assumed that the image he created for the monastery was also an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, but there is no clear evidence for this in the text. On the basis of the legend about Choe Seungno's birth (see note 821, below) and other records of miraculous events, which are presented as miracles performed by Avalokiteśvara, the image could also have been a standard Avalokiteśvara. It is also not clearly mentioned in the text whether it was a painting or a statue that was created. In the following section in *Samguk yusa*, entitled Baengnyulsa, there is mentioned a legend which claimed that the image of Avalokiteśvara at Baengnyulsa was made by "divine craftsmen" (*singong*: 神工) at the same time as they made the Jungsaengsa image of Avalokiteśvara, which suggests that the Avalokiteśvara image at Jungsaengsa was a statue. Furthermore, the phrase "he hid it beneath the lion's throne" (*jangyejejwaha*: 藏諸猊座下), in front of the image of Avalokiteśvara, also suggests that the image was a statue rather than a painting. (*Ed. note: if Iryeon's supposition that the painter might have been Zhang Sengyou were correct, then the image could not have been an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, since the earliest examples of this form of the bodhisattva, e.g. on the entrance wall in Mogao cave 321 at* Dunhuang, *date from the early Tang dynasty. On the other hand, since the story explicitly refers to the painter's previous creation of an eleven-headed image, it must be almost certain that it was this new form of the deity that was painted by the same artist in Jungsaengsa*).

新羅古傳云. "中華天子有寵姬, 美艶無雙. 謂 '古今圖畫, 尠有如此者.' 乃命善畫者寫眞, [畫工傳失其名. 或云張僧繇, 則是吳人也. 梁天監中爲武陵王國侍郎直秘閣知畫事, 歷右將軍吳興太守, 則乃中國梁陳間之天子也. 而傳云唐帝者, 海東人凡諸中國爲唐爾. 其實未詳何代帝王, 兩存之.] 其人奉勅圖成, 誤落筆, 汚赤毁於臍下. 欲改之而不能, 心疑赤誌必自天生, 功畢獻之. 帝目之曰, '形則逼眞矣, 其臍下之誌, 乃所內秘, 何得知之毁寫?' 帝乃震怒, 下圓扉, 將加刑. 丞相奏云, '所謂伊人其心且直, 願赦宥之.' 帝曰, '彼旣賢直, 朕昨夢之像, 畫進不差則宥之.' 其人乃畫十一面觀音像呈之, 協於所夢, 帝於是意解赦之. 其人旣免, 乃與博士芬節約曰, '吾聞新羅國敬信佛法, 與子乘桴于海適彼, 同修佛事, 廣益仁邦, 不亦益乎.' 遂相與到新羅國, 因成此寺大悲像. 國人瞻仰, 禳禱獲福, 不可勝紀."

In the last years of Silla in the Tiancheng[270] era, Jeongbo[271] Choe Eunham[272] was childless for a long time. He went before this Avalokiteśvara image,[273] prayed, [and his wife] became pregnant, and gave birth to a son.[274]

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270 Tiancheng (天成) was an era name of Mingzong (明宗) of Later Tang (後唐) and refers to the years 926 to 929. It coincides with the period lasting from the third year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok to the third year of the reign of King Gyeongsun.

271 *Jeongbo* (正甫) was an official title in the Goryeo period. In the fourteenth year of the reign of King Seongjong, it became a fifth-rank local post (*hyangjik*: 鄕職). In the *History of Goryeo* (*Goryeosa*: 高麗史) it is stated that Choe Seungno had a fourth-rank local post with the title *wonbo* (元甫). (*Goryeosa*, vol. 93, Biography no. 6, (崔承老) 仕新羅至元甫)

272 Choe Eunham (崔殷諴) was the father of Choe Seungno (崔承老). In the *Goryeosa* his name is given as Choe Eunham (崔殷含), with a different last character. "[Choe Eunham] held a government post in Silla and reached the rank of *wonbo*. For a long time he had no offspring but after prayers [his wife] gave birth to Seungno." (*Goryeosa*, vol. 93, Biography no. 6, 崔承老: 仕新羅至元甫, 久無嗣禱而生承老.)

273 In the text the term *daeja* (大慈) is a shorter form of *daeja daebi* (大慈大悲) and is another term for Avalokiteśvara. Compassion (*jabi*: 慈悲) is not only the attribute of Avalokiteśvara but is the eternal and boundless heart of compassion which is the essence of all bodhisattvas' commitment to leading every last sentient being into *nirvāna*. Just as Mañjuśrī is known as Great Wisdom Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Daeji Munsu bosal: 大智文殊菩薩) and Samantabhadra is known as Great Practice Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Daehaeng Bohyeon bosal: 大行普賢菩薩) based on their prime attributes, so Avalokiteśvara is known as the Bodhisattva of Great Mercy and Great Pity: Daeja

[The child] was not three months old when Gyeonhwon[275] of Baekje made a surprise attack on the capital and chaos broke out inside the city. With the child in his arms Choe Eunham came [before the image] and said, "The army of a neighboring country has arrived and the situation is desperate. This child will be a burden so it will be difficult for all of us to escape disaster. If he is truly a child granted to us by the great saint Avalokiteśvara,[276] I

daebi bosal: 大慈大悲菩薩).

274 Enabling a couple to conceive and give birth to a son is one of the typical miraculous powers attributed to Avalokiteśvara. According to the Universal Gate of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Gwanseeum bosal bomun pum: 觀世音菩薩普門品), chapter 25 in the *Lotus Sūtra*, there are seven types of difficulty experienced by human beings along with the three poisons (*samdok*: 三毒) of greed, ill-will and delusion (*tamjinchi*: 貪瞋痴) from which Avalokiteśvara can provide deliverance, among which enabling a couple to give birth to a son or daughter (*saengnam saengnyeo*: 生男生女) is included.

275 Gyeonhwon (甄萱) was the king of Later Baekje (後百濟). His date of birth is unknown, and he died in 936. In the eleventh month of the fourth year (927) of the reign of King Gyeongae (景哀王), he invaded the royal capital of Silla, forced King Gyeongae to commit suicide and placed his younger relative Gyeongsun on the throne. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 12, Silla Annals, 'Fourth year of the reign of King Gyeongae' and *Samguk sagi*, vol. 50, Biographies, 'Gyeonhwon')

276 According to the Universal Gate of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, chapter 25 in the *Lotus Sūtra*, when human beings encounter trials and tribulations if they call on Avalokiteśvara's name, he will immediately hear their voice and save them from their difficulty. Thus his name means The Bodhisattva Who Contemplates the Sounds of the World (Gwanseeum bosal: 觀世音菩薩) and belief in Avalokiteśvara became widespread. The sūtra gives a substantial account of the deliverance provided by Avalokiteśvara if someone fell into water or got caught in a fire or some other practical difficulty or wished to give birth to a child or wished to be liberated from the suffering caused by the Three Poisons of greed, ill-will and delusion (*tamjinchi*: 貪瞋痴). In the chapter on the Entry into Reality (Ip beopgye pum: 入法界品) in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Flower Adornment Sutra), during his pilgrimage the youth Sudhana visits Mt. Potala (Botalakgasan: 補陀洛迦山) in the south where Avalokiteśvara lives and asks him about the way of the bodhisattva and is told that every country in which faith in Avalokiteśvara is practiced is part of his territory and that a Mt. Potala where Avalokiteśvara resides has been established there. In Korea, Mt. Nak (Naksan) is believed to be Mt. Potala (see note 544, below). Also in his role together with Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva as an attendant bodhisattva for Amitābha, he is said to help human beings to be reborn in paradise. With the arrival of Tantric Buddhism, various manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, symbolizing his broad powers of salvation, appeared such as Avalokiteśvara with a Thousand Hands and a Thousand Eyes (Cheonsu cheonan Gwaneum), Avalokiteśvara with Eleven Faces (Sibilmyeon Gwaneum 十一面觀音), Avalokiteśvara

pray that you will protect and care for him through the power of your great compassion until this father and his child are able to meet each other again." Shedding tears and sorrowfully grieving he cried out three times and reported [his intention] three times then wrapping [the child] in a quilt he hid it beneath the "lion's throne"[277] in front of the Avalokiteśvara image and with faltering steps departed. After half a month had passed and the enemy forces had withdrawn, he returned to look for his child and found that its skin was as though it had just been bathed, its body was radiant and the scent of mother's milk was still on its lips. He carried the child back with him in his arms and brought him up so when he became an adult he was far ahead of others in wisdom and intelligence. This was Choe Seungno,[278]

Savior of the World (Junje Gwaneum, 救世觀音), Cintāmaṇicakra-Avalokiteśvara (Yeouiryun Gwaneum, 如意輪觀音), and Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara (Bulgong gyeonsak Gwaneum, 不空絹索觀音). These various manifestations are also referred to as the Thirty-three Avalokiteśvaras.

277 The term for lion's throne in the text is *yejwa*: 猊座, which is an alternative expression for *sajajwa*: 獅子座. Generally the lion's throne refers to the seat of the Buddha, but in this context the term refers to the place where the image of Avalokiteśvara was enshrined.

278 Choe Seungno (崔承魯, 927–989) was a civil official in early Goryeo. His posthumous name is Munjeong (文貞). In the *History of Goryeo* (*Goryeosa*) his name is given as Choe Seungno (崔承老). He was born in Gyeongju and entered Goryeo together with his father in 935 (the eighteenth year of the reign of King Taejo) when King Gyeongsun of Silla surrendered to King Taejo of Goryeo. He was extremely bright from a young age, and when he was twelve years old, he read the *Analects* in front of Taejo, who was so impressed that he gave him gifts and the title *Wonbongseong haksaeng* (元鳳省學生). He is thought to have embarked on a career from a young age as an official dealing with composition and scholarship, but in 981 (the first year of King Seongjong's reign) he was entrusted with the important government post of *Jeonggwang haengseongwan eosa sangjuguk* (正匡行選官御事上柱國). In the sixth month of the same year he presented a memorial to the throne discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the current king's rule. Entitled "Assessment of the First Five Reigns" (*Ojo chijeok pyeong*: 五朝治績評) and "Twenty-eight Items on Current Issues" (*Simu isippal jo*: 時務二十八條), it presented his opinion on the general problems of Goryeo society at that time. Choe expresses a variety of opinions on the establishment of Goryeo's northern border, the suppression of abuses of Buddhism and various social problems and provides us with a representative example of early Goryeo political thought. Due to the fact that the content of these documents came to be reflected in the governing structure of early Goryeo, Choe Seungno has been evaluated as the representative Confucian scholar of this era. In 983 he became *Munha sirang pyeongjangsa* (門下侍

who reached the official rank of *gwangjeong*.[279] Choe Seungno was the father of *nangjung*[280] Choe Suk and the grandfather of *nangjung* Choe Jean;[281] from that time the family lineage has continued in an unbroken line. Choe Eunham followed King Gyeongsun[282] and was ennobled on joining with

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郎平章事, Manager of Affairs in the Chancellery) and in 988 he became *Munha susijung* (門下守侍中, Director of the Chancellery). In *Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, “Stūpas and Images” (Tapsang), ‘Samso Gwaneum Jungsaengsa,’ there is an account of how Choe Seungno was born after his father Choe Eunham prayed in his old age to the Avalokiteśvara statue in Jungsaengsa for a child.

279 *Gwangjeong* (匡正) was an official rank in early Goryeo, established in accordance with the ranking system of Taebong (a short-lived state founded by Gungye). It was a second-rank position and as such belonged to the upper ranks of government. In the reign of King Chungseong it became an upper second rank (*jeongipum*: 正二品) position.

280 *Nangjung* (郎中) was an upper fifth position in the Secretariat for State Affairs and Six Ministries (Sangseo yukbu: 尙書六部) of Goryeo.

281 Choe Jean (崔齊顔, ?–1046) was an early Goryeo civil official. He was the grandson of Choe Seungno and the son of Choe Suk (see note 826, below). In 1020 (the eleventh year of Hyeonjong’s reign) he went as an envoy to the Qidan. In 1030 he became an Official of the Privy Council (*Jungchusa*: 中樞使) and in 1034 (the third year of King Deokjong’s reign) Secretary in the Board of Taxation (*Hobusangseo*: 戶部尙書). When Jeongjong came to the throne in 1034, he became Secretary in the Board of Personnel (*Ibusangseo*: 吏部尙書). In 1036 he became *Sangseo jwabogya jungchusa* (尙書左僕射中樞使), and in 1043 *Munhasirang Dongnaesamunha Pyeongjangsa Pansangseohobusa* (門下侍郎 同內史門下 平章事 判尙書戶部事) and subsequently was appointed concurrently to the position of *Munha sijung* (門下侍中, Director of the Chancellery). When the personal letters (*sinseo*: 信書) of King Taejo of Goryeo and his “Ten Injunctions” (Hunyo sipjo: 訓要十條), were lost in the invasions of the Kitan, it is said that Choe Jean found another copy at the house of Choe Hang (崔沆) and presented it to the court. (*Goryeosa*, vol. 93, Biographies, ‘Cheo Seungno’ (崔承老), 初太祖信書訓要失於兵燹 齊顔得於崔沆家藏以進 由是得傳于世.)

282 King Gyeongsun (敬順王, r. 927–935) was the fifty-sixth and last king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Bu (傅). He was a descendant of King Munseong (文聖王). His father was Hyojong, on whom was posthumously bestowed the title Great King Sinheung (Sinheung daewang: 神興大王), and his mother was Queen Mother Gyea (Gyea taehu: 桂娥太后), the daughter of King Heongang (憲康王). His queen consort was Lady Jukbang (Jukbang buin: 竹房夫人) of the Bak clan. After surrendering to Goryeo, he also married the eldest daughter of Wang Geon, Princess Nangnang (Nangnang gongju: 樂浪公主). He was placed on the throne by Gyeonhwon (see note 274, above), after the latter attacked King Gyeongae at the Poseok Pavilion (Poseokjeong: 鮑石亭) and forced him to commit suicide. King Gyeongsun, however, inclined more towards Wang Geon than to Gyeonhwon.

Goryeo.

> 羅季天成中, 正甫崔殷諴, 久無胤息, 詣玆寺大慈前祈禱, 有娠而生男. 未盈三朔, 百濟甄萱襲犯京師, 城中大潰. 殷諴抱兒來告曰, "鄰兵奄至, 事急矣. 赤子累重, 不能俱免. 若誠大聖之所賜, 願此大慈之力, 覆養之, 令我父子, 再得相見." 涕泣悲惋, 三泣而三告之, 裹以襁褓, 藏諸猊座下, 眷眷而去. 經半月寇退, 來尋之, 肌膚如新浴, 貌體嬛好, 乳香尚痕於口. 抱持歸養, 及壯聰惠過人, 是爲丞魯, 位至正匡. 丞魯生郎中崔肅, 肅生郎中齊顔焉. 自此繼嗣不絶. 殷諴隨敬順王, 入本朝, 爲大姓.

Also in the third month of the tenth year of the Tonghe[283] era (992), the abbot Seongtae knelt before the bodhisattva image on his own and said, "I have stayed in this monastery for a long time diligently offering incense day and night without respite, but because there is no income from the monastery land, it has become impossible to continue burning incense and making offerings, and as I intend to move to another place I am resigning from my post." That day he felt sleepy and in a dream Avalokiteśvara told him, "Master, please remain here and do not leave. I will go looking for donors who will provide funds for the offerings."[284] Seongtae was overjoyed and inspired and after all stayed there and did not go [anywhere else]. Thirteen days passed when suddenly two people with a horse and an ox

In 931 he met Wang Geon, who ensured that the troops under his command behaved themselves and thus gained favor with the people of Silla. At this time Crown Prince Maui opposed surrendering to Goryeo, but Wang Geon treated him well by giving him the rank of *Jeongseunggong* (正承公), which was higher than the rank of the Goryeo crown prince, and also gave him a salary of 1,000 *seok* of rice.

283 Tonghe (統和) is the era name of Shengzong (聖宗) of the Liao (遼) dynasty and refers to the years 983–1011. It coincides with the period lasting from the third year of Seongjong to the second year of Heonjong of the Goryeo dynasty.

284 The term *yeonhwa* (緣化) in the text means to encourage people to do good works and practice the Buddhist way in accordance with their karmic affinity. It particularly refers to going out onto the highways and byways to exhort people to embark on the path of the dharma and to encourage them to make donations for Buddhist services at monasteries. The term can also refer to a person who does such work.

laden with baggage arrived in front of the gate. The monk came out of the monastery and asked, "Where have you come from?"

"We are from Geumju[285] and a few days ago a monk came to us and said, 'I have been staying at Jungsaengsa in the Eastern Capital (Gyeongju)[286] for a long time, but as it has become difficult to make offerings,[287] I have come here looking for donations.' So we collected donations from the people of the village and obtained six *seom* of rice and four *seom* of salt, loaded it up and brought it here."

"But no one from this temple has gone out to collect donations. It looks as though you misheard [what he said]," said the monk.

The men replied, "The monk that we met led us as far as the Sinhyeon Well and said, 'As the monastery is not far from here, I will go on ahead and wait,' and we followed on after."

The monk led them into the monastery, and when they entered the

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285 Geumju (金州) is present-day Gimhae (金海) in South Gyeongsang Province. As the capital of Gaya it was called Geumgwan County (Geumgwan-gun: 金官郡) after it was taken over by Silla in the reign of King Beopheung (r. 514–540). Subsequently in the reign of King Munmu (r. 661–681) it was called the Minor Capital Geumgwan (Geumgwan sogyeong) and under King Gyeongdeok (r. 762–765) this name was changed to the Minor Capital Gimhae (Gimhae sogyeong). In 940 it was called Gimhae Urban Prefecture (Gimhae-bu: 金海府), and in 994 the name was changed to Geumju. (*Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiriji, Geumju (金州): 太祖二十三年改州府郡縣名爲金海, 後降爲臨海, 又陞爲郡. 成宗十四年改爲金州安東都護府, 顯宗三年更今名. 元宗十一年以防禦使金晅平密城之亂, 又拒三別抄有功, 陞爲金寧都護府, 忠烈王十九年降爲縣, 三十四年陞爲金州牧. 忠宣王二年汰諸牧復爲金海府.)

286 The Eastern Capital refers to the former capital of Silla, Gyeongju. During the Silla dynasty Gyeongju was called the Eastern Capital (Donggyeong: 東京) and Pyeongyang was called the Western Capital (Seogyeong: 西京). Together with Gaegyeong (開京, also known as Gaeseong: 開城) these three cities were known as the Three Capitals (Samgyeong) and including the Southern Capital, Yangju, they were also called the Four Capitals (Sagyeong). (*Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiriji, 東京留守官慶州 "本新羅古都 … 太祖十八年敬順王金傅來 降國除爲慶州. 二十三年陞爲大都督府 … 成宗六年改爲東京留守")

287 In the text the term *sasa* (四事) refers to the four different types of offerings, namely, clothing, food, bedding [or shelter], and medicine, that is to say the four things which were essential daily necessities for Buddha and the community of Buddhist monks.

dharma hall the men gazed in awe at the image of Avalokiteśvara and bowed saying "This person is the same as the monk who came collecting donations" and their surprise and wonder knew no bounds. So rice and salt were brought to the monastery every year without fail.

One evening when the monastery gate caught fire, the local people came running to help. When they went to the dharma hall they could not find the Avalokiteśvara image in its usual place but then found it already standing in the middle of the courtyard. They asked who had brought it outside and when nobody knew, for the first time they realized the mighty miracle-working power of the great saint Avalokiteśvara.

> 又統和十年三月, 主寺釋性泰, 跪於菩薩前, 自言,"弟子久住玆寺, 精勤香火, 晝夜匪懈, 然以寺無田出, 香祀無繼, 將移他所, 故來辭爾." 是日, 假寐夢, 大聖謂曰,"師且住無遠離, 我以緣化充齋費." 僧忻然感悟, 遂留不行. 後十三日, 忽有二人, 馬載牛駄, 到於門前. 寺僧出問, 何所而來. 曰 "我等是金州界人, 向有一比丘到我云, '我住東京衆生寺久矣. 欲以四事之難, 緣化到此.' 是以斂施隣閭, 得米六碩, 塩四碩, 負載以來." 僧曰,"此寺無人緣化者, 爾輩恐聞之誤." 其人曰,"向之比丘, 率我輩而來, 到此神見井邊曰, '距寺不遠, 我先往待之,' 我輩隨逐而來." 寺僧引入法堂前, 其人瞻禮大聖, 相謂曰,"此緣化比丘之像也," 驚嘆不已. 故所納米塩. 追年不廢.
> 又一夕, 寺門有火災, 閭里奔救. 升堂見像, 不知所在, 視之已立在庭中矣. 問其出者誰, 皆曰不知, 乃知大聖靈威也.

Also, in the thirteenth year, *gyesa*, of the Dading[288] era (1173), monk Jeomsung became the abbot of the monastery. He was illiterate but he was pure in heart and he diligently burnt incense [before the image of Avalokiteśvara]. Another monk intended to take away his position and petitioned the Cheunui *cheonsa*,[289] "This monastery is a place for praying for

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288 Dading (大定, 1161–1189) is an era name in the reign of Shizong (世宗) of the Jin (金) dynasty. It coincides with the period lasting from the fifteenth year of the reign of Uijong to the nineteenth year of the reign of Myeongjong of the Goryeo dynasty.

289 The precise identity of Cheunui *cheonsa* is unknown. *Cheonsa* means "heavenly emissary" while

grace and invoking blessings on the nation, so it is only fitting that someone who knows how to read and write be selected and put in charge of it." The *cheonsa* agreed and in order to test [the abbot], he gave him the petition upside down. Jeomsung immediately spread it out with his hands and read it out fluently so the *cheonsa* was deeply impressed. When he told him to come out and read it again sitting in the middle of the room, Jeomsung kept his mouth firmly shut and did not say a word.

"This monk[290] is truly someone who is watching over the great saint Avalokiteśvara," said the *cheonsa* and so in the end [the monk's position] was not taken away. The devotee (*cheosa*)[291] Gim Inbu, who was staying with Jeomsung at that time, heard this story from a village elder and wrote it down for posterity.

又大定十三年癸巳間, 有僧占崇, 得住玆寺. 不解文字, 性本純粹, 精勤火香. 有一僧, 欲奪其居, 訴於襯衣天使曰, "玆寺, 所以國家祈恩奉福之所, 宜選會讀文疏者主之." 天使然之, 欲試其人, 乃倒授疏文. 占崇應手披讀如流, 天使服膺, 退坐房中, 俾之再讀, 崇鉗口無言. 天使曰, "上人良由大聖之所護也. 終不奪之." 當時與崇同住者, 處士金仁夫, 傳諸鄉老, 筆之于傳.

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cheunui refers to underclothing that was worn in cold weather. Apart from the three regulation garments (*samui*: 三衣) worn by monks, there is a long undergarment that covers the two armpits, the chest and the left shoulder and hangs down below the waist, which is known as a *seunggiji* (僧祇支), *eomaegui* (掩腋衣) or *eomaek cheunui* (掩腋襯衣).

290 In the text the term *sangin* (上人) is used to refer to a monk of great virtue.

291 The term *cheosa* (處士), or *geosa* (居士), means someone who has withdrawn from the world and is living in tranquility. That is to say, the term refers to someone who has not become a monk, but is striving to live according to the Buddha dharma.

4-12-2.

Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara: II. Baengnyulsa 三所觀音 II. 栢栗寺

Introduction:

This chapter introduces the many miracles of the Avalokiteśvara image at Baengnyulsa, a monastery which had a close relationship with the martyrdom of Ichadon at the time of the acceptance of Buddhism in Silla. Even though the Avalokiteśvara at Baengnyulsa is said to have been painted by a Chinese artist, its fame was so great that there is even a legend that the bodhisattva in the painting went to the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven and back. Set in the time of King Hyoso (r. 692–702), the story is about the *hwarang* Buryerang who went on an excursion to the coast in northern Gangwondo and was captured by a barbarian tribe. Subsequently the sacred Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves, and the sacred lute, (*hyeon-geum*) disappeared. After Buryerang's parents prayed to the painting of Avalokiteśvara at Baengnyulsa, Buryerang returned together with the lost treasures. It is a typical example of the nature of belief in Avalokiteśvara, which emphasized salvation in this life and was widespread in the time of Unified Silla. Recorded in this chapter we find the miracle-working of Avalokiteśvara followed by the king's donation of silk and land to Baengnyulsa where the miracle occurred, the remission of taxes for the local people and the bestowal of official ranks on the *hwarang* and on Buryerang's whole family. In this way we can gain a glimpse of the importance of the *hwarang* in society at that time. Also the account of the transfer of the abbot of the monastery to Bongseongsa and the appointment of Ansang, who had trained the *hwarang* and done his utmost to find Buryerang, to the position of *daetong* provides us with a concise source that enables us to gain an insight into how official posts in the Buddhist clergy were managed at that time. Finally, the example of the miracle of the Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves is added and supplements this representative story of *hwarang* and the *hwarang* way (*hwarangdo*). Without

specifying any particular source, the author compares various accounts beginning with such phrases as 'Some people say …', 'A story has been handed down that says …', 'In certain texts …', and 'In a separate record …'. Thus it appears that the author has retold the story on the basis of existing records at that time. Apart from the painting of Avalokiteśvara, Baengnyulsa is also home to the outstanding large-scale Tongjo Bhaiṣajyaguru Standing Buddha statue from the Silla era, which remains there to this day.

Annotated Translation:

The mountain in the north of Gyerim[292] is known as Mt. Geumgang[293] and Baengnyulsa[294] is located to the south of this mountain. In the temple there

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292 Gyerim (鷄林: Rooster Forest) is near the Silla royal fortress of Wolseong (月城) in Gyeongju. It was a holy place that was considered sacred by the people of Silla. It was originally called Sirim (始林: First Forest), but as it was the place where according to legend people heard a cock crowing and on investigating the sound found a golden box hanging on a branch containing a little boy named Gim Alji (金閼智), the founding ancestor of the Gim clan, its name was changed from Sirim to Gyerim. Subsequently the name came to be used to refer to Silla itself (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 1 Talhae Nisageum 9th year, 3rd month: "王夜聞, 金城西始林樹間, 有鷄鳴聲. 遲明遣瓠公視之, 有金色小櫝, 掛樹枝, 白雞鳴於其下. 瓠公還 告, 王使人取櫝開之, 有小男兒在其中, 姿容奇偉. 上喜謂左右曰, 此豈非天遺我以令胤乎. 乃收養 之. 及長聰明多智略, 乃名閼智, 以其出於金櫝, 姓金氏, 改始林名雞林, 因以爲國號"). See also note 815, below.

293 Geumgangnyeong (金剛嶺) refers to Mt. Geumgang, located to the north of Gyeongju (*Ed. note: this is properly Geumsan* (金山) *or Sogeumgang* (小金剛, *Lesser Diamond Mountain*) *and should be distinguished from Mt. Geumgang, the Diamond Mountain, on the coast of the East Sea*). This mountain was considered to be one of the four miraculous sites of Silla. In 527, when Ichadon was martyred, his decapitated head flew into the air and landed on the top of Mt. Geumgang. At the foot of this mountain are Gulbulsa and the Four-sided Stone Buddha Image, and Baengnyulsa is on its mid-slope.

294 Baengnyulsa (栢栗寺) is located on Mt. Geumgang in Dongcheon-dong, Gyeongju. It is said that the original name of the monastery was Jachusa (刺楸寺) but this was soon changed to Baengnyulsa. The site is said to be the place where Ichadon (異次頓) was martyred in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Beopheung (527). He was beheaded, milk spouted from his neck, and his head flew up into the air and landed on Mt. Geumgang. A burial service was held at that place, the site was secured, and in the following year (528), the people established a monastery there. In the ninth year

is a painting of Avalokiteśvara, and although it is not known when it was first made, it has been responsible for a great many miracles. Some people say, "This [painting] was made at the same time and by the same outstanding artist from China that made the Avalokiteśvara image at Jungsaengsa."[295] Among the people it is said that "the [image of the] great saint Avalokiteśvara once went to the Heaven of the Thirty-three [Gods] (Doricheon)[296] and on his return, as he entered the dharma hall, he trod on the stone and left footprints that have still not worn way until this day." Also, some people say, "they are the footprints he made when he returned from rescuing Buryerang."

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of the reign of King Heondeok (817) Seon Master Yeongsu (永秀) formed a Buddha Worship and Incense Offering Association (Yebulhyangdo: 禮佛香徒) to offer services at the grave of Ichadon, erected an altar in his honor and set up the Baengnyulsa Stone Pillar (Baengnyulsa *seokdang*: 栢栗寺石幢), which is also known as the Monument to Ichadon's Martyrdom (Ichadon *sungyobi*). The lower part (*tapsin*, 塔身) of this pillar has survived and is on display at the Gyeongju National Museum. The monastery was restored by the Governor of Gyeongju in the Goryeo period but fell into ruins during the Japanese invasions of 1592–1597 (Imjin waeran). It was rebuilt circa 1600 by the mayor (*buyun*: 府尹) of Gyeongju Yun Seungsun (尹承順). Today the Main Buddha Hall (Daeungjeon, 大雄殿) and important buildings such as the Meditation Hall (Seonwon, 禪院) still remain. Also, the outstanding mid-eighth-century standing statue of Bhaiṡajyaguru (National Treasure No. 28) now on display at the Gyeongju National Museum was made at Baengnyulsa, as was the Sandalwood Avalokiteśvara Image (*jeondan* Gwaneumsang: 栴檀 觀音像), which remained there until the beginning of the Joseon era (twelfth year of the reign of King Taejong, 1412) when it was removed from the monastery and enshrined at Gaegyeongsa (開慶寺).

[295] For Jungsaengsa, see note 254 above. (*Ed. note: the Jungsaengsa image, however, may have been a statue, not a painting*).

[296] The Sanskrit term for Doricheon (忉利天) is Trāyastriṃśa. It is the second of the six heavens of the desire realm (*yokgye*, 欲界). Although it was originally a mountain in Indian mythology, according to Buddhist cosmology, Mt. Sumeru stands majestically at the centre of the world and surrounding this mountain are eight mountains and eight seas, which together form one world. Beyond the seventh mountain is a salty sea and beyond the sea is a circular mountain range of iron called Cakravāda (Cheolwisan: 鐵圍山). There are four continents centering on Mt. Sumeru. Among these continents the one in the south inhabited by human beings is Jambudvīpa (Yeombujeju: 閻浮提洲), above it are the four heavens of the four deva-kings (*sacheonwangcheon*) and Trāyastriṃśa is said to be located above them at the summit of Mt. Sumeru. Trāyastriṃśa is ruled over by Indra (Jeseokcheon: 帝釋天), who also rules over the eight heavens of the four directions. It is also called the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods.

鷄林之北岳, 曰金剛嶺. 山之陽, 有栢栗寺, 寺有大悲之像一軀, 不知作始, 而靈異頗著. 或云, "是中國之神匠, 塑衆生寺像時竝造也." 諺云, "此大聖, 曽上忉利天, 還來入法堂時, 所履石上脚迹, 至今不刓." 或云, "救夫禮郎還來時之所視迹也."

In the third year, *imjin*, of the Tianshou[297] reign on the seventh day of the ninth month (692), King Hyoso made Buryerang, the son of Taehyeon Salchan,[298] a *gukseon* [*hwarang*].[299] [Buryerang] was the leader of a thousand *juri*,[300] and was particularly close to Ansang.[301] In the fourth year, *gyesa*, of the Tianshou era (*this was the second year of Changshou*) in the third month of spring, Buryerang went on an excursion with his followers to Geumnan.[302]

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297 Tianshou (天授) is an era name from the reign of Wu Zetian (武則天) of the Tang dynasty and refers to the years 690 to 691. It coincides with tenth and eleventh years of the reign of King Sinmun. As Iryeon notes here, the fourth year of Tianshou actually corresponds with the second year of the Changshou (長壽) era (693).

298 The title *salchan* (薩喰, also *sachan* 沙飡, *salchan* 薩飡, *sadolgan* 沙咄干 or *sagan* 沙干) was an eighth-rank title in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of officials. Only those above head-rank six (*yukdupum,* see note 118, above) could receive this title.

299 The term *gukseon* (國仙) is equivalent to the leader of the *hwarang* (花郎). In the *Samguk sagi* only the term *hwarang* is used, but in the *Samguk yusa* the term *hwarang* is used only once. In the Joseon era the term *gukseon* is also used in An Jeongbok's (安鼎福), *Annotated Account of Korean History* (*Dongsa gangmok*: 東史綱目), vol. 3, King Jinheung 37, "亦曰國仙." See also note 452, below.

300 Here the term used is *juri*, which means beaded shoes worn by guests of honor (*sanggaek*: 上客). Just as the phrase "three thousand beaded shoes" (*jurisamcheon,* 珠履三千) meant "many guests," here the term "one thousand beaded shoes" (*juri cheondo,* 珠履千徒) means "many *hwarang*."

301 Ansang (安常) was a Buddhist monk who accompanied Buryerang. This instance demonstrates that *hwarang* were accompanied by monks in their activities and that these monks were assigned leadership roles.

302 Geumnan (金蘭) is present-day Tongcheon (通川) in Gangwon Province, on the coast of the East Sea, one of the important regions toured by the *hwarang*. In the reign of King Jinheung (r. 540–576), young men of good families and exemplary conduct were chosen as *hwarang,* Seolwon-rang (薛原郎) was installed as their leader (*hwarang gukseon*: 花郎國仙), and a pillar was set up in Myeongju (溟州). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, Tapsang "Mireuk seonhwa, 彌勒仙花")

When he arrived at the northern coast,[303] he was captured by the *jeokjeok* (狄賊).[304] Not knowing what to do, the other travelers returned, but Ansang alone followed [Buryerang]. This happened on the eleventh day of the third month. When King Hyoso heard about this, he was unable to contain his shock and said, "Since my royal predecessor[305] received the divine flute and handed it down to me, I have kept it safely together with the *hyeon-geum* lute in the royal storehouse (*naego*), so how can it be that this *hwarang* has been taken captive by the enemy? What should I do?" (*the matter of the hyeon-geum lute and the divine flute are included in another story*).[306] At that moment an auspicious cloud covered the Heaven-Revered Treasury (Cheonjon-go).[307] The king was astonished and on sending [someone] to investigate, [it was

303 The phrase *buk myeong* (北溟) can be interpreted as meaning the "northern coast" or as the region "north of Myeongju" (present-day Gangneung) where the *hwarang* frequently toured around. In either case, the region indicated here is the same, whichever interpretation is preferred.

304 This term is used to refer to the Malgal (Ch. Mohe/Moho) population of Eastern Manchuria. The incident recounted in this legend took place in 692, not long before the founding of Balhae (渤海), part of the former territory of Koguryeo, and so the Malgal mentioned here were most probably connected to Balhae.

305 The "royal predecessor" (*seonwang*, 先王) mentioned here was King Hyoso's father King Sinmun (神文王), who acquired the divine flute in the second year of his reign (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, Marvels, "The Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves" [Manpa sikjeok: 萬波息笛]).

306 The history of the divine flute (*sinjeok*: 神笛) is included in "The Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves" [Manpa sikjeok: 萬波息笛], in vol. 2 of *Samguk yusa*, but no record survives about the *hyeon-geum* (玄琴) lute. When King Sinmun was worshiping at Gameunsa, which he had founded in order to offer prayers for the repose of his deceased father King Munmu, he acquired a length of bamboo that divided in two during the daytime and united into one at night. In accordance with the advice of a dragon, who told him that if he made a flute from this bamboo and played it, peace would prevail throughout the country, King Sinmun made the flute and kept it safely in the Heaven-Revered Treasury (Cheonjon-go: 天尊庫) inside the Silla royal fortress Wolseong (月城). It is said that whenever he played the flute, enemy troops would flee, illnesses would be cured, in times of drought rain would fall, and in times of storm rain would cease, winds would drop and waves would be calmed, so the flute was given the name "The Flute that Calms Ten Thousand Waves" [Manpa sikjeok: 萬波息笛] and was regarded as a national treasure.

307 For the Heaven-Revered Treasury, see note 306, above.

found that] the two treasures, the divine flute and the *hyeon-geum* lute, had disappeared from the Treasury. [The king] said, "Why is it that Heaven does not take pity on me?[308] Having recently lost a *hwarang*, I have also lost the *hyeon-geum* lute and the divine flute," and he imprisoned the official Gim Jeonggo and five others who were responsible for guarding the Treasury. In the fourth month [the king] offered a reward throughout the country, saying, "As a reward I will remit the tax for one year for the person who retrieves the *hyeon-geum* lute and the divine flute."

On the fifth day of the fifth month the parents of Buryerang went to Baengnyulsa and prayed for several evenings in a row in front of the Avalokiteśvara portrait, when suddenly the two treasures, the *hyeon-geum* lute and the divine flute, appeared on the incense offering table and both Buryerang and Ansang came out from behind the Avalokiteśvara portrait. The parents were overjoyed and as they did not know how this had happened, Buryerang said, "After I was captured I became a cowherd in the household of Taedogura in that country and was grazing his cattle on the Daeorani plain (*in some books it says he became a slave in the household of Dogu and grazed cattle on the Daema plain*). Suddenly a monk appeared. His appearance and demeanor were very dignified. He came carrying the *hyeon-geum* lute and the divine flute in his hands and comforted me saying, 'Do you miss your hometown?'[309] When he said this, without realizing it I fell down on my knees before him and said, 'How can I express how much I miss my sovereign and my parents?' The monk said, 'In that case just follow me.' He took me as far as the sea shore where I also met Ansang. He then broke the divine flute in two and gave [a piece] to each of us and we each rode on the piece [of flute], while he rode on the *hyeon-geum* lute. We floated up [in the air] and in a short while arrived at this place."

When all these facts were reported to the king, he was greatly astonished. He sent out envoys to welcome Buryerang and had the *hyeon-geum* lute

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308 In the text the phrase *buljeok* (不弔) means to "not take pity."

309 In the text the term *sangjae* (桑梓), which literally means "mulberry tree and wild walnut tree," is an expression meaning one's home or hometown.

and the divine flute brought into the palace. [The king] rewarded [the Avalokiteśvara image's] benevolent grace by bestowing an offering on the monastery of two sets of five gold and silver bowls each weighing fifty *yang* apiece, five fine brocade (*manap*) surplices,[310] three thousand bolts of silk[311] and ten thousand *gyeong* of land. [He also] granted a general amnesty throughout the country, promoted officials by three ranks and exempted the common people from three years of taxation. The abbot of the monastery was transferred and installed at Bongseongsa.[312] Buryerang was appointed to the rank of *daegakgan*[313] (*this is the name for the official rank of prime minister in Silla*); his father, Daehyeon Achan[314] was appointed to the rank

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310 *Manap gasa* (磨衲袈裟) is a type of silk *kāṣāya* of extremely high quality. (*Ed. note: Su Shi* (*1036–1101*) *wrote a poem in praise of* mona (磨衲) *in which he records that the emperor presented a visiting monk of high rank with a* mona kāṣāya *that had been sent as tribute from Korea. The character* mo *suggests that the silk may have been polished to a high sheen*).

311 The term used for "silk" in the text is *daecho* (大綃).

312 Bongseongsa (奉聖寺) is located in Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. According to the *Samguk yusa*, in addition to the Bongseongsa in Gyeongju, there was also a monastery with the same name in Miryang, which was founded by Boyang (寶壤) in early Goryeo (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 4, "Boyang and the Pear Tree" [Boyang imok: 寶壤梨木]). The circumstances of the founding of Bongseongsa in Gyeongju are said to be as follows: when the Tantric master Hyetong (惠通) cured King Sinmun (r. 681–692) of a disease, he informed him that as a prime minister in a previous life he had wrongly enslaved a freeman called Sinchung (信忠) thus incurring his resentment and that if he wished to liberate Sinchung from this resentment he had to build a temple for his sake (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 5, "Hyetong Subdues the Dragon" [Hyetong hangnyong]). *Samguk sagi* also records that King Sinmun founded the monastery in the third month of the fifth year (685) of his reign (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 8, third month of the fifth year of King Sinmun's reign: "奉聖寺成"). As one of the seven monasteries with monastery organization boards (*seongjeon sawon*, 成典寺院), Bongseongsa was considered to be the most important monastery after Sacheonwangsa (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, Official Positions and Ranks I [Jikgwanji sang]).

313 *Dae Gakgan* (大角干) was the first rank among the seventeen ranks of the Silla ranking system and was above the rank of *Gakgan* (角干, see note 320, below). It was established to demonstrate respect for the most powerful members of the Silla nobility. It is recorded that in the seventh year of King Taejong's reign (660), the rank of *Dae Gakgan* was conferred on Gim Yusin in recognition of his meritorious service in the conquest of Baekje (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, Official Positions and Ranks I [Jikgwanji sang]: *Daegakgan*).

314 At the beginning of this account Buryerang's father Daehyeon has the title *Salchan* (eighth rank)

of Taedaegakgan,[315] and his mother Lady Yongbo was made the Overseer of Gyeongjeong Palace in Saryang Prefecture,[316] and Ansang was made Head of the Order (*daetong*).[317] The five officials were all released and each of them was promoted five ranks.

天授三年壬辰九月七日, 孝昭王奉大玄薩飡之子夫禮郎爲國仙, 珠履千徒, 親安常尤甚. 天授四年[卽長壽二年] 癸巳暮春之月, 領徒遊金蘭, 到北溟之境, 被狄賊所掠而去, 門客皆失措而還, 獨安常追迹之, 是三月十一日也. 大王聞之, 驚

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whereas here he has the title *Achan* (sixth rank). *Achan* was the highest rank that members of the head-rank-six class could attain.

315 *Taedaegakgan* (太大角干) was an official rank above Silla's seventeen Silla Office Ranks. In the eighth year of King Munmu's reign (668) the rank of *Taedaegakgan* was conferred on Gim Yusin in recognition of his meritorious service in the conquest of Goguryeo. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, Official Positions and Ranks I [Jikgwanji sang]: Taedaegakgan)

316 Saryang Prefecture (Saryangbu: 沙梁部) was one of the six prefectures of the Silla royal capital during the Three Kingdoms era. According to the *Samguk sagi*, in the ninth year of the reign of King Yuri (Yuri Isageum) (AD 32), Dolsangoha Village (突山高墟村), one of the former Six Villages, was given this new name and its inhabitants subsequently adopted the clan name of Choe (崔氏) (according to the *Samguk yusa,* the clan name Jeong [鄭氏] was adopted). The six prefectures combined together to form the Saro Kingdom (斯盧國), and Saryang Prefecture, together with Yang Prefecture (Yangbu: 梁部), played a dominant role. In the early sixth century the head of Saryang Prefecture held the concurrent title of Prince Galmun (*Galmunwang*: 葛文王). In the twenty-third year of King Taejo's reign (940), its name was changed to Namsan Prefecture (南山部).

317 Head of the Order (*Daetong*: 大統) is one of the official Buddhist clerical ranks that is thought to have been devised with the establishment of the monastic administrative office, the Board of Good Dharma (Jeongbeopjeon: 政法典). It was a high-level position in the central clerical administration that ranked after the highest position of National Patriarch (*Guktong*: 國統). The title *daetong* does not appear in the records of official ranks in the *Samguk sagi*, but in the "Record [inscribed] on a Pillar of Hwangnyongsa's Nine-story Wooden Pagoda" (Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap chalju bongi: 皇龍寺九層塔刹柱本記) *daetong* is listed immediately after *guktong*, and it appears that it was a post that could be held concurrently with that of *Jeongbeop hwasang*, so in this way we know that *daetong* was a high-ranking title that came just after *guktong*. The Board of Good Dharma (Jeongbeopjeon: 政法典) is thought to have comprised the following central posts under the headship of the National Patriarch (*Guktong*), namely, *Panjeong beopsa* (判政法事) or *Jeongbeop hwasang* (政法和尙), *Daeseoseong* (大書省), *Soseoseong* (小書省), *Daesa* (大舍), as well as the regional clerical posts of *Jutong* (州統) and *Guntong* (郡統). The function of the Board of Good Dharma was to supervise and guide the Buddhist projects of the royal family and to be responsible for the related issues of engaging and honoring Buddhist monks.

駭不勝, 曰 "先君得神笛, 傳于朕躬, 今與玄琴, 藏在內庫, 因何國仙, 忽爲賊俘, 爲之奈何." [琴笛事, 具載別傳.] 時有瑞雲覆天尊庫, 王又震懼, 使檢之, 庫內失琴笛二寶. 乃曰, "朕何不吊, 昨失國仙, 又亡琴笛." 乃囚司庫吏金貞高等五人. 四月募於國曰, "得琴笛者, 賞之一歲租."

五月十五日, 郞二親就栢栗寺大悲像前, 禋祈累夕, 忽香卓上得琴笛二寶, 而郞常二人, 來到於像後. 二親顚喜, 問其所由來. 郞曰, "予自被掠, 爲彼國大都仇羅家之牧子, 放牧於大烏羅尼野,[一本作都仇家奴, 牧於大磨之野.] 忽有一僧, 容儀端正, 手携琴笛, 來慰曰, '憶桑梓乎,' 予不覺跪于前曰, '眷戀君親, 何論其極,' 僧曰, '然則宜從我來,' 遂率至海壖, 又與安常會, 乃批笛爲兩分, 與二人, 各乘一隻, 自乘其琴, 泛泛歸來, 俄然至此矣." 於是具事馳聞, 王大驚使迎, 郞隨琴笛入內. 施鑄金銀五器二副各重五十兩, 摩衲袈裟五領, 大綃三千疋, 田一萬頃, 納於寺, 用答慈庥焉. 大赦國內, 賜人爵三級, 湌民租三年. 主寺僧, 移住奉聖. 封郞爲大角干,[羅之冢宰爵名] 父大玄阿湌爲太大角干, 母龍寶夫人爲沙梁部鏡井宮主. 安常師爲大統. 司庫五人皆免, 賜爵各五級.

On the twelfth day of the sixth month a comet appeared in the east. On the seventeenth day it appeared again in the west. An astrologer reported, "This has happened because no official ranks have been bestowed on the *hyeon-geum* lute and the divine flute." Consequently, the divine flute was invested with the title, "Flute that Calms One Hundred Million Waves," and the comet immediately disappeared. Even after this many divine miracles occurred but as the accounts are confusing, they are not included here.

It is said that Ansang was one of the outstanding *hwarang* of Yeongnang,[318]

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318 Yeongnang (永郞) is considered to be one of the four representative *hwarang* of Silla (Saseon: 四仙) together with Sullang (述郞), Namseongnang (南石郞), Ansangnang (安詳郞). These *hwarang* made many excursions around the East Sea coastal region such as Mt. Geumgang (the Diamond Mountain), and their names are associated with many historical sites. One example is Yeongnang Lake (Yeongnangho: 永郞湖); at Samilpo (三日浦) near Mt. Geumgang there is a rock inscribed with the words "Yeongnang's journey to South Rock" (Yeongnangdo Namseok haeng: 永郞徒南石行); see *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea,* vol. 45, Goseong Samilpo [高城三日浦], Anchuk [安軸], "Samilpogi" [三日浦記]). Also, the stone inscription (*seoseok*: 書石) at Cheonjeon-ri, Dudong-myeon, Ulju-gun, Ulsan, which reads, "On the second day of the sixth month of the *sul* year, Yeongnang completed his task" (戌年六月二日永郞 成業), is thought to be an inscription commemorating the

but this cannot be known for certain. Among Yeongnang's *hwarang* only the names of Jinjae and Beonwan are known, but these are also persons about whom we know nothing (*details may be found in another account*).

六月十二日, 有彗星孛于東方, 十七日, 又孛于西方. 日官奏曰,"不封爵於琴笛之瑞." 於是冊號, 神笛爲萬萬波波息, 彗乃滅. 後多靈異, 文煩不載.

世謂安常爲俊永郎徒, 不之審也. 永郎之徒, 唯眞才 繁完等知名, 皆亦不測人也.[詳見別傳]

completion of Yeongnang's training as a *hwarang*.

4-12-3.
Three Places with Images of Avalokiteśvara III. Minjangsa 三所觀音 III. 敏藏寺

Introduction:

This section entitled Minjangsa is the last section of the chapter "Three Places with Avalokiteśvara Images." The story is set during the time of King Gyeongdeok: when Jangchun is lost in heavy seas while on a trading voyage, his mother prays in front of the Avalokiteśvara statue in Minjangsa and her son returns alive. This example of faith shows us a typical example of the idea of salvation in this life, which originates from the text of the main sūtra related to belief in Avalokiteśvara, namely, the *Lotus Sūtra*. Added to this account is a record of how the king, when he heard this story, donated land and gifts to the monastery. This passage, therefore, also shows the king's interest in miracles related to the Buddhist faith of the ordinary people. Furthermore, in the record that Minjangsa was the former residence of the nobleman Minjang, we find another confirmation of one important way in which Silla monasteries were founded; through this source we can also see that monasteries founded in this way were also open to ordinary people and could be used by all. Such information is not revealed in other sources.

Annotated Translation:

A poor woman [called] Bogae from Ugeum village had a son [called] Jangchun, who went on a trading voyage by sea and for a long time there was no news [of him].[319] His mother went before the Avalokiteśvara in Minjangsa (*this monastery was founded by Minjang Gakgan who donated his*

319 In the text the term for "news" is *eummo* (音耗), which has the same meaning as *eumsin* (音信), which means either news or a letter sent from far away.

house as a monastery)[320] and prayed sincerely for seven days, [after which] Jangchun suddenly returned. When he was asked the reason he said, "A whirlwind blew up out at sea and our ship was destroyed; none of my companions were able to avoid death, but I rode on a plank and reached the shore of the Wu region. The people of the Wu region took me in and made me do farm work in the fields. A strange monk, who seemed to be from my hometown, gently comforted me and took me with him. We came to a large stream, and he supported me and jumped over. My mind became hazy and I heard the sound of someone lamenting in our language and the sound of crying and when I looked carefully I was already here. I left the Wu region[321] at dusk between three and five o'clock (*posi*)[322] and when I arrived here it was barely seven o'clock in the evening (*sulsi*[323] *cho*)." This happened in the fourth year, *eulyu*, of the Tianbao era (745) on the eighth day of the fourth month. King Gyeongdeok[324] heard about this and donated land to the monastery and also bestowed offerings and gifts.

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320 Other terms for the official title, *Gakgan* (角干), include *Ibeolchan* (伊伐飡), *Ibeolgan* (伊伐干), *Ubeolgan* (于伐飡), and *Gakchan* (角粲). The original term for this title was *Juda* (酒多). It was an official title that could only be given to a member of the true-bone rank (*jingol*: 眞骨) and was separate from the Silla seventeen-rank system.

321 The Wu (吳) region refers to present-day Jiangsu Province in China, or to the region south-east of the Yangtze River. There were also various states called Wu. In the Spring and Autumn Period in China the Wu state was established by Taibo the elder uncle of King Wen of Zhou, one of the twelve powerful states during this period, in the region either side of the mouth of the Yangtze River. In 473 it was conquered by Jujian (句踐) of the Yue (越) state. The Wu kingdom in the Three Kingdoms Period was a state that was established by Sun Quan (孫權) in the Jiangnan region (Yangtze delta) of China with Jianye (建業) as its capital. In the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period there was also a Wu state established in Huainan in southern China in 902 by Yang Xingmi (楊行密) with its capital at Guangling (present-day Yangzhou). As there was no state with the name Wu during the mid-Tang period when the action in this story took place, the term Wu must refer to the Wu region rather than to any of the Wu states mentioned above.

322 The term *posi* (哺時) has the same meaning as *sinsi* (申時), which refers to the time between 3:00 PM and 5:00 PM.

323 *Sulsi* (戌時) refers to the time from 7:00 PM to 9:00 PM.

324 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175, above.

敏藏寺

禺金里貧女寶開, 有子名長春. 從海賈而征, 久無音耗. 其母就敏藏寺[寺乃敏藏角干, 捨家爲寺.] 觀音前, 克祈七日, 而長春忽至. 問其由緖曰,"海中風飄舶壞, 同侶皆不免, 予乘隻板, 歸泊吳涯. 吳人收之, 俾耕于野. 有異僧如鄕里來, 弔慰勤勤, 率我同行, 前有深渠, 僧掖我跳之. 昏昏間如聞鄕音與哭泣之聲, 見之乃已屆此矣. 日晡時離吳, 至此纔戌初." 卽天寶四年乙酉四月八日也. 景德王聞之, 施田於寺, 又納財幣焉.

4-13. A Chronological Account of the Transmission of Buddhist Relics 前後所將舍利

Introduction:

This chapter is a collection of stories concerned with the introduction of Buddhist scriptures to Silla, the reception of and devout belief in relics of the historical Buddha (*jinsin sari*), which are an important object of Buddhist faith in Śākyamuni, and a substantial account of the acquisition of Buddha's teeth and devout belief in them. Compiled focusing on the facts relating to the transmission of relics of the historical Buddha from China, this chapter is entitled, "A Chronological Account of Relics Brought [to Silla]". In relation to belief in Buddhist relics, it records that relics were brought from China from the time of King Jinheung (r. 540–576), and the chapter begins with an account of Jajang bringing relics of the historical Buddha to Tongdosa in the time of Queen Seondeok.

The chapter continues from the beginning of Goryeo based on extant records connecting Buddhist relics with various different people, from the time of Gwangjong (r. 949–975) when the pagoda at Hwangnyongsa was struck by lightning, and a stain appeared on the relic container (*sariham*), through the period of the Mongol invasions in the reign of Gojong (r. 1213–1259), when the relic container at Tongdosa was opened and it was confirmed that it contained four relics before being enshrined again, to the time of Mongol interference when the Yuan envoys came to worship the relics and the transformed relics appeared outside the relic container.

Subsequently the account shows that belief in Buddha's teeth was widespread over a long period of time. Master Uisang of Silla with the assistance of Daxuan borrowed Buddha's tooth from Śakra's Palace (Jeseokgung) and brought it to Silla; at the time of King Munseong and also at the time of Yejong during the Goryeo era, an envoy that went to China brought back a tooth and enshrined it inside the palace. At the time of Yejong



Ordination platform at Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do

one of Buddha's teeth that had been set adrift on the sea in Song China was rescued and brought back to Goryeo where it was also housed in a shrine constructed inside the palace. At the time of the Mongol invasions when Gojong moved the court to Ganghwa Island this tooth was left behind. The officials responsible for it were examined, and when it was recovered, after its multi-layered container was checked, a shrine was built and it was placed inside. This account also reveals that the record of these events came from the monk Gagyu who was offering prayers in the palace at that time. This section also records the facts pertaining to the transmission of Buddhist sūtras to Silla and Goryeo, beginning with Liu Si and Mingguan at the time of King Jinheung and continuing with Jajang at the time of Queen Seondeok, Gudak at the time of King Heungdeok, Wonheung at the time of King Munseong, Boyo at the end of Silla, Mukhwasang at the time of Goryeo's Taejo, Hyejo at the time of Yejong, and National Preceptor Daegak at the time of Seonjong. Various records were used as source material including the *Samguk sagi* and other records, including old documents (*gogi*), a poem by Hyesim, the records left by monks who were directly involved in the events described, and a poem by Paeng Jojeok. In the last part of this

section Iryeon's disciple Mugeuk, in order to investigate the facts concerned with Uisang's borrowing of Buddha's tooth from Śakra's Palace (Jeseokgung), compares the account with a brief record on a stone monument at Buseoksa (*Buseok bonbi*). Although Uisang's date of birth, the year he first tried to enter the Buddhist priesthood, the year he actually entered the Buddhist priesthood, the year he returned to Silla, and the year he entered *nirvāna* are already recorded in his biography, this monumental inscription is nevertheless an extremely important source. By comparing this account with the record of Uisang's life, Mugeuk thought that Buddha's tooth that Uisang had borrowed had returned to the Heavenly Palace (*cheongung*) because the period of the loan had expired. He also adds that in 1284 the king and various other people worshipped Buddha's tooth and the crystal rosary of Naksansa. This additional material added by Mugeuk is important because it provides concrete information about the belief in *śarīra* in the late Goryeo period and at the same time it reveals that the version of *Samguk yusa* which we have today was published after first being partially amended by Mugeuk.

Annotated Translation:

Guksa (*National History*)[325] states, "In the time of King Jinheung,[326] in the third year, *gisa*, of the Taiqing[327] era (549), the Liang envoy Shen Hu came (to Silla) with several relics.[328] At the time of Queen Seondeok[329] in the

325 The term *Guksa* (國史) in the text refers to *Samguk sagi* (三國史記) but there are some variant characters between the quotation here and those in the original record.

326 For King Jinheung, see note 9, above.

327 Taiqing (太清) was an era name in the reign of Emperor Wu (武帝) of Liang (梁) and refers to the years 547 to 549. It coincides with the eighth to tenth years of the reign King Jinheung of Silla.

328 "In spring [549], the Liang [emperor] sent envoys and the learned Buddhist monk Juede with *śarīras*. The king had all his officials go out to welcome them on the road in front of Heungnyunsa." (春梁遣使與入學僧覺德 送佛舍利 王使百官 奉迎興輪寺 前路. *Samguk sagi* vol. 4, tenth year of the reign of King Jinheung [眞興王])

seventeenth year, *gyemyo*, of the Zhenguan era (643), Dharma Master Jajang[330] returned (to Silla) with a piece of bone from Buddha's head, one of Buddha's teeth, one hundred of Buddha's *śarīras*, and a *kāṣāya* of red silk embroidered with gold that Buddha had worn. He divided the *śarīras* into three [lots], one of which was placed in the pagoda at Hwangnyongsa,[331] another in the pagoda at Taehwasa,[332] and the third together with the *kāṣāya* in the ordination platform (*gyedan*)[333] of Tongdosa,[334] but nobody knows

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329 For Queen Seondeok, see note 117, above.

330 For Jajang, see note 3, above.

331 For the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda, see chapter 4–6, above.

332 Taehwasa (太和寺) was located in Bandal-gol, Taehwa-dong, Ulsan, South Gyeongsang Province. The name is derived from Taehwa Pool (太和池) where a divine being (*sinin*: 神人) appeared to Jajang (慈藏) and instructed him to build the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa and another temple south of the Silla capital. Foundation stones and other remains have been found at this site, including a bell-shaped stone stūpa from around the ninth century inscribed with the twelve gods of the earth. The monastery survived until the reign of King Chungsuk at the end of the Goryeo dynasty but fell into ruin before the beginning of the Joseon dynasty. It has now become a residential district and the present-day Taehwasa was built in recent times.

333 The ordination platform (*gyedan*: 戒壇) was erected for the purpose of carrying out ordination ceremonies and giving the Buddhist commandments to novice monks. The platform (*todan*: 土壇) was made of earth and stood slightly higher than the level ground of the ordination courtyard (*gyejang*: 戒場). It had no building but was set up in the open air in order to express a sanctified zone (*gyeolgye*: 結界). According to *Shishiyaolan* (釋氏要覽), ordination platforms were first set up in the early Buddhist monasteries in India. The platform at Nālandā Monastery stood on level ground and was surrounded on all four sides by walls that were approximately one *jang* (ten feet) in length and about two *ja* (two feet) high and inside the walls was something in the shape of a throne. After ordination platforms were first set up in China in the Three Kingdoms era, numerous ordination platforms were made and in 667 Daoxuan established the first formal ordination platform at Jingyesi (淨業寺) on Mt. Zhongnan in the outskirts of Chang'an. The platform had three stories with the lower story being two *zhang*, nine *chi* and eight *cun* (29 feet 8 inches) in length and breadth, the middle story two *zhang* and three *chi* (23 feet), and the upper story seven *chi* (7 feet). The height of the lower story was three *chi* (3 feet), the middle story four *chi* and five *cun* (4 feet 5 inches), and the upper story two *cun* (two inches), so that altogether its height was seven *chi* and seven *cun* (7 feet 7 inches). Daoxuan recorded this in detail in the *Platform Diagram Scripture* (*Jietan tujing*: 戒壇圖經) and ordination platforms in China were constructed in accordance with this model. In 765, when ten persons were ordained as "persons of great virtue" *lintan dade* (臨壇大德), the "three masters and seven proofs"

where the remaining [relics] are. The altar has two levels and the capstone in the middle of the upper level is shaped like an upturned cauldron."[335]

People have said, "Long ago in our country[336] there were two local officials (*allyeomsa*),[337] who successively worshipped at the ordination platform, lifted off the capstone and offered bows. The first time there was a long snake inside the stone casket and the next time a large toad was squatting inside the casket. After this, no-one dared to lift [the capstone]."

Recently in the time of Gojong Supreme General (*sangjanggun*)[338] Gim

(*sanshiqizheng*: 三師七證) system was instigated. In Korea Jajang set up the first ordination platform at Tongdosa, and subsequently toward the end of the Silla dynasty official platforms (*gwandan*: 官壇), namely, state sanctioned ordination platforms, were established at Buseoksa and Hwaeomsa, where ordination ceremonies were carried out.

334 For Tongdosa, see note 153, above.

335 *(Ed. note: the four-sided domical capstone sealing the relic chamber at Hwangnyongsa is still extant; the Tongdosa capstone must have been similar).*

336 "Our country" here refers to Goryeo.

337 *Allyeomsa* (按廉使) were local officials dispatched to each province during the Goryeo period. These officials were originally called *Anchalsa* (按廉使) but the name was changed to *Allyeomsa* in accordance with the government reforms carried out in the second year of the reign of King Chungnyeol (1276). This name was subsequently changed again several times, and in 1388 (the year of King Chang's accession to the throne) it was changed to *Dogwanchal chul cheoksa* (都觀察黜陟使) and officials with this title were provincial governors. From this account in the *Samguk yusa* we can see that the title *allyeomsa* was already in use even before 1276.

338 *Sangjanggun* (上將軍) were the highest commanding officers of the central armies in the Goryeo period. One such officer was appointed to each of the Two Armies and Six Divisions (Igunyugwi: 二軍六衛) making eight altogether. They held the upper third rank, which was the highest rank that could be held by military officers.

Isaeng[339] and court official (*sirang*)[340] Yu Seok,[341] on being appointed to administer Gangdong[342] by royal command, arrived at the monastery with the royal banner[343] and intended to remove the capstone and offer bows. The monks in the temple mentioned what had happened in the past and said it should not be done, but the two persons ordered the soldiers to remove [the capstone] by force. Inside there was a small stone casket, and inside the casket there was a glass tube, and inside the tube were just four *śarīra*. They passed it to one another to worship it and found that the tube was slightly damaged and cracked in one place. Because of this Yu Seok presented a crystal container which he happened to have with him to the monastery and had them enshrined together. This incident was recorded in the fourth year after the capital was moved to Ganghwa Island[344] in the *eulmi* year (1235).

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339 Gim Isaeng (金利生) was a military official during the reign of Gojong in the Goryeo dynasty. In the thirteenth year of Gojong's reign (1226) when Yugexia (于哥下) of Jin (金) invaded the Uiju and Jeongju regions, Gim crossed the Yalu River and destroyed the stone fortresses of the enemy. In the following year when the Eastern Jurchen (Dongzhen 東眞) army invaded, he constructed Hwaju Fortress (和州城) and became the *jamunjiyu* (紫門指諭) at Nangjang (郎將). In 1235 when the Mongols attacked the Eastern Capital (Gyeongju), he was appointed to the post of *Dongnam doji hwisa* (東南道指揮使) and intercepted them.

340 *Sirang* (侍郎) was a vice-ministerial post of upper fourth rank in the Sangseo yukbu (尚書六部) in the Goryeo era. There was one of these officials in the Board of Personnel (Ibu: 吏部), the Board of Rites (Yebu: 禮部) and the Board of Works (Gongbu: 工部), and two each in the Board of War (Byeongbu: 兵部), the Board of Taxation (Hobu: 戶部) and the Board of Punishments (Hyeongbu: 刑部).

341 Yu Seok (庾碩) was an upright and honest official in the reign of King Gojong. He passed the civil service examination in 1216 (the third year of Gojong's reign) but was opposed by the eunuchs and spent time as a *Hammuntongsa* (閤門通事) *sain* (舍人) and *Anchalsa* (按察使) in Chungcheong and Jeolla Provinces. In the ninth month of the twenty-second year of Gojong's reign (1235), when Andong'in (安東人, "a person from Andong") guided the Mongols in an attack on the Eastern Capital (Gyeongju) he followed Gim Isaeng as *Dongnamdoji hwisa* and prevented the attack.

342 Gangdong (江東) refers to the region to the east of the Nakdong River.

343 The term *jangjeol* (仗節) means a flag of identification bestowed on a general under royal orders or on an envoy travelling to a foreign country.

344 In order to resist the Mongol invasions that had begun in 1231 (the eighteenth year of the reign of King Gojong of Goryeo) the Goryeo court moved the capital to Ganghwa Island (江華島).

According to an old record (*gogi*), "One hundred [*śarīra*] were shared out among three places," but now there are only four left. The fact that *śarīra* hide themselves and appear and are many or few depending on the person [looking at them] should not be considered strange.

Also, others say, "On the day the pagoda at Hwangnyongsa burned down a large stain appeared on the eastern side of the capstone, which remains there until now." This happened in the third year, *gyechuk*, of the Yingli[345] era of Liao (953) in the fifth year of the reign of our country's[346] Gwangjong,[347] and it was the third time the pagoda had burned down.

Muuija[348] of Mt. Jogye[349] wrote and left behind a poem about [one such occasion], "On the day that I heard about the disaster of the Hwangnyongsa

345 Yingli (應曆) is an era name in the reign of Muzong (穆宗) of Liao (遼) and refers to the years 951 to 968. It coincides with the second to nineteenth years of the reign of Gwangjong of the Goryeo dynasty.

346 "Our country" here is a reference to Goryeo of Iryeon's own time.

347 Gwangjong (光宗, r. 949–975) was the fourth king of Goryeo.

348 Muuija (無衣子) was National Preceptor Jingak (Jingak Guksa: 眞覺國師) Hyesim (慧諶, 1178–1234). His family name was Choe and he was born in Naju. In the fourth year of Sinjong's reign (1201) he passed the Licentiate Examination (*samasi*: 司馬試) and entered the National Confucian Academy (Taehak: 太學), but after the death of his mother he had his head shaved by Jinul, the founder of the Suseonsa Society in Mt. Jogye, and became his disciple. In 1210 he became the second patriarch (*saju*: 社主) of the Suseonsa Society after Jinul and greatly expanded the society. He inherited and promoted the *ganhwa* meditation technique (*ganhwa seonbeop*). His writings include *Seonmun yeomsong jip* (禪門拈頌集) in 30 volumes, *Simyo* (心要) in one chapter, *Guja mubulseong hwaganbyeong non* (狗子無佛性話揀病論) in one chapter, *Muuija sijip* (無衣子詩集) in two volumes, *Geumganggyeongchan* (金剛經贊) in one volume, *Seonmun gangyo* (禪門綱要) in one volume, and *Jogye Jingakguksa eorok* (曹溪眞覺國師語錄) in one volume.

349 Mt. Jogye (曹溪山) is located in Seungju-eup, Songgwang-myeon, Suncheon, South Jeolla Province and is also called Mt. Songgwang (松廣山). In 1200 National Preceptor Bojo (Bojoguksa: 普照國師) Jinul (知訥)'s society for *samādhi* and *prajñā* known as Jeonghyesa (定慧社) moved to this mountain and changed its name to Suseonsa (修禪社). In 1205 Huijong changed the name of Mt. Songgwang to Mt. Jogye for the sake of Jinul, who had created a new trend in Korean Buddhism. In the text here Mt. Jogye is a reference to Songwangsa on Mt. Jogye where Muuija Hyesim was abbot.

pagoda, it was completely burned and on one side nothing was left intact."[350] It was so.

In the *gapja* year (1264) of the Zhiyuan[351] era envoys[352] from Yuan vied with envoys from this country to come and look and worship and from all four directions monks[353] gathered to worship, some lifted [the capstone] and some did not. Apart from the four true-body *śarīra* (*jinsin sari*) the transformed (*byeonsin*) *śarīra*[354] were crushed like sand and exposed outside the stone casket and gave off a strange thick scent which at times continued for several days. This was a miraculous event that happened in one region in a degenerate age (*malse*).[355]

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350 The stanza of Hyesim's poem "On Tongdosa's Platform" (Je Tongdosa gyedan: 題通度寺戒壇) quoted here is preceded by the stanza, "Śākyamuni's *śarīra* secure the high altar and on the capstone there are traces of fire (釋尊舍利鎮高壇 覆釜腰邊有火瘢)." The two stanzas together form a quatrain (*jeolgu*). (*Muuija sijip* [無衣子詩集], vol. 1, *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 6–54)

351 Zhiyuan (1264 –1294) was an era name in the reign of the Yuan emperor Shizu (世祖, Kublai Khan). It coincided with the fifth year of Wonjong to the twentieth year of King Chungnyeol of Goryeo.

352 The term *hwanghwa* (皇華) means "envoy."

353 The term *unsu* (雲水) means "monk." The term, meaning "clouds and water," refers to monks searching for an outstanding teacher in order to discover the truth, travelling from one place to another with no fixed abode and following their karmic affinity like drifting clouds and flowing water (*haengun yusu*: 行雲流水).

354 The term *byeonsin* (變身) *śarīra* refers to the division of the *śarīra* of the Buddha (*jinsin sari*) into many smaller relics known as *bunsin* (分身) *śarīra*.

355 *Malse* (末世) has the same meaning as *malbeop* (末法), which means the "age of the decline of the dharma." Buddhist teachings are divided into three eras (*samsi*: 三時) according to the presence or absence of doctrine (*gyobeop*: 敎法), practice, and the attainment of Buddhahood (*jeunggwa*: 證果). These three eras are called the era of the correct dharma (*jeongbeop*: 定法), the era of the semblance of the dharma (*sangbeop*: 像法), and the era of the decline of the dharma (*malbeop*: 末法). The 500-year period following Buddha's entry into *nirvāna* is called the era of the correct dharma. During this period the dharma is preserved, resulting in teaching and practice in accordance with the dharma that enables people to attain Buddhahood. The next 1,000 years is the era of the semblance of the dharma, in which both the dharma and practitioners of the dharma exist but in which there are few who attain Buddhahood. The final period of 10,000 years is the era of the decline of the dharma, in which both the dharma and practice exist but no one is able to attain Buddhahood.

前後所將舍利

國史云, "眞興王太淸三年己巳, 梁使沈湖送舍利若干粒. 善德王代貞觀十七年癸卯, 慈藏法師所將佛頭骨 佛牙 佛舍利百粒 佛所著緋羅金點袈裟一領, 其舍利分爲三, 一分在皇龍塔, 一分在太和塔, 一分竝袈裟在通度寺戒壇, 其餘未詳所在." 壇有二級, 上級之中, 安石蓋如覆鑊.

諺云, "昔在本朝, 相次有二廉使, 禮壇擧石鑊而敬之. 前感脩蟒在函中, 後見巨蟾蹲石腹. 自此不敢擧之."

近有上將軍金公利生, 庾侍郞碩, 以高廟朝受旨, 指揮江東, 仗節到寺, 擬欲擧石瞻禮. 寺僧以往事難之, 二公令軍士固擧之. 內有小石函, 函襲之中, 貯以瑠璃筒, 筒中舍利只四粒. 傳示瞻敬, 筒有小傷裂處. 於是庾公適蓄一水精函子, 遂奉施兼藏焉, 識之以記, 移御江都四年乙未歲也.

古記稱, "百枚分藏三處", 今唯四爾. 旣隱現, 隨人多小, 不足怪也. 又諺云, "其皇龍寺塔災之日, 石鑊之東面, 始有大斑, 至今猶然." 卽大遼應曆三年癸丑歲也, 本朝光廟五載也, 塔之第三災也. 曹溪無衣子留詩云, "聞道皇龍災塔日, 連燒一面示無間," 是也. 自至元甲子已來, 大朝使佐, 本國皇華, 爭來瞻禮, 四方雲水, 或擧不擧, 或擧不擧. 眞身四枚外, 變身舍利碎如砂礫, 現於鑊外, 而異香郁烈, 弥日不歇者, 比比有之, 此末季一方之奇事也.

In the fifth year, sinmi, of the Dazhong[356] era of the Tang dynasty (851) Won Hong, an envoy who went to China brought back Buddha's tooth.[357] (*Its whereabouts are unknown now. This happened during the time of King Munseong*). The Five-Hundred-Arhat Image,[358] which was brought back by Yun Jil, an

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356 Dazhong (大中, 847–859) is the era name of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (宣宗) coinciding with the period from the ninth year of King Munseong's reign to the third year of King Heonan's reign in Silla.

357 Exactly the same record is also found in the *Samguk sagi* (vol. 11, thirteenth year of the reign of King Munseong: 入唐使阿湌元弘, 口佛經幷佛牙來. 王出郊迎之.)

358 According to the *History of Goryeo* (*Goryeosa*: 高麗史) in 923 "in the sixth month on the *gyemi* day Bokbugyeong Yun Jil after visiting Liang as an envoy presented a painted image of the Five Hundred Arhats [to the king] on his return and was commanded to install it in Sungsansa in Haeju" (夏六月癸未, 福府卿尹質, 使梁還獻五百羅漢畫像, 命置于海州嵩山寺). (*Goryeosa*, Vol. 1, Royal Records (Sega), fifth year of Taejo's reign). As "Sungsansa" means a monastery on Mt. Sung, it appears to be a reference to Singwangsa on Mt. Buksung (see note 361, below). The term "Five Hundred

envoy who went to China in the founding year, *gyemi,* of the Tongguang[359] era (923) in the sixth year from the ascension to the throne of our country's Taejo,[360] is now in Singwangsa[361] on Mt. Buksung. The Buddha's tooth brought back by Jeong Geugyeong[362] and Yi Jimi[363] and others, who went as envoys

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Arhats" refers to Buddha's five hundred representative disciples. Arhats (*arahan*: 阿羅漢) have been emancipated from all suffering and are therefore able to receive Buddhist offerings. After Buddha Śākyamuni entered *nirvāna*, his most able disciple Kaśyapa called Buddha's disciples together to compile the sūtras. Images of this first meeting of the five hundred disciples came to be worshipped and gave rise to the arhat belief (*nahan sinang*).

359 Tongguang (同光, 923–925) is an era name of Zhuangzong (莊宗) of the Later Tang dynasty, coinciding with the period from the sixth to the eighth year of the reign of Taejo of Goryeo.

360 "Our country's Taejo (太祖)" refers to Taejo Wanggeon (王建), the founding king of Goryeo, who reigned from 918 to 943. He nurtured his power base under Gungye (弓裔) during the Later Three Kingdoms Period and founded Goryeo in 918. After annexing Silla, which surrendered in 935, he overthrew Baekje in 936 and unified the Later Three Kingdoms.

361 Singwangsa (神光寺) was located on Mt. Buksung (北嵩山), Byeokseong-gun, Hwanghae Province. It is presumed to have been founded some time before the sixth year of King Taejo's reign (923). In this year, after the image of five hundred arhats had been brought from Later Liang and enshrined in Singwangsa the latter became a centre for arhat belief. In the seventh year of the reign of Munjong (1053) the Arhat Rite (*nahanjae*: 羅漢齋) was initiated, and in the seventh year of the reign of Sukjong (1102) the Five-hundred Arhat Rite (*obaek nahanjae*: 五百羅漢齋) was begun. In the third year after King Chungsuk's restoration to the throne (1334) Shundi (順帝) of Yuan restored the monastery and designated it as a royal memorial temple (*wonchal*). In 1677 it was burned to the ground but was restored in the following year and in 1705 an arhat hall (*nahanjeon* 羅漢殿) was erected.

362 Jeong Geugyeong (鄭克永, 1067–1127) was a Goryeo civil official. He was the brother-in-law of Choe Yucheong (崔惟清) and younger maternal cousin of Han Anin (韓安仁). Passing the civil examination, he began his official career and became a well known literary figure (*Goryeosa*, vol. 14, thirteenth year of Yejong's reign, sixth month, *muin*, "御宴親殿置酒, 餞入宋使 鄭克永 李之美, 召諸王宰樞侍宴"). After Injong ascended the throne in 1122 he became *Hallim haksa* (翰林學士), a high-ranking official responsible for the drafting of royal proclamations and decrees, and was responsible for compiling the *Annals of King Yejong* (*Yejong sillok*). After the death of Han Anin he was sent into exile, but after the downfall in 1127 of Yi Jagyeom (李資謙), he returned to office and held the posts of *Donggyeong yususa* (東京留守使), *Wiwisi pansa* (衛尉寺判事), *Hallim haksa*, and Drafter of Proclamations (*Jijego*: 知制誥).

363 Yi Jimi (李之美) was a Goryeo civil official and the son of Yi Jagyeom (李資謙). In 1118 (or 1119, see note 366, below) he and Jeong Geugyeong went as envoys to Song China and expressed

bearing tribute in the founding year, *gihae*,[364] of the Xuanhe[365] era of the Song dynasty (1119) (*the fifteenth year of Yejong*), is the one which is now enshrined in the inner palace.[366]

唐大中五年辛未, 入朝使元弘所將佛牙.[今未詳所在. 新羅文聖王代] 後唐同光元年癸未, 本朝太祖卽位六年, 入朝使尹質所將五百羅漢像, 今在北崇山神光寺. 大宋宣和元年己亥[睿廟十五年], 入貢使鄭克永李之美等所將佛牙, 今內殿置奉者, 是也.

The following words have been handed down, "Long ago Dharma Master Uisang[367] went to Tang and arrived at the place where the Venerable

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thanks for Gwon Jeok and others passing the Chinese civil examination and for a proclamation (*joseo*: 詔書) that had been sent by the emperor to the Goryeo king (*Goryeosa*, vol. 14, thirteenth year, *muo*, of Yejong's reign: "遣鄭克永李之美如宋, 謝賜權適等制科, 還國御筆詔書. 王親製表文手書.") In the second year of Injong's reign (1124) when Yi Jagyeom received the title of Meritorious Retainer (*gongsin*: 功臣), he was appointed to the post of *biseogam chumilwonbusa*. In the fourth year of Injong's reign (1126), when he held the post of *panchumilwonsa*, he was arrested along with Yi Jagyeom's faction during the revolt of Cheok Jungyeong and was exiled to Hapju (陜州). In 1129 he received a royal pardon and was granted permission to live with his brothers.

364 The text reads *gimyo* but this has been corrected as the fifteenth year of Yejong's reign was *gihae*.

365 Xuanhe (宣和, 1119–1125) is an era name in the reign of Huizong (徽宗, see note 373, below). It corresponds with the period from the fourteenth year of Yejong's reign to the third year of Injong's reign in Goryeo.

366 According to the *Goryeosa* (高麗史) Jeong Geugyeong and Yi Jimi went to Song China in 1118, one year earlier than the date 1119 given here in the *Samguk yusa*. The Buddha's tooth (*bul-a*: 佛牙) and skull bone (*buldugol*: 佛頭骨) sent by the Song emperor were kept in a shrine outside the palace (*ojeseogwon*), but in the fifth month of the fifteenth year of Yejong's reign, the "Buddha's bone" (*bulgol*: 佛骨) was brought into the palace, where it was kept in the Sanho Pavilion (Sanhojeong: 山呼亭).

367 Uisang (義相, 625–702) was the founder of the Flower Adornment School in Silla. In the *Samguk yusa* his name is usually written with the characters Uisang (義湘), but the alternative Uisang (義相) is thought to be correct. After becoming a Buddhist monk at Hwangboksa, he travelled to Tang China where he studied Huayan (*Avataṃsaka*) teachings under Zhiyan (see note 368, below) and wrote the *Chart of the Single Vehicle Dharmadhātu* (*Ilseung beopgyedo*: 一乘法界圖) whereby he established the concept of "dependent co-origination from the dharma realm" (*beopgye yeongi*: 法界緣起), in which the one (*il*: 一) and the many (*da*: 多) repeatedly unfold without hindrance. After

Zhiyan[368] of Zhixiangsi[369] in Mt. Zhongnan[370] lived. Vinaya Master Daoxuan[371] resided nearby and regularly received offerings of food from

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returning to Silla, he established Buseoksa (浮石寺) and many other monasteries, devoting himself to the intensive study of Hwaeom thought and spreading the Hwaeom School throughout Silla. He also led the way for the development of belief in Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha in order to make Buddhism more approachable and to help the common people to develop their faith. The Ten Hwaeom Monasteries (Hwaeom sipchal: 華嚴十刹) expanded, established and administered by his disciples, formed the backbone of Buddhism in the Unified Silla period, and also continued to exert a great influence after its demise. Apart from the *Chart of the Single Vehicle Dharmadhātu* Uisang is also known to have written *Amita gyeong uigi*, but although there are many other works such as *Baekhwa doryang balwonmun* (Vow made at the White Lotus enlightenment site) that contain Uisang's thought, there are not many works written by him. He had many eminent disciples including Jitong (智通), Jinjeong (眞定), Dosin (道身) and Pyohun (表訓).

368 Zhiyan (智儼, 602–668) was the second patriarch of the Huayan School in China, and abbot of Zhixiangsi. He was also called "Great Master Zhixiang" (Zhixiang dashi: 至相大師) or "The Venerable One from Yunhua" (Yunhua zunzhe: 雲華尊者). As the teacher of Uisang and of Fazang (法藏, 643–712), he followed the teachings of Dushun (杜順), who is revered as the founder of the Huayan School. He studied under Dushun's disciple Dharma Master Da (達) and practiced together with Fachang (法常) and Zhizheng (智正). He wrote the following works explaining Huayan doctrine: *Souxuanji* (搜玄記), *Kongmuzhang* (孔目章) and *Wushi yao wenda* (五十要問答), which contain the essentials of Huayan teachings, and established the foundation for the Huayan School in China, which was subsequently brought to fruition by Fazang. See also note 437, below.

369 Zhixiangsi (至相寺) was located on Mt. Zhongnan in Chang'an district (present-day Xi'an, Shaanxi Province in China) and is said to have been established in the Sui dynasty by Qingyuan. In recent years it has been restored and is now a large-scale Buddhist monastery.

370 For Mt. Zhongnan, see note 141, above.

371 Daoxuan (道宣, 596–667) was the founder of the Nanshan Vinaya School (南山律宗) and a famous Buddhist historian. At the age of fifteen he left home to study under the Vinaya master Huijun (慧頵) at Riyansi (日嚴寺), and at the age of twenty he received the full precepts from Zhishou (智首) at Dachandingsi (大禪定寺). He moved from Riyansi to Chongyisi (崇義寺) in order to research the Vinaya and then went to live in a hermitage in Fangshanggu (倣掌谷) on Mt. Zhongnan. He wrote *Sifen lüxingshi chao* (四分律行事鈔) and *Sifen lüjiemo* (四分律羯磨) and became an authority on the Vinaya. In 645 he participated in the translation project of Xuanzang (玄奘) as a transcriber (*bishou*: 筆受) and reviser (*runwen*: 潤文). In the same year he wrote the draft of the *Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*: 續高僧傳), and subsequently *Sifen biqiuni chao* (四分比丘尼鈔), *Jieben* (戒本), and *Shijia fangzhi* (釋迦方志). In 658 when Ximingsi (西明寺) was founded, he led the community of monks as the first in line to succeed the abbot and in

heaven. Every time he made a sacrificial offering, food flew down [to him] from the kitchen in heaven. One day Vinaya Master Daoxuan invited Master Uisang to the offering service (*gongyang*). Uisang went there and had been in his place for a long time; the time to receive offerings of food from heaven had passed but nothing had come and only after Uisang had gone back with an empty bowl did an angel arrive. When Vinaya Master Daoxuan asked, "What made you come late today?" the angel said, "The whole valley was filled with divine soldiers, who blocked the way so that it was impossible to enter." Thereupon the Vinaya Master knew that Master Uisang was under divine protection and acknowledged his outstanding spiritual powers (*doryeok*). Leaving the offering foods untouched, on the following day he invited Zhiyan and Uisang to the offering service and told them the reason. Master Uisang said quietly to Daoxuan, "O Vinaya Master, you are already receiving blessings from the Heavenly Emperor (Śakra). I once heard that one of Buddha's forty teeth is kept in the Heavenly Palace (Jeseokgung),[372] would it not be possible to bless us by requesting on our behalf that the tooth be sent down to this human world?" Later the Vinaya master together with the angel conveyed this request to the Heavenly Emperor, who sent it down for a seven-day period. After completing an act of worship (*yegyeong*) Master Uisang enshrined [the tooth] in the palace.

After this in the reign of Huizong[373] of the Song dynasty Daoism[374]

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664 he entered Jingyesi (淨業寺) on Mt. Zhongnan and devoted himself to writing *Da Tang neidianlu* (大唐內典錄), *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (集神州三寶感通錄) *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* (集古今佛道論衡) and *Guanghongmingji* (廣弘明集). In 667 he established an ordination platform and wrote the *Jietan tujing* (戒壇圖經), which provided the model for ordination platforms for later generations.

372 Jeseokgung (帝釋宮) is the heavenly palace (*cheongung*: 天宮) in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (Doricheon, see note 296, above).

373 Huizong (徽宗) was the eighth emperor of the Northern Song dynasty and ruled from 1101 to 1125. He was the son of the sixth emperor Shenzong (神宗) and the younger brother of the seventh emperor Zhezong (哲宗). Initially under the regency of Dowager Empress Xiang (Xiang taihou: 向太后) he carried out a policy of reconciling the conservatives and reformers, but when he began direct rule after the death of the dowager empress, he appointed favorite retainers such as Cai Jing (蔡京) and left them to run the government while he engaged in the large-scale construction of palaces and

became esteemed. Someone in the country spread a prophecy[375] saying, "The Jin people are bringing about the downfall of the nation." The yellow turban crowd[376] put pressure on the astrologers and they reported [to the emperor], "The Jin people are said to be Buddhists; in the future they will bring harm to the nation." This was discussed [in the court] and it was decided to eradicate Buddhism, bury the Buddhist monks, burn the Buddhist sūtras, and make a small boat, place the Buddha's tooth in it and float it out to sea and let it drift away to a place with which it had a karmic affinity. At just this time envoys from our country arrived in Song and heard this story. They bribed the officials in charge of the boat with fifty sets of clothes embroidered with heavenly flowers (*cheonhwayong*)[377] and three hundred bolts of ramie cloth

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gardens. This extravagant policy gave rise to peasant uprisings in Hebei and other regions, which he suppressed with military force. In 1120 he made an alliance with Jin (金) and together they invaded Liao (遼), but as his government became increasingly corrupt, it became ineffectual, and in 1125 Jin overthrew Liao and attacked Northern Song. Huizong, who was devoted to Daoism, named himself the Daojun huangdi (道君皇帝). His capital Bianjing (Kaifeng) was overthrown in 1127 and he and the imperial family were captured and taken to the north where he died in exile. During his reign he collected numerous works of art and gathered together painters and expanded the Hanlin *Tuhuayuan* (圖畫院) and compiled and published the *Xuanhe huapu* (宣和畫譜) and the *Xuanhe shupu* (宣和書譜). Huizong himself excelled at poetry, composition, calligraphy and painting, and became an expert painter. He also invented the unique "Slender Gold" (*shoujinshu*: 瘦金書) style of calligraphy.

374 In the text the term *jwado* (左道) was originally used to refer to teachings which were at variance with Confucianism. In this context it refers to Daoism.

375 In the text the term for "prophecy" is *docham* (圖讖), which refers to an omen or prophecy about the future and particularly a prophecy concerning people's good or evil fortune and books containing such prophecies. *Do* means an omen or prophecy about the future and *cham* means predicting the future in a symbolic language. Together the two characters mean predicting the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the future in accordance with the belief that symbols or objects and secret, symbolic language are deeply connected with future events.

376 "The yellow turban (*hwanggeon*: 黃巾) crowd" means Daoist believers. In the Later Han Zhang Jiao (張角, ?–184) raised the Yellow Turban rebellion; the followers of the "Way of Supreme Peace" (Taipingdao: 太平道) who participated used yellow headscarves to identify themselves and became the model for later Daoist believers.

377 *Cheonhwayong* (天花茸) are rare fungi similar to *songhwa* (松花) mushrooms and are white with a distinctive scent. Here the term means clothes embroidered with beautiful, heavenly flowers like

and secretly received Buddha's tooth and sent the boat away empty. Having retrieved Buddha's tooth, the envoys memorialized [the throne]. Yejong[378] was overjoyed by this and enshrined it in a small hall *(jeon-gak)* on the left side of the Palace of Ten Saints (Siwonjeon). The door to the hall was always kept locked and incense-burning lanterns were hung outside. Every time the king made a personal visit the hall was opened and a service was held.

相傳云,"昔義湘法師入唐, 到終南山至相寺智儼尊者處. 隣有宣律師, 常受天供, 每齋時天廚送食. 一日律師請湘公齋, 湘至坐定旣久, 天供過時不至, 湘乃空鉢而歸, 天使乃至. 律師問, 今日何故遲. 天使曰, 滿洞有神兵遮擁, 不能得入. 於是律師知湘公有神衛, 乃服其道勝. 仍留其供具, 翌日又邀儼湘二師齋, 具陳其由. 湘公從容謂宣曰,'師旣被天帝所敬. 嘗聞帝釋宮有佛四十齒之一牙, 爲我等輩, 請下人間, 爲福如何?' 律師後與天使, 傳其意於上帝, 帝限七日送與. 湘公致敬訖, 邀安大內."

後至大宋徽宗朝, 崇奉左道, 時國人傳圖讖曰,"金人敗國." 黄巾之徒, 諷日官, 奏曰,"金人者, 佛教之謂也, 將不利於國家." 議將破滅釋氏, 坑諸沙門, 焚燒經典, 而別造小舡, 載佛牙, 泛於大海, 任隨緣流泊. 于時適有本朝使者至宋, 聞其事, 以天花茸五十領 紵布三百疋, 行賂於押舡內史, 密授佛牙, 但流空舡. 使臣等旣得佛牙來奏, 於是睿宗大喜, 奉安于十員殿左掖小殿, 常鑰匙殿門, 施香燈于外, 每親幸日, 開殿瞻敬.

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snowflakes.

378 Yejong (睿宗, r. 1105–1122) was the sixteenth king of Goryeo. He was the eldest son of Sukjong and his mother was Myeongui taehu (明懿太后) of the Yu clan (柳氏). It is said that from an early age he had a strong will and self-control and was generous and magnanimous. After ascending the throne he reorganized the military law, ordered generals such as Yun Gwan (尹瓘) to subjugate the Jurchen (Jin) and established nine fortresses in the Hamheung Plain region, which was returned to the Jurchen after one year. In the National Confucian Academy (Gukhak: 國學) he established lectures in seven specialized fields (*chiljae*: 七齋) and strove to promote the education of officials (*gwanhak*) under the supervision of the Yanghyeongo (養賢庫), Office for Nurturing Wisdom. He also built Cheongyungak (淸淵閣) and Bomungak (寶文閣) to encourage Confucian studies; built a public dispensary called the Hyeminguk (惠民局) and gave it the responsibility for treating the sick poor; set up the Office for the Establishment of Ceremonies (Yeuisangjeongso: 禮儀詳定所); and developed Court Music (*aak*: 雅樂) for performance inside the palace based on music and instruments brought in from Song China.

When the capital was moved[379] in the *imjin* year (1232),[380] the court officials (*naegwan*) forgot about [the Buddha's tooth] in their haste and did not pack it. In the fourth month of the *byeongsin* year (1236), the monk Ongwang from Sinhyosa,[381] which was dedicated to offering prayers for the royal family, reported his intention to worship the tooth to the king. The king commanded the court officials to search the palace thoroughly for it, but they were unable to find it. At that time an official (*sieosa*)[382] in the Censorate (Baekdae)[383] Choe Chung[384] ordered Seol Sin[385] to urgently call the palace eunuchs

379 This is a reference to the relocation of the Goryeo capital to Ganghwa Island in 1232.

380 The *imjin* year was the twentieth year of Gojong's reign (1232) and the year in which the capital was removed to Ganghwa Island in order to continue resistance against the Mongol invasion which had begun in the previous year.

381 Sinhyosa (神孝寺) was located in Toseong-ri, Jungseo-myeon, Gaepung-gun, Gyeonggi Province. It was also called Muksa (墨寺). From this record we know that it was built before 1236 as a royal temple (*wondang*: 願堂) where prayers were offered for the repose of the souls of deceased members of the royal family. It was subsequently restored during the reign of King Chungnyeol, who visited it eighteen times between 1282 and 1308. Services were held for deceased kings and princesses as well as Ullambana (Uranbunjae: 盂蘭盆齋, the fifteenth day of the seventh month) masses for the dead, and it was at this monastery that King Chungnyeol died. Subsequently Kings Chungseon, Chunghye, Chungjeong and Gongmin held services for the repose of the souls of their royal forefathers.

382 *Sieosa* (侍御史) was a senior fifth position in the Censorate (Eosadae: 御史臺) during the Goryeo era. The post was the forerunner of the *Gamchal sasiseung* (監察司侍丞). As Censorate officials, holders of this post were responsible for correcting government practices and customs and conducting investigations and impeachments.

383 Baekdae (柏臺) is another name for Eosadae (御史臺), usually translated as Censorate. The name derives from a cypress tree (栢樹: Ch. *boshu*; K. *baeksu*), which was planted in the Han dynasty Censorate (Ch. Yushifu: 御史府).

384 Choe Chung (崔沖) should be distinguished from the Goryeo civil official also named Choe Chung (崔沖, 984–1068) who had lived during the reign of Munjong.

385 Seol Sin (薛伸). It is thought that this may be the same person as the Goryeo civil official Seol Sin (薛愼, ?–1251) who is mentioned in the *Goryeosa* around this period. The latter was the father of Seol Gonggeom (薛公儉) and in 1232 travelled to the Mongol headquarters as an envoy in his capacity as a Censorate official (*sieosa*). He put forward Goryeo's protestations against the exorbitant tribute demands of the Mongols and was detained at the Mongol headquarters by Sartai (撒禮塔) who had led the invasion of Goryeo. After Sartai's death he was eventually released at Cheoinseong

to the Eunuch Office (Aljabang),[386] but they were all at a complete loss. The court official (*naesin*) Gim Seungno suggested [to the king], "Please consult the *Jamun ilgi* (Purple gate diary)[387] from the time when the capital was moved in the *imjin* year." This was done and according to the record, "The chief eunuch (*imnaesi*)[388] and treasury official (*daebusigyeong*)[389] Yi Baekjeon received the *śarīra* case." Yi Baekjeon[390] was

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(處仁城). He subsequently served as Deputy Commissioner of the Royal Secretariat (*chumirwon busa*: 樞密院副使) and Minister (*sangseo*) in the Board of Punishments (Hyeongbu: 刑部).

386 Aljabang (謁者房) was the office for officials known as *alja* (謁者) who belonged to the Naealsa (內謁司), where they had junior fifth rank, and the Naesibu (內侍府), where they had junior seventh rank. The name derives from the fact that they were responsible for guiding people invited to a royal audience (*alhyeon*: 謁見) and for announcing guests. They were responsible for various tasks including conveying the king's orders, supervising the preparation of palace food, providing the king with writing materials, keeping the keys to the gates and buildings of the palace, and cleaning the palace courtyards.

387 *Jamun ilgi* (紫門日記) was a palace diary (*gwollae ilgi*: 闕內日記). In Goryeo times the term *jamun* (purple gate) referred to the gates of the royal palace and was also used to refer to the palace itself.

388 In Goryeo the eunuchs (*naesi*: 內侍) were civil officials who attended the king directly. During the reign of King Munjong talented sons or descendants of influential families that had performed meritorious deeds for the state were appointed. The eunuchs' function was to perform various ceremonies and to attend the royal carriage while at the same time on the basis of their proficiency in Confucian learning they lectured the king on the Confucian classics, drafted royal edicts, and also managed state affairs. As personal attendants of the king who exerted a great political influence, together with the civil and military officials they formed the core of the bureaucratic class in the Goryeo era. In later Goryeo, due to changes brought about by Yuan interference, members of the lowest class (*cheonmin*) and those who had performed meritorious military service were able to become eunuchs and consequently their quality fell while their numbers grew, so in the reign of King Gongmin a formal organization for eunuchs called the Naesibu (Office of Eunuch Attendants) came into being and was absorbed into the Seongjunggwan layer of officialdom, which was responsible for official posts inside the palace together with palace defense.

389 *Daebusigyeong* (大府寺卿) was a senior third level post in the Daebusi (大府寺) during the Goryeo era. The Daebusi stored commodities and provisions that were required by the palace in the Goryeo era and was also responsible for collection of taxes.

390 Yi Baekjeon (李白全) was a eunuch civil official during the military dictatorship period in Goryeo.

called and when interrogated replied, "Allow me to go home and I will consult my own records once more." After going home and consulting his records, he returned and submitted a record stating, "The official (*jwabeon alja*)[391] Gim Seoryong received the *śarīra* case." Gim Seoryong was called but on being interrogated made no reply. Also, in accordance with a memorial to the throne from Gim Seungno, all the officials who had served at the Eobul Shrine and the Gyeongnyeong Hall[392] during the five years from the *imjin* year to the *byeongsin* year were arrested, imprisoned and interrogated but to no avail. Three days later in the middle of the night the sound of an object being thrown over the wall of Gim Seoryong's house was heard and when it was examined by torchlight, it was [found to be] the *śarīra* case. Originally the *śarīra* case had contained a case of aloe wood, followed by a case of pure gold, then a silver case, then a glass case, and a mother-of-pearl case, fitting into each other exactly, but now only the glass case remained. They rejoiced and took [the case] to the palace and handed it over. The officials discussed and intended to put to death Gim Seoryong, and all the officials from the Eobul Shrine and the Gyeongnyeong Hall, but in the Jinyangbu[393] it was reported, "It is not right to harm many people because of a Buddhist matter," and they all avoided [being killed]. The royal command was given again for a shrine to be specially built in the courtyard of the Palace of Ten Saints (Siwonjeon) to enshrine [the *śarīra*

391 *Jwabeon alja* (左番謁者) was a eunuch official who belonged to the *jwabeon* (左番) section of the Office of Eunuch Attendants.

392 Gyeongnyeong Hall (景靈殿) was a hall inside Yeongyeong Palace (延慶宮), which was a Goryeo royal residence (*jeonggung*: 正宮), located near Gujeong (毬庭). In it were enshrined the royal portraits (*eojin*: 御眞) and ancestral tablets (*sinwi*: 神位) of Taejo, the founding king of Goryeo, and the reigning king's four predecessors (*sajo*: 四祖), in accordance with the principle of "left bright, right harmonious" (*jwaso umok*: 左昭右穆). Memorial services held there were classified as "major rites" (*daesa*: 大祀).

393 The Jinyangbu (晉陽府) was an office administered by Choe U (崔瑀) when he was invested with the title Marquis of Jinyang (Jinyanghu: 晉陽侯) as a reward for his meritorious action of removing the capital from Gaesong to Ganghwa Island in the sixth year of the reign of Sinjong (1234) during the period of military dictatorship in the Goryeo era. It was the office through which Choe U, who was responsible for the military regime at that time, exerted direct control over the government.

case] and for strong men to guard it.

An auspicious day was chosen and On-gwang the abbot[394] of Sinhyosa was invited. Leading a party of thirty monks he entered the palace, conducted a rite of purification and offered bows [to the *śarīra*]. Choe Hong,[395] the court secretary (*Seungseon*)[396] on duty that day, and the Supreme Generals (*Sangjanggun*) Choe Gongyeon and Yi Yeongjang, eunuchs and officials from the Office for Tea (Dabang),[397] stood to attention and in turns placed [the *śarīra* case] on their heads in an act of homage. There were countless *śarīra* in the hollow of the Buddha's tooth, and these were collected and enshrined in a silver case provided by the Jinyang Office. At that time the king said to his retainers, "I have personally had four suspicions since the loss of the *śarīra* case. The first suspicion was that the Heavenly Palace's seven-day [loan] period had expired and [the tooth] had gone up to heaven. The second suspicion was that because our country is in such turmoil, the [Buddha's] tooth, being a divine object, moved to a peaceful country with which it has a karmic affinity. The third suspicion was that a petty person who coveted treasure stole the *śarīra* case and threw [the Buddha's tooth] in a ditch. The fourth suspicion was that having stolen this precious object [the

394 In the text the term for "abbot" is *sangbang* (上房), which literally means "upper monastery" but is used to refer to the highest-ranking monk in the monastery.

395 Choe Hong (崔弘) was a late Goryeo official. There is a record that under the command of Gim Chwiryeo (金就礪), who was dispatched to put down the rebellion of Han Sun, the commander of Uiju, and others in 1220 (the seventh year of Gojong's reign), Choe worked to regain the loyalty of the people. (*Goryeosa*, vol. 103, "Biographies," Gim Chwiryeo [金就礪] "就礪遣判官崔弘錄事朴文挺, 諭以禍福, 繼遣大將軍趙廉卿將軍朴文賁, 以兵五千討之.")

396 *Seungseon* (承宣) (Recipient of Edicts) was a senior third-rank position in the Royal Secretariat (Jungchuwon: 中樞院) with the responsibility of conveying royal edicts in the Goryeo era. These officials received and examined all documents presented by government officials, conveyed them to the king, received the king's orders, conveyed them to his ministers and also acted as the king's spokesman. In the Joseon era the name of this position was changed to *Seungji* (承旨).

397 Dabang (茶房) was a government office established in the Goryeo era for the management of tea, wine, fruit, vegetables and medicines. The conduct of the tea ritual known as *jindauisik* (進茶儀式), a national event, was the responsibility of officials from the Dabang.

thief] was unable to show it outside and hid it in his home. Now I see that the fourth suspicion was correct." The king exclaimed and began to weep loudly so that the people who filled the courtyard all shed tears and called out "Long live the king!"[398] and a countless number of them burned their foreheads and their arms.[399]

The account of these facts was acquired from Gagyu,[400] the former great Seon master (*Daeseonsa*)[401] of Girimsa,[402] who at that time was the monk responsible for burning incense (*bunsuseung*)[403] in the inner palace. He told me that he saw these things with his own eyes and asked me to write them down.

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398 In the text the term *heonsu* (獻壽) means offering a toast wishing for long life.

399 Burning artemisia on one's forehead and arms was a ritual act of repentance.

400 Gagyu (覺猷) is also mentioned in the chapter entitled "The Two Great Saints of Mt. Nak" (Naksan idaeseong) in *Samguk yusa* as the venerable Seon Master and abbot of Girimsa in 1258. (*Samguk yusa,* chapter 4–17, below).

401 Great Seon Master (*Daeseonsa*: 大禪師) was the highest rank in the Seon Buddhist clergy during the Goryeo period, achieved after passing the monks' examination (*seunggwa*: 僧科) and then rising through the ranks of *Daedeok* (大德), *Daesa* (大師), *Jungdaesa* (重大師), *Samjungdaesa* (三重大師), and *Seonsa* (禪師). Cf. note 429, below, for the equivalent ranks in the Doctrinal school.

402 Girimsa (祇林寺) is located on Mt. Hamwol (含月山), Hoam-ri, Yangbuk-myeon, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. It was founded in 643 (the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok's reign) by the Indian monk Gwangyu (光有). It was originally called Imjeongsa (林井寺) but was renamed after it had been extended and repaired by Wonhyo (元曉, see note 549, below). The name is derived from the representative monastery in India established during the Buddha's lifetime, Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma (Giwonjeongsa; Ch. Qiyuanjingshe: 祇園精舍). During the Japanese colonial period in the period of "thirty-one principal monasteries" (*bonsan*: 本山), it was the principal monastery for the Wolseong-gun region; it is now under the administration of Bulguksa (佛國寺), the principal monastery of the region. Girimsa is centered around the Vairocana Hall (Daejeokgwangjeon: 大寂光殿) and also includes a Medicine Buddha Hall (Yaksajeon: 藥師殿), Arhat Hall (Eungjinjeon: 應眞殿), and at the front of the monastery a Jinnam Tower (Jinnamnu: 鎭南樓). A short distance from the Vairocana Hall and its environs are halls dedicated to Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara. In the *Samguk yusa* there is a record that states that King Sinmun stayed in the vicinity of Girimsa when he was making a royal visit to Gameunsa in order to offer prayers for King Munmu (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, "Marvels," 萬波息笛: "王宿感恩寺. 十七日, 到祇林寺西溪邊, 留駕晝饍").

403 *Bunsuseung* (焚修僧) was a monk who burned incense and offered prayers inside the palace.

Also in the *gyeongo* year (1270),[404] the departure from Ganghwa Island was extremely disorganized and chaotic so that it was even worse than it had been in the *imjin* year [1232, when the court had fled there]. In spite of the danger Seon Master Simgam, who was a Buddhist official (*gamju*) in the Palace of Ten Saints, took Buddha's tooth away and was able to avoid the robbers' rebellion.[405] This fact became known inside the palace and he was praised and reward richly for his meritorious deed by being transferred to a famous monastery [namely] Bingsansa[406] where he is now living. This I also heard directly from him.

至壬辰歲移御次, 內官悤遽中, 忘不收檢. 至丙申四月, 御願堂神孝寺釋蘊光, 請致敬佛牙, 聞于上, 勅令內臣遍檢宮中, 無得也. 時栢臺侍御史崔沖, 命薛伸, 急徵于諸謁者房, 皆未知所措. 內臣金承老奏曰, "壬辰年移御時, 紫門日記推看." 從之. 記云, "入內侍大府卿李白全受佛牙函" 云. 召李詰之, 對曰, "請歸家更尋私記." 到家檢看, 得 "左番謁者金瑞龍佛牙函准受" 記來呈. 召問瑞龍, 無辭以對, 又以金承李所奏云, 壬辰至今丙申五年間, 御佛堂及景靈殿上守等, 囚禁問當, 依違未決. 隔三日, 夜中, 瑞龍家園墻裏, 有投擲物聲, 以火檢看, 乃佛牙函也. 函本內一重沈香合, 次重純金合, 次外重白銀函, 次外重瑠璃函, 次外重螺鈿函, 各幅

404 The *gyeongo* year (1270) was the eleventh year of the reign of King Wonjong and the year in which peace was made with the Mongols, which brought about the end of the period of military dictatorship and the relocation of the capital away from Ganghwa Island and back to Gaeseong.

405 "The robbers' rebellion" (*dojeok ui nan*) is a reference to the rebellion of the Special Patrol Troops (*sambyeolcho*: 三別抄), who rejected entering into a vassal-state relationship with the Mongols and relocating the capital to Gaeseong.

406 Bingsansa (氷山寺) was located in Binggye-ri, Chunsan-myeon, Uisang-gun, North Gyeongsang Province. It is said to have been founded in the Silla era by Queen Seondeok for Buddhist nuns. There is no known record about the monastery in the Goryeo period except for the one here. In 1407 (the seventh year of Taejong's reign) when Buddhist monasteries were being reorganized, it was chosen as one of the eighty-eight *jabok sachal*: 資福寺刹. During the Japanese Invasion of 1592 (*imjin waeran*) it was destroyed by fire and a Confucian academy (*seowon*) was established on its site. On the monastery site today the five-story stone pagoda in late Silla–early Goryeo style still survives and is registered as Treasure No. 327. To the north of the site at the foot of the mountain there is a gorge known as Binghyeol, where ice (*bing*: 氷) remains even in the summer, from which the mountain gets its name, Mt. Bing (Bingsan: 氷山).

子如之, 今但瑠璃函爾. 喜得之, 入達于內. 有司議, 金瑞龍及兩殿上守皆誅, 晋陽府奏云, "因佛事, 不合多傷." 人皆免之. 更勅十員殿中庭, 特造佛牙殿, 安之, 令將士守之.

擇吉日, 請神孝寺上房蘊光, 領徒三十人, 入內設齋敬之. 其日入直承宣崔弘, 上將軍崔公衍李令長, 內侍茶房等, 侍立于殿庭, 依次頂戴敬之. 佛牙區穴間, 舍利不知數. 晋陽府, 以白銀合貯而安之. 時主上謂臣下曰, "朕自亡佛牙已來, 自生四疑, 一疑, 天宮七日限滿而上天矣, 二疑, 國亂如此, 牙旣神物, 且移有緣無事之邦矣, 三疑, 貪財小人, 盜取函幅, 棄之溝壑矣, 四疑, 盜取珍利, 而無計自露, 匿藏家中矣, 今第四疑當之矣." 乃放聲大哭, 滿庭皆洒涕獻壽, 至有煉頂燒臂者, 不可勝計. 得此實錄, 於當時內殿焚修前祇林寺大禪師覺猷, 言親所眼見, 使予錄之.

又至庚午出都之亂, 顚沛之甚, 過於壬辰, 十員殿監主禪師心鑑, 亡身佩持, 獲免於賊難. 達於大內, 大賞其功, 移授名刹, 今住氷山寺. 是亦親聞於彼.

Under King Jinheung in the sixth year, *eulyu*, of the Tianjia[407] era (565) the Chen envoy Liu Si and the monk Mingguan came bringing more than 1,700 volumes of Buddhist sūtras and treatises.[408] In the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign (643) Dharma Master Jajang brought back more than 400 boxes of *Tripiṭaka*[409] texts and deposited them at Tongdosa. At the time of King Heungdeok in the founding year, *jeonmi*, of the Taihe[410] era (827) monk Gudeok of Goguryeo [descent], who had been studying abroad [in Tang China] brought back several boxes of Buddhist sutras, and the king

407 Tianjia (天嘉, 560–565) is an era name in the reign of Emperor Wen of the Chen dynasty, coinciding with the twenty-first to the twenty-sixth year of King Jinheung of Silla.

408 The same record appears in *Samguk sagi*, vol. 4, "Twenty-sixth year of King Jinheung's reign." ("陳遣使劉思與僧明觀來聘, 送釋氏經論千七百餘卷.")

409 *Tripiṭaka* (*samjang*: 三藏) is a term meaning the complete Buddhist canon, which comprises the collected sermons of Buddha (*gyeongjang*: 經藏), the collection of rules (*yului*: 律義) laid down by Buddha for monastic life (*yuljang*: 律藏) and a collection of treatises explaining and discussing the meaning of the Buddhist texts and organizing and systematizing them for future generations (*nonjang*: 論藏).

410 Taihe (太和, 827–835) is an era name in the reign of the Tang Emperor Wenzong (文宗). It coincides with the second to tenth year of the Silla King Heeondeok's reign.

and monks from several monasteries went out and welcomed him[411] on the road in front of Heungnyunsa.[412] In the fifth year of the Dazhong[413] era (851, thirteenth year of King Munseong's reign) an envoy who had gone to China, Won Hong, brought back several Buddhist sūtras.

At the end of Silla Seon Master Boyo went to Wuyue twice and brought back the complete canon of Buddhist works (*Daejanggyeong*). He is in fact the founding patriarch (*gaesanjo*) of Haeryongwangsa. In the Song dynasty, in the *gapsul* year (1094) of the Yuanyou[414] era, someone added a *eulogy* to his portrait:

O great founder, how lofty is your appearance.
Twice you went to Wuyue, returning with the Buddhist canon.
The title Boyo was bestowed upon you and the royal command was issued four times.
If anyone should ask about your virtue, it is bright as the moon, clear as the wind.

Also, during the Dading[415] era Paeng Jojeok, a record keeper (*gwan-gi*)[416] for the region south of the Han River (Hannam), left this poem:

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411 The same record appears in *Samguk sagi*, vol. 10, "second year of King Heungdeok's reign." ("三月 高句麗僧丘德入唐, 賷經至. 王集諸寺僧徒, 出迎之.")

412 For Heungnyunsa, see notes 245–246, above.

413 Dazhong (大中, 847–849), see note 356, above.

414 Yuanyou (元祐, 1086–1093) is an era name in the reign of Emperor Zhezong (哲宗). It coincides with the third to the tenth year of the reign of King Seonjong of Goryeo. The Yuanyou era ended in 1093 and in the following year, *gapsul*, the era was renamed Shaosheng (紹聖); thus the *gapsul* year of the Yuanyou era should be the first year of the Shaosheng era.

415 Dading (大定, 1161–1189), see note 288, above.

416 A *gwan-gi* (管記) was an official, like a *seogi* (書記), who was responsible for keeping records. Such officials were said to be selected from among people of elegance and discernment with outstanding skills at literary composition.

In a tranquil abode of water and clouds[417] resides the Buddha,
The place is protected by a divine dragon.
Who will finally inherit this renowned sanctuary?
The first transmission of Buddha's teaching[418] has come to the south.

In a postscript to the poem was written, "Long ago Seon Master Boyo once acquired the complete Buddhist canon (*Daejanggyeong*) from Southern Yue.[419] On his way back a sea storm suddenly arose and the small boat plunged up and down among the waves. The Seon Master said, 'I do believe this divine dragon wants the Buddhist sūtras to remain [here].' Finally, chanting a spell, he prayed fervently that even this dragon would assist him to return; whereupon the wind dropped and the waves subsided. Carrying [the Buddhist canon] he returned to his homeland and traveled throughout the mountainous countryside (*sancheon*) looking for a place to install [the sūtras]. On arriving at one mountain, he saw a mysterious cloud suddenly appear around its peak and built a monastery[420] there together with his disciple

417 In the text the term for "tranquil abode" is *nanya* (蘭若), which is a shorter version of *aranya* (阿蘭若), which derives from the Chinese-character transcription of the Sanskrit term *araṇya*, which is usually translated as "mountains and forests" (*sallim*: 山林) or "wilderness" (*hwangya*: 荒野). It refers to a quiet place suitable for Buddhist monks to dwell and meditate in. It is also translated as "distant place" (*wollicheo*: 遠離處) or "quiet place" (*jeokjeongcheo*: 寂靜處). The term is usually used to refer to a small monastery located in a quiet place some distance from a village.

418 The term for "Buddha's teaching" in the text is *bulgyo* (佛教), referring to the period of semblance teaching, which began 500 years after Buddha's death; see note 355, above.

419 Southern Yue (Nanyue: 南越) in this context refers to the southern region of Wuyue (吳越, 895–978) one of the ten kingdoms during the period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, which had Xifu (present-day Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province) as its capital. Qian Shu (錢俶, also known as Qian Hongshu 錢弘俶), one of the 'five great kings,' founded many monasteries and provided good treatment for eminent monks from the Tiantai and other traditions and promoted Buddhist teaching. He also made 84,000 bronze pagodas (Qian Hongshu ta: 錢弘俶塔) and distributed them widely, even sending them overseas.

420 In the text the term *yeonsa* (Ch. *lianshe*: 蓮社) means "monastery." At the time of the Eastern Jin dynasty in China the eminent monk Huiyuan (慧遠, see note 643, below) gathered many monks and lay people at Donglinsi (東林寺) on Mt. Lu (Lushan: 廬山) and led them in Buddhist prayer

Honggyeong. So Buddhist teachings were transmitted to the east from this time." Paengjeok the record keeper (*gwan-gi*) for the region south of the Han River (Hannam) wrote [this account].

As there is a Dragon King Shrine (Yongwangdang) in the monastery, there have been many spiritual marvels. [The dragon] that followed the sūtras remains there to this day.

眞興王代天嘉六年乙酉, 陳使劉思與釋明觀, 載送佛經論一千七百餘卷. 貞觀十七年, 慈藏法師載三藏四百餘函來, 安于通度寺. 興德王代大和元年丁未, 入學僧高麗釋丘德, 口佛經若干函來, 王與諸寺僧徒, 出迎于興輪寺前路. 大中五年, 入朝使元弘, 口佛經若干軸來.

羅末普耀禪師, 再至吳越, 載大藏經來, 卽海龍王寺開山祖也. 大宋元祐甲戌, 有人眞讚云, 偉哉初祖, 巍乎眞容. 再至吳越, 大藏成功. 賜銜普耀, 鳳詔四封. 若問其德, 白月淸風.

又大定中, 漢南管記彭祖逖留詩云, "水雲蘭若住空王, 況是神龍穩一場. 畢竟名藍誰得似, 初傳像敎自南方." 有跋云, "昔普耀禪師, 始求大藏於南越, 洎旋返次, 海風忽起, 扁舟出沒於波間. 師卽言曰, '意者神龍欲留經耶', 遂呪願乃誠, 兼奉龍歸焉, 於是風靜波息. 旣得還國, 遍賞山川, 求可以安邀處, 至此山, 忽見瑞雲, 起於山上, 乃與高弟弘慶, 經營蓮社. 然則像敎之東漸, 實始乎此. 漢南管記彭祖逖題." 寺有龍王堂, 頗多靈異, 乃當時隨經而來止者也, 至今猶存.

Furthermore, in the third year, *muja*, of the Tiancheng[421] era (928), Mukhwasang went to Later Tang[422] and also returned with the complete

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and chanting. There were many white lotuses in a pond at this monastery so the monastery was also called Bailianshe (白蓮社) (White Lotus Monastery). Subsequently prayer meetings of clergy and laity were called *bailianjieshe* (白蓮結社) or *lianshe* (蓮社).

421 Tiancheng (天成, 926–930) is an era name in the reign of Emperor Mingzong (明宗) of the Later Tang dynasty. It coincides with the ninth to thirteenth years of the reign of Taejo of the Goryeo dynasty.

422 Later Tang (後唐, 923–936) was one of the dynasties during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period. It was founded after the Later Liang (後梁) dynasty, unifying northern China, but was overthrown by Later Jin (後晋) after only fourteen years, during which four successive emperors reigned.

Buddhist canon.[423] In the time of our country's Yejong (1105–1122), National Preceptor Hyejo in obedience to the royal command went to China to study and bought three copies of the Khitan edition of the Buddhist canon[424] and brought them back [to Goryeo].[425] One copy is now in Jeonghyesa[426] (*one copy is in Haeinsa*[427] *and one copy is in the home of Heo* Chamjeong).

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423 In the *Goryeosa* it states that "The Silla monk Honggyeong took a boat to the Min (閩) region of Tang China and took on board one copy of the complete Buddhist canon (*Daejanggyeong*) and arrived at Yeseong River. The king welcomed him personally and stored [the Buddhist canon] in Jeseogwon." (新羅僧洪慶, 自唐閩附航, 載大藏經一部, 至禮成江. 王親迎之, 置于帝釋院) (*Goryeosa* (高麗史), vol. 1, eighth month of the eleventh year of Taejo's reign). According to this passage in the *Samguk yusa*, the person called Honggyeong (洪慶) mentioned in the *Goryeosa* may be Mukhwasang (默和尙).

424 The term for the "Khitan edition of the Buddhist canon" in the text is *Yobon daejanggyeong* (遼本大藏經). The work was modeled on the Song dynasty Buddhist canon known as the Kaibao edition (開寶版), which was completed in 936. It was carried out as a state project in the reign of Xingzong (興宗, r. 1031–1055) and was completed in the fifth year of the Qingzhu (清寧) era (1059) in the reign of Daozong (道宗). It is outstandingly accurate and greatly influenced the creation of the first Goryeo Buddhist canon, which was being created at that time.

425 In the *Goryeosa* there is a record that in 1107 a copy of the Buddhist canon was sent to the Khitan from Goryeo. (*Goryeosa*, vol. 12, first month of the second year, *gyeongin*, of Yejong's reign: "遼遣高存壽, 來賀生辰, 仍賜大藏經.")

426 Jeonghyesa (淨惠寺): In 1278 Chungji (冲止) moved the Khitan edition of the Buddhist canon from Seonwonsa (禪源寺) to Suseonsa (修禪社) around the same time that the *Samguk yusa* was being compiled. Suseonsa (now called Songgwangsa 松廣寺) was originally called Jeonghyesa (定慧寺). Therefore, it is thought that the Jeonghyesa (淨惠寺) referred to here is in fact Jeonghyesa (定慧寺).

427 Haeinsa (海印寺) is located on Mt. Gaya, Chiin-li, Gaya-myeon, Hapcheon-gun, South Gyeongsang Province. It is a major Jogye monastery, the headquarters of the twelfth parish of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and is regarded as the Dharma Jewel Monastery (*beopbosachal*: 法寶寺刹) as it holds the woodblocks for the Korean Buddhist Canon (*Palman daejanggyeong*: 八萬大藏經). In the third year of the reign of King Aejang of Silla (802) Sunung (順應) and Ijeong (利貞) carried out a large-scale reconstruction so that it attained its present status as the central monastery for Hwaeom Buddhism in Korea. Huirang (希朗), who had been the *bokjeon* (福田, Skt. *punya-kṣetra*, literally 'merit-field' a term applied to all Buddhist monks, see note 738, below) of King Taejo of Goryeo spread Hwaeom thought widely from this place. The Korean Tripiṭaka (*Daejanggyeong*), which had been re-carved and kept in Seonwonsa (禪源寺) on Ganghwa Island in late Goryeo, was moved to Haeinsa in 1398 during the reign of King Jeongjong of the Joseon dynasty, where it has been preserved in good condition until the present day. In the reign of King Sejo successive repairs

In the second year of the Daan[428] era (1086, third year of Seonjong's reign) at the time of our country's [King] Seonjeong the senior monk superintendent[429] Uicheon[430] went to Song and returned with many Tiantai

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were made including the restoration of Janggyeong Hall (藏經閣) and it became a significant force in Korean Buddhism as the Dharma Jewel Monastery with seventy-five minor monasteries and fourteen related hermitages under its supervision. There are many buildings within its precincts including the Vairocana Hall (Daejeokgwangjeon: 大寂光殿), the Kṣitigarbha Hall (Myeongbujeon: 冥府殿), the Eungjin Hall, and Gugwang Tower, as well as many important cultural artefacts that have been designated both as national treasures and UNESCO World Cultural Heritage items such as the Korean Tripiṭaka woodblocks and their storage hall, the standing Buddha image, the Wondang Hermitage, the Many-Storied Stone Pagoda (Dacheungseoktap), Banyasa Wongyeong Wangsa Monument (般若寺元景王師碑), the Portrait of Master Mokjo Huirang (Mokjo Huirang Daesasang), and the *Tripiṭaka* printed at Haeinsa (Sagan janggyeong: 寺刊藏經).

428 Daan (大安) or Taian (太安) is an era name during the reign of Daozong of Liao and refers to the years 1085 to 1094. It coincided with the second to the eleventh year of the reign of King Seonjong of the Goryeo dynasty.

429 The term for "monk superintendent" in the text is *Seungtong* (僧統), which is the name of both an official post and rank. In Goryeo the term was used for the highest ranking monks in the Doctrinal school of Buddhism (*gyojong*: 教宗). After passing the *gyojongseon* (教宗選) monks' examination (*seunggwa*: 僧科), administered by the state, monks passed through the ranks of *daeseon* (大選), *Daedeok* (大德), *Daesa* (大師), *jungdaesa* (重大師), *samjungdaesa* (三重大師), and *sujwa* (首座) before finally attaining the rank of *seungtong*. Cf. note 401, above, and note 838, below, for the equivalent ranks in the Seon school.

430 Uicheon (義天) was an eminent Goryeo monk who lived from 1055 to 1101. As the fourth son of King Munjong he entered Yeongtongsa (靈通寺), where he became the disciple of National Teacher Nanwon (爛圓) and intensively studied Buddhism and Confucianism together with history and the works of the main Chinese philosophers. He attained the rank of monk superintendent (*Seungtong*, see note 429) at the age of twelve. In 1085 he went to Song China and for over a year he met more than sixty eminent monks from a wide variety of Buddhist sects with whom he discussed many points of doctrine, and acquired many Buddhist classical texts. On his return to Goryeo he established the Directorate for Buddhist Scriptures (Gyojangdogam: 教藏都監) at Heungwangsa (興王寺) and published the *New Catalogue of Buddhist Sectarian Writings* (*Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok*: 新編諸宗教藏總錄), in which he created a bibliography of 1,010 texts in 4,740 volumes. On the basis of this bibliography he published the many texts that he had acquired in China and raised the level of Buddhist scholarship in Goryeo by publishing texts from the Buddhist canon. On the completion of Gukcheongsa (國淸寺) in 1097, he became the abbot of the monastery by invitation and lectured on Tiantai (天台宗) doctrine and founded the Tiantai sect (Cheontaejong: 天台宗) in

teachings (*gyogwan*). As there are no other accounts included in books, it has not been possible to record in detail the eminent monks or believers[431] who may have gone [to China] and returned [with Buddhist texts].[432] It is a matter for rejoicing that the transmission of the Buddha Dharma to the east has been boundless.

Panegyric
The moon of China and the wind of the Eastern tribes have fallen together endlessly.
The Deer Park[433] and Kuśinagara[434] are now two thousand years [old].

Goryeo. Uicheon advocated the combined practice of scriptural study and meditation (*gyogwang yeomsu*: 教觀兼修), unifying the doctrinal and meditative approaches of Buddhism (*gyoseon ilchi*: 教禪一致) on the basis of Hwaeom teaching, and supporting a reform movement of the Buddhist clergy, whereby he attempted to unify the meditation sects by founding the Tiantai sect.

431 In the text the word *sinsa* (信士) has the same meaning as the word *sinja* (信者), meaning "believer," namely, someone who has not entered the Buddhist clergy but who studies the teachings of Buddha and strives to put them into practice.

432 Apart from the record in *Samguk yusa* above, there are the following records about the distribution of the Tripiṭaka Buddhist canon in the *Goryeosa*: In 991 Han Eongong brought back the Song dynasty Tripiṭaka (*Goryeosa*, vol. 3, fourth month of the tenth year, *gyeongin*, of Seonjong's reign: "韓彦恭還自宋, 獻大藏經. 王迎入內殿, 邀僧開讀, 下教赦."); in 1063 the Khitan sent a copy of the Tripiṭaka (*Goryeosa*, vol. 8, third month of the seventeenth year, *byeongo,* of Munjong's reign: "契丹送大藏經, 王備法駕, 迎于西郊."); in 1083 a copy of the Tripiṭaka was sent from Song China (*Goryeosa*, vol. 9, third month of the thirty-seventh year, *gichuk*, of Munjong's reign: "命太子, 迎宋朝大藏經, 置于開國寺, 仍設道場."); and in 1107 the Khitan again sent the Tripiṭaka to Goryeo (*Goryeosa*, vol. 12, first month of the second year, *gyeongin*, of Yejong's reign: "遼遣高存壽, 來賀生辰, 仍賜大藏經.").

433 The Deer Park (Nogwon: 鹿園) refers to Sārnāth (Nogyawon: 鹿野苑), where Buddha first taught after attaining enlightenment. After he had attained enlightenment in Bodhgaya, Buddha sought out the five monks with whom he had practiced in the past and went to Sārnāth, and the first place in which he taught them was a deer park, and so the deer park is known as the "place where the wheel of dharma was first turned" (*chojeon beomnyunji*: 初轉法輪地).

434 In the text the term *haksu* (鶴樹) is a reference to Kuśinagara (拘尸那揭羅), where Buddha entered *nirvāna* in a grove of *sāla* trees (*saranamu*) by the banks of the Hiraṇyavatī River (Nairanjana-gang). At that time all these trees flowered out of season like a flock of white cranes and so the place came to be called Crane Wood (Hangnim: 鶴林). For this reason the place where Buddha entered *nirvāna*

[The truth] flowing from over the sea is truly a matter for rejoicing.
The Eastern Country[435] and India[436] are both under one heaven.

又天成三年戊子, 黙和尙入唐, 亦載大藏經來. 本朝睿廟時, 慧照國師奉詔西學, 市遼本大藏三部而來, 一本今在定惠寺.[海印寺有一本, 許參政宅有一本.] 大安二年, 本朝宣宗代, 祐世僧統義天入宋, 多將天台敎觀而來. 此外方冊所不載, 高僧信士, 往來所齎, 不可詳記, 大敎東漸, 洋洋乎慶矣哉.
讚曰 華月夷風尙隔烟, 鹿園鶴樹二千年. 流傳海外眞堪賀, 東震西乾共一天.

If we examine the biography of Uisang[437] recorded in this book, it states, "At the beginning of the Yonghui reign [Uisang] entered Tang and had an audience with Zhiyan," but according to the Buseoksa inscription, "Uisang was born in the eighth year of the Wude era (625) and became a monk at a young age. In the founding year, *gengwu*, of the Yonghui era (650) he intended to visit China together with Wonhyo, but because they encountered difficulties when they reached Goguryeo, they returned. In the founding year, *xinyou,* of the Longshuo era (661) he went to Tang and studied under Zhiyuan. After Zhiyuan died in the founding year of the Zongzhang era (668), Uisang returned to Silla in the second year of the Xianheng era (671). In the second year, *yihai,* of the Changyuan era (675) he departed this world at the age of seventy-eight." Therefore, [Uisang] and Zhiyuan received offering foods at the abode of Vinaya Master Daoxuan and

is known as Hangnim.

435 Eastern Country: in the text the character *jin* (震) in the term Dongjin (東震) is the name of a trigram referring to the East. The term Dongjin, therefore, means "Eastern Country" (Dongguk: 東國), which is an epithet for Korea.

436 India: in the text the character *geon* (乾) in the term Seogeon (西乾) is the name of a trigram referring to the Northwest and so the term is synonymous with Seocheonchuk (西天竺), namely, India.

437 The biography of Uisang (*Uisangjeon*: 義湘傳) that records Uisang's visit to Tang China at the beginning of the Yonghui era in the reign of Gaozong and his meeting with Zhiyan is a reference to *Uisangjeongyo* (義湘傳敎) in *Samguk yusa,* vol. 5–8.

requested the Buddha's tooth from the Heavenly Palace some time during the seven or eight years between the *sinyu* year (661) and the *mujin* year (668). The suspicion that in the *imjin* year (1232), when our country's Gojong entered Ganghwa Island, the Heavenly Palace's seven-day [loan] period [for the Buddha tooth] had expired is a mistake. As a day and a night in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven correspond to 100 years in our human world, and as 693 years had elapsed from the time that Master Uisang first went to Tang in the *sinyu* year (661) until the *imjin* year (1232) in (the reign of) Gojong, the 700 years were only completed in the *gyeongja* year (1240), and that was when the seven-day period expired. It was 730 years by the time of [the court's] departure from Ganghwa Island in the seventh year, *gyeongo,* of the Zhiyuan reign (1270). If in accordance with the words of Śakra, [the tooth] had to go back to the Heavenly Palace after seven days, [the tooth] which Seon Master Simgam brought from Ganghwa Island and presented [to the king] would not have been the real Buddha tooth. Before leaving Ganghwa Island in the spring of that year, [the king] had many eminent monks from various sects gather inside the palace in order to fervently pray for the Buddha tooth and the *śarīra*, but they were unable to obtain a single one. So it seems as though the seven-day period had expired and [the Buddha tooth] had gone up to the Heavenly Palace. In the twenty-first year, *gapsin*, [of the Zhiyuan reign] (1284) the golden pagoda at Gukcheongsa was repaired; the king and Queen Jangmok made a royal visit to Myogaksa, [where they] gathered the common people together and held a service in celebration of the completion of the temple. After the king with his ministers and the common people had offered a devotional service to the Buddha tooth mentioned above, the crystal rosary from Naksansa and the *cintāmani* (wish-fulfilling jewel) were placed together in the golden pagoda. I also attended this meeting and saw the so-called Buddha tooth directly. Its length was about three *chi*, and there were no *śarīra*. Mugeuk wrote [this].

按此錄義湘傳云,"永徽初入唐, 謁智儼." 然據浮石本碑,"湘武德八年生, 丱歲出家. 永徽元年庚戌, 與元曉同伴欲西入, 至高麗, 有難而廻. 至龍朔元年辛酉, 入唐就學於智儼. 總章元年, 儼遷化, 咸亨二年, 湘來還新羅. 長安二年壬寅, 示滅,

年七十八." 則疑與儼公, 齋於宣律師處, 請天宮佛牙, 在辛酉至戊辰七八年間也. 本朝高廟入江都壬辰年, 疑天宮七日限滿者, 誤矣. 忉利天一日夜, 當人間一百歲, 且從湘公初入唐辛酉, 計至高廟壬辰, 六百九十三歲也. 至庚子年, 始滿七百年, 而七日限, 已滿矣. 至出都至元七年庚午, 則七百三十年. 若如天言, 而七日後還天宮, 則禪師心鑑出都時, 佩持出獻者, 恐非眞佛牙也. 於是年春出都前, 於大內集諸宗名德, 乞佛牙舍利, 精勤雖切, 而不得一枚, 則七日限滿, 上天者幾矣. 二十一年甲申, 修補國清寺金塔, 國主與莊穆王后, 幸妙覺寺, 集衆慶讚訖. 右佛牙, 與洛山水精念珠如意珠, 君臣與大衆, 皆瞻奉頂戴, 後并納金塔內. 予亦預斯會, 而親見所謂佛牙者, 長三寸許, 而無舍利焉. 無極記.

4-14.
Maitreya Daoist Flower Misi-rang and the Monk Jinja 彌勒仙花 未尸郎 眞慈師

Introduction:

This section contains an account of the involvement of Buddhist monks in the origins of the *hwarang* movement, which played an important role in Silla society. The origins of the movement are said to have begun in the reign of King Jinheung (r. 540–576) with the *wonhwa* organization for women, but this was terminated because of jealousy between two women, and some time later the male *hwarang* (*gukseon*) movement was founded. The story relates that in the reign of King Jinji, monk Jinja from Heungnyun Monastery prayed that Maitreya Buddha would be born in this world as a *hwarang* and was told in a dream that if he went to Suwon Monastery in Uncheon, he would be able to meet the Maitreya. At Suwonsa he met a youth, who received him courteously: only later, after his return to the capital, did he discover that this youth, called Misi, was Maitreya Daoist Flower, whereupon he recommended to the king that Misi be appointed as head (*gukseon*) of the *hwarang*. This record provides us with abundant materials informing us about the relationship between the *hwarang* and belief in Maitreya Buddha. In order to speak about the Maitreya Daoist Flower, a synthesis of a *hwarang* and the Maitreya, the first half of this section explains the transformation of the Silla *hwarang*, its role in the practice and veneration of virtue, the five cardinal virtues and the six arts (*osang yugye*); while in the second half, the tendency at that time to believe that the *hwarang* were incarnations of Maitreya can be clearly seen in the story about Misi-rang. This story also states that the *hwarang* leaders were outstanding in terms of courtesy and education and that their elegance illuminated the world. At the end of this section, the similarity between the pronunciation of Misi and Mireuk (Maitreya) is pointed out. Furthermore, the fact that in Goryeo times Daoist hermits were called Maitreya Daoist Flowers while matchmakers were called *misi* is



Maitreya Buddha Triad of Mt. Namsan, Gyeongju National Museum

thought to reveal features of Maitreya beliefs that were in general circulation until Goryeo times. The quoted sources are explained and compared with the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk sagi*) without being presented separately.

Annotated Translation:

The family name of the twenty-fourth king of the Silla dynasty, King Jinheung,[438] was Gim, and his name was Sammaekjong (*some say Simmaekjong*).[439] He

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438 For King Jinheung, see note 9, above.

439 Sammaek (彡麥) is thought to be a transliteration of *Sami* (沙彌, a Buddhist novice, see note 557, below); the suffix *-jong* (宗) is an honorific. In relation to this, in an annotation in the Adogira chapter of "The Raising of the Dharma," vol. 3 of *Samguk yusa,* there is a record which states that the Korean word for Buddhist monk was *samma*. The term *samma,* which before the introduction of Buddhism was used to refer to a religious specialist, is interchangeable with the term *sammaek.* In an inscription on a stone monument in Cheonjeon-ri (川前里), dated in the *gimi* year (539), King Jinheung appears under the name Simmaekbuji (深麥夫知).

ascended the throne in the sixth year, *gyeongsin*, of the Datong reign of the Liang dynasty (540).[440] Emulating the devotion of his father's elder brother King Beopheung,[441] and revering Buddhism in his heart, he established monasteries extensively and permitted people to become monks.[442]

Also, his natural disposition was refined,[443] he greatly respected the mountain recluses (*sinseon*),[444] and he would select beautiful and graceful maidens from families and appoint them to be *wonhwa* (原花: Original Flowers).[445] He gathered them into a large group and chose eminent persons

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440 The Datong 大同 era (535–546) of the Liang emperor Wudi (梁武帝) corresponds with the period from the twenty-second year of King Beopheung to the seventh year of King Jinheung.

441 For King Beopheung, see note 76, above.

442 Substantial facts about King Jinheung's promotion of Buddhism may be found in the *Samguk sagi*. In the section on King Jinheung in the Silla Annals of *Samguk sagi,* it is recorded that in the fifth year of his reign Heungnyunsa was completed and that King Jinheung gave people permission to leave their families to become monks and devote themselves to serving Buddha (許人出家爲僧尼奉佛). In the fourteenth year of his reign construction was begun on Hwangnyongsa and in the seventeenth year of his reign Giwonsa and Siljesa were constructed. The king had ascended the throne at a young age, and it is said that he devoted himself single-mindedly to Buddhism. In his later years he shaved his head, wore monk's robes, called himself Beobun (Dharma Cloud), and lived this way until his death. His queen also emulated him by becoming a Buddhist nun and entering Yeongheungsa (王幼年卽位, 一心奉佛, 至末年祝髮, 被僧衣, 自號法雲, 以終其身. 王妃亦効之爲尼, 住永興寺.)

443 The term for "refined" is *pungmi* (風味), which is used to refer to a carefree, elegant and refined person.

444 The term *sinseon* (神仙) is generally used to refer to Daoist adepts who have attained the secret of perennial youth and long life (*bullojangsaeng*: 不老長生) and have transformed themselves (*byeonhwa jajae*: 變化自在). But here it is thought that rather than referring to Daoist hermits, the term *sinseon* refers to the traditional groups of young people who toured around the mountainous landscape of Silla performing religious festivals with singing and dancing. They can be considered to be related to the *hwarang* (花郎) of Silla, who were also called *gukseon* (國仙, see note 452, below), and the *hwarangdo* (花郎道), which was also referred to as the *Pungwoldo* (風月道) or *Pungnyudo* (風流徒).

445 In the *Samguk sagi* (vol. 4, thirty-seventh year of King Jinheung's reign, spring), *wonhwa* (原花) is written as *wonhwa* (源花). It is said that originally two beautiful women called Nammo and Junjeong were selected to lead a group of young people on a tour and to select and promote the participants in accordance with their behaviour. A group of 300 people were gathered together, but Nammo and

to teach them filial piety and comradeship, loyalty and fidelity, and this was his great key to governing the country. Accordingly, he selected the two *wonhwa* Nammo-rang and Gyojeong-rang[446] to gather a group of three or four hundred followers.[447] Gyojeong-rang was jealous of Nammo-rang so she made her drink a lot and when she was drunk, she stole her away to North Stream (Bukcheon),[448] killed her with a rock and buried her. Not knowing where she had gone, Nammo-rang's group scattered, weeping sorrowfully. Someone who knew about this plot wrote a song and taught it to the village children who sang it in the streets. When Nammo-rang's group heard [the song], they sought and found her body by North Stream and then they killed Gyojeong-rang. Thereupon, the king gave a command abolishing the *wonhwa*.

Several years later the king thought once again that if he intended to bring the nation to prosperity, he must without fail first establish the *pungwoldo*,[449]

Junjeong became jealous of each other and after Junjeong killed Nammo, the *wonhwa* were replaced by handsome youths who are said to have worn make-up (see note 472, below) and were called *hwarang* ("始奉源花, 初君臣病無以知人, 欲使類聚羣遊, 以觀其行義, 然後擧而用之. 遂簡美女二人, 一曰南毛, 一曰俊貞, 聚徒三百餘人. 二女爭娟相妬, 俊貞引南毛於私第, 强勸酒至醉, 曳而投河水以殺之. 俊貞伏誅, 徒人失和罷散. 其後更取美貌男子, 粧飾之, 名花郎以奉之.").

446 In *Samguk sagi* (vol. 4, thirty-seventh year of King Jinheung's reign) Gyojeong-rang (姣貞娘) is called Junjeong (俊貞).

447 This account shows that the *hwarangdo* were originally divided into two organizations with two different *hwarang* leaders. It is particularly interesting to note the relationship between the *hwarang*, which was led by two women, the division of the six ministries in Silla into two, and the Gabae game played on mid-autumn day in Silla, which began as a weaving competition between two queens.

448 Bukcheon (北川) was a stream that flowed to the north of the Silla capital. Today it flows around the northern part of the centre of the Bomun district in Gyeongju and into the Hyeongsan River (兄山江; also known as Seocheon: 西川). The stream is also called Alcheon (閼川).

449 *Pungwoldo* (風月道) is another name for *hwarangdo* (花郎道). In Silla times the terms *pungnyu* (風流, flowing wind) and *pungwol* (風月, windy moon) were frequently used to refer to the *hwarang*, for example, in Choe Chiwon's "Foreword to the Nallan stela" (Nallan biseo, 鸞郎碑序): "There is a deep and meaningful way in our country called *pungnyu*. The origin of this teaching is clearly found in the Daoist histories." (國有玄妙之道, 曰風流. 說敎之源, 備詳仙史.) In an account of the *hwarang* Jukji-rang (竹旨郎) the term *pungnyu hwanggwon* (風流黃卷) is used (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, Wonders, King

and so he gave the command for men of virtuous behavior to be selected from good families and he changed [the name of the group] to *hwarang*.[450] First he appointed Seolwon-rang[451] as *gukseon*,[452] and this was the beginning[453]

Hyoso), and in the "Biography of Geomgun" (Geomgun-*jeon*: 劍君傳) in the *Samguk sagi,* we find the phrase "The court of the *pungwol*" (*pungwol ji jeong*: 風月之定) (*Samguk sagi,* vol. 48, Biographies, Geomgun). Originally the term *pungnyu* referred to the literature of natural scenery and the pastimes of Daoist hermits, but it is thought to have subsequently come into use to describe the activities of the *hwarang* as they toured the mountainous landscape of Silla, engaging in singing and dancing as they trained themselves physically and spiritually.

450 The character *rang* (娘, young woman) in *hwarang* is thought to have been mistakenly used for the character *rang* (郞, young man), which is in fact used in the very next line. As a young men's organization in Silla times, the *hwarang* had both military and educational functions. The organization comprised a *hwarang* or leader from the True Bone (*jingol*) lineage of the nobility, a monk with leadership responsibility, and numerous followers from the general nobility and commoner class. The *hwarang* exerted a great influence on the vigorous development of Silla society.

451 Seolwon-rang (薛原郞) was the pre-eminent *hwarang* in the reign of King Jinheung. There are those of the opinion that Seol (薛) was his family name, but as this name did not belong to the True Bone lineage, he would not have been eligible as a *hwarang* leader. As names for *hwarang* generally comprised two characters, e.g. Jukji-rang, it is most probably correct to refer to him as the *hwarang* Seolwon. In the record in the *Samguk sagi* that states that "Won-rang's group made the Sanaegimul [style of] music" (思內奇物樂, 原郞徒作也. *Samguk sagi*, vol. 32, Akji, Hoeak [會樂]). Won-rang (原郞) also appears to be a reference to Seolwon-rang.

452 *Gukseon* (國仙): in the *Samguk sagi* the term *hwarang* is used, but in the *Samguk yusa,* the alternative term *gukseon* is generally used instead. This can be seen plainly by the fact that Gim Yusin (金庾信) and each *hwarang* are referred to as *gukseon*. It appears that the term *hwarang* was generally in use during Silla times, e.g. in the book *Chronicles of the Hwarang* (*Hwarang segi*: 花郞世紀) written by Gim Daemun (金大問) in the early eighth century during the reign of King Seongdeok (聖德王) and also in the *Annals of Silla* (*Xinluo guoji*: 新羅國記), believed to have been written in the late eighth century by Gu Yin (顧愔) in Tang China. In Goryeo times when the *hwarang* tradition is mentioned, the terms *seollang* (仙郞) and *gukseon* are used.

453 In the *Samguk yusa* the establishment of the *hwarang* is said to have happened during the reign of King Jinheung, and in the *Samguk sagi* it is said to have happened in the thirty-seventh year of his reign (576). However, the *Samguk sagi* also states that in the twenty-third year (562), Sadaham (斯多含), who had already been appointed as a *hwarang*, led the Silla army in the conquest of Gaya. Furthermore, the story of Baegun (白雲), who was appointed as a *gukseon* in the twenty-seventh year (566), appears both in the *Abridgement of the History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguksa jeoryo*: 三國史節要) and in the *Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom* (Korea) (*Dongguk tonggam*: 東國通鑑).

of the *hwarang* or *gukseon*.[454] So a stela was erected at Myeongju.[455] From this time onward [the *hwarang*] made people correct evil, practice goodness, respect their superiors and treat inferiors kindly, and so the five cardinal virtues,[456] the six arts,[457] the [system of] three chief councilors[458] and the

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Samguk yusa provides this account of the establishment of the *wonhwa* followed by the establishment of the *hwarang* but does not provide precise dates. At the end of this section Iryeon comments that the historical account (*sajeon*: 史傳) that the *hwarang* was established in the year that King Jinji came to the throne (576, the thirty-seventh year of King Jinheung's reign) is incorrect.

454 The phrase *hwarang gukseon* (花郎國仙) is read here as "*hwarang* or *gukseon*" rather than as a compound term.

455 Myeongju (溟州) was located in the present-day Gangneung region in Gangwon Province. The relationship between Myeongju and the *hwarang* is extremely deep. In the section "Baengnyulsa" in Tapsang, vol. 3 of *Samguk yusa*, there is a story about the *hwarang* Buryerang who, after touring Geumnan (金蘭) together with Ansang, visited the northern part of Myeongju (Bungmyeong: 北溟). In his *Diary of a Journey around the East* (*Dongyugi*: 東遊記) the late Goryeo literary figure, Yi Saek (李穀) states that places such as Chongseokjeong's Saseonbong (四仙峯), Geumnan Grotto, the Samilpo Stone Grotto (Seokgul) and Saseon Pavilion (Saseonjeong: 四仙亭), Yeongnang Lake, Gyeongpodae, Hansongjeong, and Wolseongjeong all featured in legends as sites visited by the *hwarang*, and we can surmise that the Silla stone memorials in this region were most probably erected by the *hwarang*. Furthermore, the deep relationship between Myeongju and the *hwarang* is also mentioned in such works as the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* and *Topical Discourses of Jibong* (*Jibong yuseol*: 芝峯類說). Other places that were well-known as sites toured by the *hwarang* included various places along the coast of the East Sea, especially the region known as Geumnan, Mt. Geumgang (the Diamond Mountain), Mt. Nam at Gyeongju and Cheonjeolli in Ulju-gun. The tours of the *hwarang* were not simply concerned with military training but also had a religious aspect that included such activities as visiting guardian deities. Places known to have been visited by the *hwarang*, such as Geumnan Grotto and Samilpo were considered by the local people as holy places or places where Bodhisattvas resided; thus we can see that the areas toured by the *hwarang* were famous sights with a spiritual significance.

456 The "five cardinal virtues" (K. *osang*, 五常) were the five moral principles that were to be adhered to by people and which formed the basis of Confucian ethics, namely, benevolence (K. *in*, 仁), righteousness (K. *ui*, 義), courtesy (K. *ye*, 禮), wisdom (K. *ji*, 智), and trust (K. *sin*, 信).

457 *Yugye* (Ch. *liuyi*: 六藝) were six basic subjects of education in ancient China, namely, etiquette (K. y*e*, 禮), music (K. *ak*, 樂), archery (K. *sa*, 射), horsemanship (K. *eo*, 御), calligraphy (K. *seo*, 書), and mathematics (K. *su*, 數).

458 The "three chief councillors" (Ch. *sanshi;* K. *samsa*, 三師) were the three highest-ranking ministers

six ministerial virtues[459] became widely practiced at this time. (*The National History* [Guksa, *i.e.* Samguk sagi] *states that the* hwarang *were first established in the eighth year*, byeonsin, [*of Dajian*,[460] *corresponding to the first year of King Jinji, 576*][461] *but this is probably a mistake in the historical account* [sajeon]).[462]

彌勒仙花 未尸郎 眞慈師

第二十四眞興王, 姓金氏, 名彡麥宗[一作深麥宗], 以梁大同六年庚申卽位. 慕伯父法興之志, 一心奉佛, 廣興佛寺, 度人爲僧尼.

又天性風味, 多尙神仙, 擇人家娘子美艶者, 捧爲原花. 要聚徒選士, 敎之以孝悌忠信, 亦理國之大要也. 乃取南毛娘姣貞娘兩花, 聚徒三四百人. 姣貞者嫉妬

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in the Zhou dynasty, who advised the sovereign. They were the Senior Tutor (Ch. *taishi;* K. *taesa*, 太師), the Senior Chancellor (Ch. *taipu;* K. *taebu*, 太傅), and the Senior Guardian (Ch. *taibao;* K. *taebo*, 太保).

459 The six ministerial virtues (Ch. *liuzheng;* K. *yukjeong*, 六正) refer to the six virtues necessary for a minister. The term could also be used to refer to a minister that has these six virtues. The six virtues are those of a sage minister (Ch. *shengchen;* K. *seongsin*: 聖臣), a good minister (Ch. *liangchen;* K. *yangsin*, 良臣), a loyal minister (Ch. *zhongchen;* K. *chungsin*, 忠臣), a wise minister (Ch. *zhichen;* K. *jisin*, 智臣), an honest minister (Ch. *zhenchen;* K. *jeongsin*, 貞臣), and an upright minister (Ch. *zhichen;* K. *jiksin*, 直臣).

460 Dajian (大建, 569–582) is the reign name of Emperor Xuan of Chen (陳宣帝), corresponding with the period from the thirtieth year of King Jinheung to the fourth year of King Jinpyeong.

461 King Jinji (眞智王, r. 576–579) was the twenty-fifth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name Saryun (舍輪) or Geumnyun (金輪). As a result of the death of the crown prince Dongnyun (銅輪) in 572 (the thirty-third year of King Jinheung's reign), he became the heir apparent. In the year of his accession (576) he appointed Geochilbu to the post of Prime Minister (*sangdaedeung*: 上大等) and entrusted him with the government of the country. Four years after his succession, because of the unstable state of national affairs and King Jinji's penchant for wine and women, the decision was made by the Hwabaek council to depose him.

462 In the section in the *Samguk sagi* (vol. 4, 37th year of King Jinheung) for the spring of the last year of King Jinheung's reign, which was also the year that King Jinji succeeded to the throne, it is imprecisely stated that the *hwarang* was founded after the founding and subsequent disbandment of the *wonhwa* system. Furthermore, following mentions of *hwarang* in Gim Daemun's *Chronicles of the Hwarang* (*Hwarang segi*), Cho Chiwon's "Nallang's Monument Inscription" (Nallang biseo), and Ling Hucheng's *Silla Annals* (Xinluo guoji: 新羅國記), the return of Anhong to Silla is recorded, after which there is a record about the death of the king in the eighth month. Therefore, it is impossible to tell whether the record indicated here concerning the claim that the *hwarang* was established in the year King Jinji ascended the throne is from the *Samguk sagi* or not.

毛娘, 多置酒飮毛娘, 至醉潛舁去北川中, 擧石埋殺之, 其徒罔知去處, 悲泣而散. 有人知其謀者, 作歌誘街巷小童, 唱於街, 其徒聞之, 尋得其尸於北川中, 乃殺姣貞娘. 於是大王下令, 廢原花.
累年, 王又念欲興邦國, 須先風月道, 更下令, 選良家男子有德行者, 改爲花郎. 始奉薛原娘爲國仙, 此花郎國仙之始, 故竪碑於溟州. 自此使人悛惡更善, 上敬下順, 五常六藝, 三師六正, 廣行於代.[國史 眞智王大建八年庚申始奉花郎, 恐史傳乃誤.]

At the time of King Jinji, every time monk Jinja (*also called Jeongja*) from Heungnyunsa[463] went before the Maitreya image[464] in the main Buddha Hall, he would pray: "Oh Great Saint,[465] I pray that you will become a *hwarang* and appear in this world and permit me to always see your face close by and attend you."[466] Every day his devout and fervently prayerful heart became

463 For Heungnyunsa (興輪寺), see notes 245 and 246, above.

464 The term Mireuksang is a short form of Mireuk bulsang, meaning an image of the Maitreya Buddha. It is said that after being born into a Brahmin family, Maitreya became a disciple of Buddha but died before him and as a bodhisattva gave sermons on the dharma to the inhabitants of heaven and that he resides in the Tuṣita Heaven (K. Dosolcheon: 兜率天). When the bodhisattva Maitreya first resolved to bring salvation to all sentient beings, he determined not to eat meat and so he is also called Compassion-bodhisattva (Ja-ssi bosal: 慈氏菩薩). When Śākyamuni Buddha foretold that Maitreya would become a Buddha, he stated that when Maitreya became 4,000 years old (in terms of human time this would equate to 5,760,000,000 years), he would descend from the Tuṣita Heaven to this world and attain Buddhahood under the dragon-flower tree (*yonghwasu*: 龍華樹), and in the process of holding three assemblies at which he would give sermons, he would bring salvation to 96 billion, 94 billion and 92 billion people. In accordance with the account in the *sūtra*, two forms of Maitreya belief have emerged, namely, Mireuk *sangsaeng*, which focuses on the desire to be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, and Mireuk *hasaeng*, which focuses on the longing for Maitreya to be reborn in this world as a Buddha to bring salvation to humankind. Maitreya belief is based on three central texts, namely, *Mireuk sangsaeng gyeong* (彌勒上生經), *Mireuk hasaeng gyeong* (彌勒下生經), and *Mireuk seongbul gyeong* (彌勒成佛經).

465 The term Great Saint (Daeseong: 大聖) is a term that is frequently used to refer to the Buddha, but in this case it refers to the Maitreya Buddha.

466 This passage concerning the desire for the Maitreya to be born as a *hwarang* demonstrates the close relationship between Buddhism and the *hwarang*.

even more sincere. One evening a monk appeared before him in a dream and said, "If you go to Suwon Monastery[467] in Ungcheon[468] (*present-day Gongju*), you will be able to see Maitreya Buddha[469] (Mireuk *seonhwa*)[470] Jinja awoke from his dream both surprised and delighted and went to find the monastery. The journey took ten days, and as he went he offered a bow at every step. When he arrived at the monastery, there was a boy outside the

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467 Suwonsa (Suwonsa: 水源寺) was located on Mt. Wolseong to the east of Gongju in South Chungcheong Province. A monastery called Suwonsa (水原寺) in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 17, Gongju, section on Buddhist buildings) has been presumed to be the same monastery. Although there is a monastery site in the location indicated by the *Augmented Survey*, no artifacts belonging to a period earlier than the end of Unified Silla have been unearthed, suggesting that a more wide-ranging search will be required to find traces of the original Suwonsa.

468 Ungcheon (熊川) is present-day Gongju in South Chungcheong Province. It was the second capital of Baekje after Hanseong (漢城). After the fall of Baekje, Tang China temporarily established the Ungjin Commandery there, but it was taken over by Silla, and in the sixth year of King Sinmun's reign (686) Ungcheonju (熊川州) was first established. Subsequently, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok (757), when place names were all revised, it became Ungju (熊州), nevertheless, the name Ungcheonju continued to be used. At the time of the administrative reforms of 757, Ungju comprised one minor capital (*sogyeong*), thirteen counties (*gun*), and twenty-nine prefectures (*hyeon*), with two prefectures under its direct control. As this was one of the important central regions of Baekje, there is an opinion that in the time of King Jinji, when the two nations of Baekje and Silla were in conflict, monks from Silla would not have been able to freely visit Baekje monasteries.

469 In the text, the term Mireuk *seonhwa* (彌勒仙花) refers to Maitreya Buddha or Maitreya Bodhisattva. *Seonhwa* is another name for *hwarang*. Therefore, the name Mireuk *seonhwa* suggests that the *hwarang* came into existence against a background of the synthesis of Buddhism and Daoism. The relationship between the *hwarang* and Maitreya was particularly close and is demonstrated in many surviving records. *Hwarang* Jukji was born after his parents enshrined a stone Maitreya statue on a mountain peak to the north of Jukji Pass, and Wolmyeong who was active as a *hwarang* wrote the *Song of Tuṣita* (*Dosolga*: 兜率歌) dedicated to Maitreya, which had the effect of causing an inauspicious natural phenomenon to vanish, while Gim Yusin named his *hwarang* troop *yonghwahyangdo* (龍華香徒) after the *yonghwa* or Dragon Flower tree (*yonghwasu*: 龍華樹), under which Maitreya was to preach upon his descent to earth.

470 This story about a Silla Buddhist monk seeking the incarnation of Maitreya as a *hwarang* in Gongju, which was in Baekje territory, may be explained as providing evidence that Maitreya belief was already flourishing in Baekje and was transmitted to Silla where it was accepted by the people there.

gate with extremely handsome, perfectly balanced and beautifully shaped eyes, who welcomed him. The boy led him through a small door and made him comfortable in a guest room; Jinja arose and bowed, saying, "Why are you treating me so courteously when you have never met me before?" The boy replied, "I am also from the capital, and when I saw how far you had walked to get here, I simply [wanted to] comfort you." Of a sudden he went out of the door, and nobody knew where he went. Jinja thought that this was just a chance occurrence and did not consider it to be particularly strange; he only told the monks at the monastery that he had come to the place because of a dream that he had had the previous night.

He also said: "May I just take the lowest seat[471] for a while and await Maitreya *seonhwa*?" The monks thought Jinja was just acting as he pleased, but seeing how sincere he was, they said, "If you go south, you will find Mt. Cheon. From ancient times sages and wise men have lived there and received many revelations, so what if you went there?" Jinja followed their advice, and when he reached the foot of the mountain, a mountain spirit in the guise of an old man came to meet him and said: "Why have you come here?" Jinja replied: "I have come to see Maitreya *seonhwa*." The old man said: "You already saw Maitreya *seonhwa* outside the gate of Suwon Monastery; what are you searching for here?" Jinja was so shocked to hear this that he broke into a sweat and quickly returned to his own temple.

A month or so later King Jinji heard this news, summoned Jinja and asked him about what had happened and said: "The youth himself said that he was from the capital and as a saint would never lie, shouldn't you search for him inside the city?" In obedience to the king's wish, Jinja gathered a large group together and went around looking for him and [found] one male child with handsome features, make-up on his face and wearing ornaments[472] by the

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471 The term *hatap* (下榻) has the same meaning as *malseok* (末席), namely, "the lowest seat."

472 This account of the feminine appearance of a male *hwarang* wearing make-up and ornaments may be explained as demonstrating the shamanistic characteristics of the *hwarang* tradition.

roadside to the northeast of Yeongmyo Monastery[473] strolling around[474] and playing beneath the trees.[475] When [Jin] ja encountered him he was surprised and said, "This is Maitreya *seonhwa*." He went closer and said, "Young lad, where are you from? what is your family name?" The young lad said in reply, "My name is Misi, and as both my parents died when I was young I do not know my family name." Thereupon he rode in a sedan chair and returned [to the capital] and was introduced to the king. The king revered and loved him and so appointed him to be the leader of the *hwarang*.[476]

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473 Yeongmyosa (靈妙寺) is also called Yeongmyosa (零妙寺). The monastery was constructed during the reign of King Seongdeok and was one of the seven monasteries in Silla (*chilcheo garam*: 七處伽藍) that were believed to have been built on the sites of monasteries from the era of the Buddhas of the past (see note 6, above). In 1460 when Bongdeoksa was closed down, the Divine Bell of King Seongdeok the Great (Seongdeok daewang sinjong: 聖德大王神鐘), which had been there, was relocated to Yeongmyosa, but today the exact site of this monastery is unknown. It was generally believed to have been located in Seocheon-ga, Seongjin-ri, Gyeongju, where the foundation stones for the pillars of a former monastery still remain, but in recent times roof tiles inscribed with the characters Yeongmyo (靈廟) have been excavated from the site on which the current Heungnyunsa (see notes 246–247, above) stands, so historians of Korean Buddhist temples now believe that this place is the site of Yeongmyosa. Yeongmyosa was an important institution that functioned both as an administrative office controlling the Buddhist monasteries in Silla and as a royal temple where prayers were offered for the sake of the royal family. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, Japji, Jikgwan (職官), *sang*, 成典寺院)

474 The phrase *pasa* (婆娑) means to stroll around from place to place.

475 This passage appears to be connected to the Maitreya's future enlightenment (*jeonggak*: 正覺) under the Dragon-flower tree (*yonghwasu*: 龍華樹), and it is also thought to be related to indigenous, animistic beliefs in tree spirits. Belief in a Cosmic Tree, which is said to form the centre of the world and be a means of communication with the divine realms, exists in various places throughout the world, and evidence for this belief in Korea can also be found in the accounts of the births of Hyeokgeose and Alji amongst trees.

476 It is worth noting that various legends relating to the union of the *hwarang* with Maitreya belief emerged at the time that King Jinheung enacted the reforms of the *hwarang*. It is thought that at the time of King Jinheung and King Jinji, the royal family accepted the idea that the Silla kings were "wheel-turning sage kings" (Skt. *cakravarti-rāja*, K. *jeollyun seongwang*: 轉輪聖王) and used this idea to enhance monarchic authority, while the *hwarang*, which was made up of the children of the nobility, symbolized the Maitreya, thus reinforcing the idea that Silla was a Buddha-land (Bulgukto: 佛國土). But as King Jinji was deposed by the nobility, King Jinpyeong, who succeeded him, sought to enhance his authority by claiming to belong to the Śākya clan of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

He brought harmony to the young people, and his instruction through his virtuous example was something extraordinary, while his graceful manner illuminated the world. But after some seven years, he suddenly disappeared. [Jin] ja was sorrowful and thought about him deeply, but through [Misi's] compassionate benevolence and by having personally received [Misi's] clear instruction, he repented his sins, corrected himself and practiced the way with all his heart. At the end of his life no one knew where he departed from this world.

及眞智王代, 有興輪寺僧眞慈[一作貞慈也], 每就堂主彌勒像前, 發願誓言,"願我大聖化作花郎, 出現於世, 我常親近睟容, 奉以周旋." 其誠懇至禱之情, 日益彌篤, 一夕夢有僧, 謂曰,"汝往熊川[今公州]水源寺, 得見彌勒仙花也." 慈覺而驚喜, 尋其寺, 行十日程, 一步一禮. 及到其寺, 門外有一郎, 濃纖不爽, 盼倩而迎. 引入小門, 邀致賓軒, 慈且升且揖曰,"郎君素昧平昔, 何見待殷勤如此?" 郎曰,"我亦京師人也. 見師高蹈遠屆, 勞來之爾." 俄而出門, 不知所在. 慈謂偶爾, 不甚異之, 但與寺僧, 叙曩昔之夢興來之之意.

且曰,"暫寓下榻, 欲待彌勒仙花, 何如?" 寺僧欺其情蕩然, 而見其慇恪, 乃曰,"此去南隣有千山, 自古賢哲寓止, 多有冥感, 盍歸彼居?" 慈從之, 至於山下, 山靈變老人出迎曰,"到此奚爲?" 答曰,"願見彌勒仙花爾." 老人曰,"向於水源寺之門外, 已見彌勒仙花, 更來何求?" 慈聞卽驚汗, 驟還本寺.

居月餘, 眞智王聞之, 徵詔問其由, 曰,"郎旣自稱京師人, 聖不虛言, 盍覓城中乎?" 慈奉宸旨, 會徒衆, 遍於閭閻間, 物色求之. 有一小郎子, 斷紅齊具, 眉彩秀麗, 靈妙寺之東北路傍樹下, 婆娑而遊. 慈迓之驚曰,"此彌勒仙花也." 乃就而問曰,"郎家何在? 願聞芳氏." 郎答曰,"我名未尸, 兒孩時爺孃俱歿, 未知何姓." 於時肩輿而入見於王, 王敬愛之, 奉爲國仙.

其和睦子弟, 禮義風敎, 不類於常, 風流耀世. 幾七年, 忽亡所在, 慈哀懷殆甚, 然飮沐慈澤, 昵承清化, 能自悔改, 精修爲道, 晩年亦不知所終.

Someone [once] said, "As *mi* (未) (in Misi 未尸) and *mi* (in Mireuk 彌勒: Maitreya) sound similar to each other, and as *si* (尸) (in Misi) and *yeok* (力) (the right-hand element in the character *reuk* (勒) are similar in appearance, these similarities have created a riddle." Buddha was not moved by Jinja's sincerity alone but has appeared from time to time on the earth wherever there has

been a karmic affinity. Nowadays people in our country (Goryeo) call Daoist adepts Maitreya Daoist Flowers and generally people call go-betweens *misi*.[477] These are all customs related to the Bodhisattva Maitreya.[478] Trees by the roadside even today called *gyeon-rang* ('see the young lad') and they are also vulgarly called *sayeosu* (似如樹 "resembling a [Maitreya] tree") (*or* inyeosu [印如樹] "*impression like a [Maitreya] tree*").][479]

Panegyric
Seeking his beautiful traces, I worship his form at every step,
And planted everywhere are his remarkable merit and virtue.
Spring passes suddenly, and he is nowhere to be found.
Who knows, in a moment Shanglin has become red.[480]

說者曰, "未與彌聲相近, 尸與力形相類, 乃託其近似而相謎也." 大聖不獨感慈之誠款也. 抑有緣于玆土, 故比比示現焉. 至今國人稱神仙曰彌勒仙花, 凡有媒係於人者曰未尸, 皆慈氏之遺風也. 路傍樹, 至今名見郎, 又俚言似如樹[一作印如樹].

讚曰 尋芳一步一瞻風, 到處栽培一樣功. 羃地春歸無覓處, 誰知頃刻上林紅.

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477 There is one opinion that *misi* (未尸) were go-betweens for people and another that they mediated between human beings and gods.

478 The name Ja-ssi (慈氏) is another name for the Bodhisattva Maitreya.

479 On his descent to this world as Future Buddha, Maitreya is said to hold three assemblies under the dragon-flower tree.

480 Shanglin (上林) was a palace complex that existed during the Qin and Han dynasties and was located to the west of present-day Xi'an (西安) in Shaanxi Province in China. It was first built by the First Emperor Qin Shi Huang and was then expanded by Emperor Wu of Han. It is said to have had thirty-six gardens, twelve palace residences, and twenty-five Daoist monasteries (*guan*: 觀) and was filled with exotic flora and fauna from all over the known world. The word Shanglin, therefore, signifies the garden of the Son of Heaven and in this context refers to the royal palace of Silla.

4-15. The Two Saints of Mt. Nambaegwol, Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak 南白月二聖 努肹夫得 怛怛朴朴

Introduction:

This account is about the two monks Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak, who cultivated enlightenment on Mt. Baegwol in the Changwon region. According to legend, Mt. Baegwol is a special mountain on which there is a lion-shaped rock, which was once reflected in a lotus pond across the sea in China. In this tale Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak, who lived in adjacent villages, left their homes to cultivate themselves and achieve sainthood. Both men took their wives and children with them and lived in a monastery while working and cultivating themselves, but in the end they abandoned the world entirely and went to Mt. Baegwol, where Daldal Bakbak built a hut made of wooden planks, and Nohil Budeuk built one made of rocks. In these two dwellings they devoted themselves to Maitreya Buddha and Amitābha Buddha respectively and cultivated their Buddhist practice. Three years later after passing through a test set for them by Avalokiteśvara in the form of a visit by a beautiful young woman, Nohil Budeuk, who flexibly adhered to the general principles of Buddhism, became an incarnation of Maitreya through the help of Avalokiteśvara. Afterwards, Daldal Bakbak, who took a more puritanical approach to self-cultivation, nevertheless followed Nohil Budeuk and became an incarnation of Amitābha. These two saints, who had thus achieved Buddhahood, preached to the people, who had gathered on hearing the news of their transformation, and then ascended into heaven. In order to pay tribute to this incident, which occurred in 709 in the reign of King Seongdeok, King Gyeongdeok built Baegwolsannam Monastery during the period 757 to 766, and had statues of Maitreya and Amitābha made and enshrined in the main Buddha hall and the Lecture hall respectively in order to eternally commemorate the incarnation of the two saints as Buddhas.

This account, therefore, is an important record as an example of belief in the possibility of becoming an incarnated Buddha, which was widely accepted in Silla society. It also provides us with a realistic image of the belief that Silla was a Buddha Land—a belief that had been emphasized since the earliest days of Silla Buddhism. Furthermore, we can learn from this account that even though these two persons left their homes in order to cultivate themselves, they nevertheless initially both took their wives and children with them and lived an ordinary daily life. This demonstrates that Silla society accommodated Buddhism in a natural way. This legend is important in that it shows us a lifestyle after taking Buddhist vows and leaving the secular world that is quite different from the austere Buddhist lifestyle that we see in other legends. Also, the realization of Buddhahood through self-cultivation based on devotion to Maitreya and Amitābha and the subsequent enshrinement of statues of Maitreya and Amitābha in the main Buddha hall and the Lecture hall, respectively, reveal similarities with the beliefs of the Dharma-character school (Beopsang jong 法相宗) in Silla. Compared to the legends of the making of a statue at Gamsansa around 720 and Jinpyo's divination activities in the mid-eighth century, we can see that this legend concerning the attainment of Buddhahood arose at an even earlier time, and by the mid-eighth century a monastery had also been built and Buddha images had been enshrined. But this legend differs insofar as Nohil Budeuk's and Daldal Bakbak's attainment of Buddhahood as incarnated Maitreya and Amitābha Buddhas occurs through the decisive intervention of Avalokiteśvara. This account also introduces the book *The Two Saints' Attainment of Enlightenment at Mt. Baegwol* (*Baegwolsan yangseong seongdogi*) and here and there Iryeon attempts to confirm the facts that it contains. Iryeon also adds his own opinion in the last part of the account and provides a profound explanation as to why the woman gave birth to a child before Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak's transformation. The content of this section, therefore, is an excellent example of the actual nature of the composite Buddhist faith in Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha and Maitreya in Silla times.

Annotated Translation:

According to the *Two Saints' Attainment of Enlightenment at Mt. Baegwol* (*Baegwolsan yangseong seongdogi*) "Mt. Baegwol[481] is located to the north of Gusa County[482] (*formerly Gulja County and now Uian County*). Its mountain peak is mysterious and unusual, and as its length extends for several hundred leagues, it is truly a guardian mountain."

Elders from long ago have passed down these words, "Long ago the Tang Emperor once dug a pond, and on the fifteenth day of each lunar month, as the moon grew brighter, there appeared a mountain in the middle of the pond, with a rock like a lion, its shadow among the flowers, and its reflection in the middle of the pond. The emperor had a court artist paint this image and sent envoys to search for it throughout the world. [The envoys] arrived in Silla (Haedong) and looking at this mountain saw the great lion rock.[483] A

481 Mt. Baegwol (白月山) is located on the border of Dong-eup and Buk-myeon in Changwon (昌原), South Gyeongsang Province. It has three peaks and is also called Mt. Sam (三山) or Mt. Hwa (花山). On the easternmost peak there is a rock shaped like a crouching lion called Saja-am (Lion Rock: 獅子岩). Mt. Baegwol is located twenty-five *li* to the north of the Changwon Governor's Office and Saja-am on the southern side of Mt. Baegwol is said to have been the place where Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak meditated. See the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 32, Changwon, section on Mountains and Rivers, Mt. Baegwol, Saja-am)

482 Gusa County (仇史郡) is the region around present-day Changwon in South Gyeongsang Province. It was originally part of the territory of the Geumgwan Gaya state and after its annexation by Silla was re-established as Gusa County or Gulja County (Gulja-gun: 屈自郡). During the Unified Silla period in 757 (the sixteenth year of King Gyeongdeok's reign) it came under the Yangju (良州) administration and was renamed Uian County (Uian-gun: 義安郡). At that time it comprised the three prefectures of Chilje-hyeon (漆隄縣 or 漆吐縣), Hapbo-hyeon (合浦縣 or 骨浦縣) and Ungsin-hyeon (熊神縣 or 熊只縣), but in 1018 (the ninth year of Hyeonjong's reign) in early Goryeo, the three prefectures all became dependent counties (s*okgun*) and dependent prefectures (*sokhyeon*) of Geumju (金州, present-day Gimhae), and in 1408 (the eighth year of Taejong's reign) in early Joseon, Uichang-hyeon, whose name had been changed from Uian-hyeon, was amalgamated with Hoewon-hyeon to become the urban prefecture, Changwon-bu (昌原府). (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 34, Jiriji, 義安郡; *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiriji, 金州; *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, vol. 32, 昌原都護府)

483 Lion rock (*saja-am*: 獅子岩) is located twenty-five *li* north of Changwon regional military command (*dohobu*: 都護府) on the southern side of Mt. Baegwol. According to legend it is the place

short way southwest of the mountain was Three Mountains (Samsan) called Mt. Hwa (*there was only one mountain, but it had three peaks, so it was called Three Mountains*). It was like the mountain in the painting. But as there was no way of knowing whether it was the true one or not, one of the envoys tied one of his shoes to the top of the lion rock, and when the envoy reported this on his return, the reflection of the shoe also appeared in the lotus pond. The emperor considered this mysterious and named the mountain Mt. Baegwol (White Moon) (*because the reflection of the white moon had appeared there*). Thereafter the reflection disappeared from the middle of the pond."

南白月二聖人 努肹夫得 怛怛朴朴

白月山兩聖成道記云, "白月山, 在新羅仇史郡之北[古之屈自郡, 今義安郡]. 峰巒奇秀, 延袤數百里, 眞巨鎭也."

古老相傳云, "昔唐皇帝嘗鑿一池, 每月望前, 月色滉朗, 中有一山, 嵓石如師子, 隱映花間之影, 現於池中. 上命畵工圖其狀, 遣使搜訪天下. 至海東見此山, 有大師子嵓. 山之西南二步許有三山, 其名花山[其山一體三首, 故云三山.], 與圖相近. 然未知眞僞, 以隻履懸於師子嵓之頂, 使還奏聞, 履影亦現池. 帝乃異之, 賜名曰白月山[望前白月影現, 故以名之.], 然後池中無影."

At a place about three thousand paces to the southeast of this place is the village of Seoncheon, where two people lived. One was Nohil Budeuk (努肹夫得) ([the character] deuk 得 *is also written* as deung 等). His father was Woljong and his mother Miseung. The other person was Daldal Bakbak, whose father was Subeom and whose mother was Beomma[484] (*a local legend which names*

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where Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak meditated. (*Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, vol. 32, 昌原都護府 古蹟 師子巖)

484 Here the name of the parents of Budeuk, who meditated and prayed to Maitreya Buddha for salvation, are Woljang (月藏) and Miseung (味勝), and the names of the parents of Bakbak who meditated and prayed to the Amitābha Buddha for salvation, are Subeom (修梵) and Beomma (梵摩). According to the sūtras, Maitreya's parents were Subeomma (修梵摩) and Beommabalje (梵摩拔提) (*Mireuk daeseongbul gyeong*: 彌勒大成佛經), while the parents of Amitābha were Wolsan jeollyun seongwang (月山轉輪聖王) and Suseungmyoan (殊勝妙顏) (*Goeum seongwang tarani gyeong*: 鼓音聖王陀羅尼經). The names of the parents of the two monks and those of the parents of the two

Chisan village is mistaken. The two persons' names are in the Silla dialect[485] *and were given to them to show that both persons from these two families were high-minded in their behavior and steadfast in their integrity*). Both these persons were extraordinary in their bearing and physique, and as their lofty thoughts transcended this mundane world, they formed a deep friendship with each other. When they were both twenty years old, they went to a Buddhist retreat on a hill to the northeast of the village, shaved their heads and became monks.

Some time later they heard that to the southwest of Chisan village there was an old monastery at Seungdong village in Beopjong valley that was a good place to cultivate the mind, so they went there together and lived in the villages of Daebul-jeon (Great Buddha Field) and Sobul-jeon (Small Buddha Field) respectively. Budeuk lived in the Hoejin Hermitage, which is also called Yang Monastery (*this is the old monastic site in Hoejin-dong*). Bakbak lived at Yurigwang Monastery[486] (*this is the monastic site on Mt. Yi*). Both took their wives and children with them and while living there carried out their business, going back and forth between each other and cultivating their spirituality. With their minds at ease, they never for a moment abandoned their idea to renounce the world. Contemplating the futility of the flesh and the world, they said to one another, "Even though fertile earth and years of abundant harvest are truly good, they cannot compare to the satisfaction and warmth that comes from the food and clothing that appears in accordance with one's mind. A wife and home are truly good, but they cannot compare with enjoying oneself together with the multitude of saints in the Lotus-Treasury World (*yeonhwajang segye*)[487] and amusing oneself

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bodhisattvas, therefore, appear to have become mixed up. As the names of the places where the two monks practiced were also mixed up in the local legend on which this account is based, it is presumed that the parents' names were also mixed up as the legend was transmitted.

485 The term *bangeon* (方言) means the Silla language of that time.

486 Yurigwangsa (琉璃光寺) was located on Mt. Baegwol (白月山) in Changwon, South Gyeongsang Province.

487 The term Lotus-Treasury World (*yeonhwajang segye*: 蓮華藏世界) comes from the Sanskrit term, *Padmagarbha-lokadhāṭu*. It is also called *hwajang segye* (華藏世界) or *hwajanggye* (華藏界). The name

among the parrots and peacocks [there]. Not to mention the fact that if one studies the Buddha dharma, one must attain Buddhahood as a matter of course, and if one practices the truth one will without fail attain the truth. As we have already shaved our heads and become monks, we must inevitably cast off the entanglements of evil desires[488] and attain the way that is without peer.[489] How could we be immersed in worldly affairs[490] and be no different from people in the secular world?"

So they abandoned the human world and intended to seclude themselves in a deep valley. One night in a dream the light of a white hair[491] shone from the west, and from the middle of the light a golden arm stretched forth and touched the foreheads of the two men. Awaking from sleep the two men

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refers to the vast and magnificent world replete with immeasurable merit in which Vairocana Buddha emerged in the past and practiced to become a bodhisattva. This world is made up of an enormous lotus blossom and is called Lotus-Treasury World because all its territories are contained within the blossom. According to the chapter on the Lotus-Treasury World in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, there is a fragrant ocean (*hyangsuhae*: 香水海) above the wind-wheel (*pungnyun*: 風輪) above Mt. Sumeru, within which is an enormous lotus blossom, and the Lotus-Treasury World is said to be inside the lotus blossom. It is surrounded by the Diamond-wheel mountains (*geumgang nyunsan*: 金剛輪山), and its land is said to be made of diamond and is immoveable, pure, flat and indescribably sublime in appearance. Also within each of these worlds there are said to be innumerable other worlds. The great lotus flower that emerges from the central fragrant ocean in the Lotus-treasure World is said to form a central point that gives light to the worlds of the ten directions (*sibang segye*: 十方世界). Buddha emerges from this centre, and sentient beings throng around him. The magnificent structure of this world is said to be infinitely vast. Also, according to the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* (*Beommanggyeong*: 梵網經) Vairocana Buddha (Nosanabul: 盧舍那佛) sits on a thousand-petalled lotus throne and each of the thousand lotus petals forms a world. In each of these worlds are a thousand Śākyamuni Buddhas, emanating from Vairocana Buddha, sitting under bodhi-trees, and each world is said to have ten billion countries.

488 The term *jeon-gyeol* (纏結), which literally means "entangled and knotted" is an expression meaning "evil desires" or the anguish that arises from them.

489 The expression for "the way that is without peer" is *musangdo* (無上道) and refers to the Buddhist way.

490 The term for "worldly affairs" is the metaphorical expression *pungjin* (風塵), meaning literally "wind and dust."

491 The white hair (*baekho*: 白毫) derives from the Sanskrit term *ūrṇa-lakṣana*, see note 220, above.

discussed their dreams and on finding that they were identical, for a long time they were filled with amazement.

Finally they went to Mudeung Valley (*present-day Namdong*) in Mt. Baegwol. Monk Bakbak resided at the Lion Rock on the northern ridge and built and lived in an eight-foot room in a wooden hut, which was called Panbang (Log Cabin). Monk Budeuk resided by a stream below a pile of rocks on the eastern side of the valley and also built an eight-foot room, which was called Noebang (Rock Cabin) (*according to a local record, Budeuk lived on the northern side of the mountain in Yuri-dong, which is now Panbang, and Bakbak lived on the southern side of the mountain at Noebang in Beomjeong-dong, which is opposite to this record. On careful examination we can now see that the local record is erroneous*). While living in their respective hermitages, Budeuk devoted himself diligently to Maitreya,[492] while Bakbak worshipped and attended Amitābha.[493]

492 It is said that after being born into a Brahmin family, Maitreya became a disciple of Buddha but died before him and as a bodhisattva gave sermons on the dharma to the inhabitants of heaven and that he resides in the Tuṣita Heaven (K. Dosolcheon: 兜率天).

493 Amitābha (Amitabul: 阿彌陀佛) is said to dwell in the Western Pure Land (Seobang cheongto: 西方淨土) and enables all human beings who believe in him and call on his name to be reborn in this Western Pure Land. There are two different Sanskrit versions of his name, Amitāyus, which means "immeasurable life" and is translated into Chinese as Wuliangshou (K. Muryangsu: 無量壽) and Amitābha, which means "immeasurable light" and is translated into Chinese as Wuliangguang (K. Muryanggwang: 無量光). According to the *Sūtra of Immeasurable Life* (Skt. *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra,* K. *Muryangsugyeong*: 無量壽經) long ago in the past during the era of the Buddha Lokeśvararāja (K. Sejajae wang bul: 世自在王佛), one of the fifty-three Buddhas of the past, a king had an unsurpassed desire to attain enlightenment and so abandoned his throne and became a Buddhist monk with the name bhikṣu Dharmakāra (K. Beopjang bigu, 法藏比丘). After meditating under the Buddha, taking the forty-eight vows and accumulating merit, he finally became Amitābha. He is said to have established the Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss (Geungnak jeongto: 極樂淨土) in the West separate from the other 1,000,000,000,000 Buddha Lands and until today preaches the dharma there and leads those who pray in his name to be reborn in the Pure Land of the West. In this way he became the central figure of the Pure Land belief. The core sūtras relating to the Buddha Amitābha are *Muryangsu gyeong* (無量壽經), *Gwan muryangsu gyeong* (觀無量壽經), and *Mita sambu gyeong* (彌陀三部經) in *Amita gyeong* (阿彌陀經).

山之東南三千步許, 有仙川村, 村有二人. 其一曰努肹夫得[一作等], 父名月藏, 母味勝. 其一曰怛怛朴朴, 父名修梵, 母名梵摩[鄉傳云雉山村, 誤矣. 二士之名方言, 二家各以二士, 心行騰騰苦節二義名之爾.]. 皆風骨不凡, 有域外遐想, 而相與友善. 年皆弱冠, 往依村之東北嶺外法積房, 剃髮爲僧.

未幾聞西南雉山村法宗谷僧道村有古寺, 可以栖眞, 同往大佛田小佛田二洞, 各居焉. 夫得寓懷眞庵, 一云壤寺[今懷眞洞有古寺基, 是也.]. 朴朴居瑠璃光寺[今梨山上有寺基, 是也.]. 皆挈妻子而居, 經營産業, 交相來往, 棲神安養, 方外之志, 未常暫廢. 觀身世無常, 因相謂曰, "腴田美歲良利也, 不如衣食之應念而至, 自然得飽煖也. 婦女屋宅情好也, 不如蓮池華藏千聖共遊, 鸚鵡孔雀以相娛也. 況學佛當成佛, 修眞必得眞. 今我等旣落彩爲僧, 當脫略纏結, 成無上道. 豈宜汨沒風塵, 與俗輩無異也?"

遂唾謝人間世, 將隱於深谷. 夜夢白毫光自西而至, 光中垂金色臂, 摩二人頂. 及覺說夢, 與之符同, 皆感嘆久之.

遂入白月山無等谷[今南洞也]. 朴朴師占北嶺師子嵓, 作板屋八尺房而居, 故云板房. 夫得師占東嶺磊石下有水處, 亦成方丈而居焉, 故云磊房[鄉傳云, 夫得處山北瑠璃洞, 今板房. 朴朴居山南法精洞磊房, 與此相反. 以今驗之, 鄉傳誤矣.]. 各庵而居, 夫得勤求彌勒, 朴朴禮念彌陁.

Less than three years later, on the eighth day of the fourth month of the third year, *giyu*, of the Jinglong[494] era (709), which was the eighth year following King Seongdeok's ascension to the throne,[495] as night was falling, a young woman around twenty years old with a beautiful figure, giving off a fragrance of incense and musk suddenly arrived at the northern hermitage (*the local legend says the southern hermitage*) and asked to sleep there before moving on. She also composed a poem:

On the way the sun sets, and the serried rows of mountains grow dark.
The way is blocked, the village far, and there are no neighbors.

494 Jinglong (景龍, 707–709) is an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Zhongzong (中宗), coinciding with the sixth to eighth years of King Seongdeok's reign.

495 For King Seongdeok (r.702–737), see note 164, above.

Today I intend to sleep at this hermitage and then move on,
So compassionate monk, do not be angry [with me].

Bakbak said: "As it is my duty to preserve the sanctity of this retreat,[496] you may not come near. Please do not tarry in this place." He went in and shut the door (*according to the [local] record, he said: "I have reduced all worldly thoughts to ashes, so do not tempt me with your female charms.*")[497]

The young woman went to the southern hermitage (the local legend says the northern hermitage) and made the same request that she had made previously. Budeuk asked, "From where have you come in the middle of the night?" The young woman replied, "Tranquility and clarity[498] are like the Great Void,[499] so how can there be such things as coming and going? I simply heard, kind master, that your vow was profound and solemn and that your virtuous behavior was lofty and unshakeable. So I wish to help you to attain enlightenment[500] in the future." So saying she composed a hymn:[501]

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496 The term for "retreat" is *nanya* (蘭若), which is a shorter form of *aranya* (Skt. *araṇya*: 阿蘭若). The word refers to a secluded and quiet place suitable as a dwelling and place for meditation for people who have become Buddhist monks. In accordance with this meaning, it is also found in the translated form *wollicheo* (distant place: 遠離處) or *jeokjeongcheo* (tranquil place: 寂靜處). It refers to a suitable place for meditation located one *krośa* [a *krośa* is defined as the distance that the sound of the lowing of a large ox or the sound of a drum would carry and is 3,600 *ja* or approximately half a mile] from the nearest village. The term, therefore, refers to a monastery that is located in a quiet place in the environs of a village or town that is convenient for monks and laity to visit. In later years ordinary monasteries also came to be called *aranya.*

497 In the text, the word *hyeollang* (blood-pouch: 血囊), refers to a woman's sexual organs.

498 The word *jamyeon* (湛然) refers to a state of clarity and tranquillity.

499 The word *taeheo* (太虛) may be translated as "Great Void" and refers to the origin of the universe.

500 The word *bori* (Skt. *bodhi*: 菩提) means enlightenment and may also be translated by the words *realization* (*gak*: 覺), *wisdom* (*ji*: 智), *knowledge* (*ji*: 知), and *way* (*do*: 道). As the extinction of worldly attachments and the achievement of the wisdom of *nirvāṇa*, *bori* is the wisdom of enlightenment attained in accordance with retribution (*gwabo*: 果報) by Buddha, as well as those "enlightened by contemplation on dependent arising" (*yeongak*: 緣覺), "voice-hearers" (i.e. the direct disciples of Buddha; *seongmun*: 聲聞), and so on.

The sun is setting, and the mountain path is hemmed in all around.
Moving on and on with no human habitation to be seen,
The shade of the pine tree and bamboo deepen,
And the sound of the stream is even fresher.
I am not asking to spend the night because I have lost my way,
But because I wish to lead you, O lofty monk.
I pray you will grant my request
And please do not ask who I am.

Hearing these words, the monk was surprised and said, "Although this place may not be sullied by women, nevertheless, caring for all humanity is also one of the actions of a bodhisattva.[502] Furthermore as the night is dark in this deep valley, how can I just turn you away?" Thereupon he made a polite gesture of welcome[503] and had her stay inside the hermitage.

When night fell Nohil [Budeuk] made his mind clear, carefully controlled

[501] The word for hymn is *gesong* (偈頌). *Gesong* (偈頌, also rendered as *ge* [偈], *pungsong* [諷誦], or *gogisong* [孤起頌] are among the *gāthās* (伽陀) classified as twelve *bugyeong* (部經) or nine *bugyo* (部教) in accordance with the narrative form and content of the dharma talks (*beommun*: 法文) of Buddha. In a broad sense the word *gesong* means a song or a hymn (*seongga*: 聖歌), but in a narrow sense it means the conclusion of a sermon or the final portion of a sūtra (*gyeongmun*: 經文), involving the recitation of a poem that links together the beginning and end of the sūtra—that is to say, a piece of writing in the form of a verse (*unmun*: 韻文). Although they are both forms of verse (*unmun*), *jungsong* (重頌) or *giya* (祇夜) are verses that repeat the content of what has gone before them in the text, whereas *gesong* do not, and the latter are therefore referred to as *gogisong* in order to distinguish them from *jungsong*.

[502] The term for "actions of the bodhisattva" is *bosalhaeng* (菩薩行), which refers to all the actions of a Mahāyāna practitioner who is striving for ultimate enlightenment and seeks the wisdom to attain enlightenment on the one hand and to educate and transform human beings with compassion on the other. It refers to all the perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*s, K. *baramil*: 波羅蜜), beginning with the Six Perfections practiced by the aspiring bodhisattva, as well as actions of benefiting oneself for one's own enlightenment (*jari*: 自利) and benefiting others for their enlightenment (*ita*: 利他), which characterize Buddhist practitioners striving to attain future Buddhahood (*bulgwa*: 佛果).

[503] The word *eup* (揖) means to make a polite bow with hands clasped together at the front.

his actions and peacefully chanted[504] prayers in the dim lamp-lit room. After a while as the night was coming to an end, the young woman called him and said, "Unfortunately I am going into labor, so, monk, please prepare a straw mat for me." Out of compassion Budeuk could not refuse, and as he made the fire bright, the young woman had already given birth and now requested to be given a bath. In his heart Nohil [Budeuk] vacillated between shame and fear, but his compassion became even greater, and so he prepared the bathtub, placed the young woman in it, and [lit] firewood to heat water and bathe her. A while later, the water inside the tub gave off an intense fragrance and became a golden color. Nohil was greatly astonished, and the young woman said, "Master, you should also bathe in here." [No]hil reluctantly complied. His mind became refreshed, and suddenly he realized that his skin had turned a golden color. At his side he saw that a lotus pedestal[505] had suddenly appeared. The young woman urged him to sit upon it and said, "I am Gwaneum bosal (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva)[506] and I came [here] to help you to attain the great enlightenment." As soon as she finished speaking, she vanished.

Bakbak thought, "[No]hil must have broken his vows last night, so I shall go and mock him." But when he arrived, he saw [No]hil seated on the lotus pedestal, transformed into an image of Maitreya, shining brightly, and his whole body seemed to be a golden color.[507] Without realizing it, he lowered

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504 The term for "peacefully chant" is *yeomyeom* (厭厭), which conveys the meaning of a comfortable and tranquil state.

505 Lotus pedestal (*yeonhwadae*: 蓮花臺) refers to the seat of Buddha or a bodhisattva. As a lotus flower grows in dirty water but is not sullied by its surroundings, it symbolizes the pure virtue of the Buddha and bodhisattvas who live in this corrupted world of sentient beings but remain undefiled. Sūtras such as the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* (*Beommang gyeong*: 梵網經) tell of an enormous world of boundless virtue and magnificence with the Buddha enthroned on a lotus pedestal.

506 For Gwaneum bosal (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), see notes 265, 268 and 276, above.

507 The term *dangeum* (檀金) is a short form of *yeombu dangeum* (閻浮檀金) and means a golden colour. *Yeombu dangeum* derives from the Sanskrit term *jambūnada-suvarṇa*, which is the name of alluvial gold found in a river which flows between Mt. Hyangchwi (香醉山) and Mt. Seol (雪山) and then through a forest of *jambū* trees. This gold is very lustrous, has a reddish hue and is considered the most precious of all types of gold. In Indian mythology Jambūnada River (K. Yeombugang) is one

his head and bowing said, “How did this happen to you?” Whereupon [No]hil explained what had happened in detail. With a sigh Bakbak said, “My karma is heavy. Even though I had the fortune to encounter a great saint, nevertheless, it turned out that I was unable to meet him. O virtuous one, you are extremely benevolent, and so you have achieved the goal before me. Please do not forget our past pledge and please let us work together.” [No]hil said, “There is some water left in the tub so you can take a bath.” Bakbak also took a bath and as had happened previously, he [was transformed and] became the Amitābha Buddha,[508] and the two images sat solemnly facing each other. On hearing this news, the people from the village at the foot of the mountain vied with one another to go [there] and gazing in awe, exclaimed in wonder, “This is truly a rare event!” The two saints held a memorial service, delivered a sermon and were carried away bodily on the clouds.

未盈三載, 景龍三年己酉四月八日, 聖德王卽位八年也. 日將夕, 有一娘子年幾二十, 姿儀殊妙, 氣襲蘭麝, 俄然到北庵[鄕傳云南庵], 請寄宿焉. 因投詞曰, “行逢日落千山暮, 路隔城遙絶四隣. 今日欲投庵下宿, 慈悲和尙莫生嗔.” 朴朴曰, “蘭若護淨爲務, 非爾所取近. 行矣無滯此處.” 閉門而入[記云, 我百念灰冷, 無以血囊見試.]. 娘歸南庵[傳曰北庵], 又請如前. 夫得曰, “汝從何處, 犯夜而來?” 娘答曰, “湛然與太虛同體, 何有往來? 但聞賢士志願深重, 德行高堅, 將欲助成菩提.” 因投一偈曰, “日暮千山路, 行行絶四隣. 竹松陰轉邃, 溪洞響猶新. 乞宿非迷路, 尊師欲指津. 願惟從我請, 且莫問何人.” 師聞之驚駭, 謂曰, “此地非婦女相汚, 然隨順衆生, 亦菩薩行之一也. 況窮谷夜暗, 其可忽視歟?” 乃迎揖庵中而置之.

至夜淸心礪操, 微燈半壁, 誦念厭厭. 及夜將艾, 娘呼曰, “予不幸適有産憂, 乞和尙排備苫草.” 夫得悲矜莫逆, 燭火殷勤. 娘旣産, 又請浴. 努肹慚懼交心, 然哀憫之情有加無已, 又備盆槽, 坐娘於中, 薪湯以浴之. 旣而槽中之水, 香氣郁烈, 變成金液. 努肹大駭, 娘曰, “吾師亦宜浴此.” 肹勉强從之, 忽覺精神爽凉, 肌膚金

of the seven tributaries of the Ganges River, but in fact this river does not exist, and the gold known as *jambūnada-suvarṇa* only exists in the imaginary realm of the mythology of the four continents of Mt. Sumeru.

508 For Amitābha (K. Amitabul: 阿彌陀佛) see note 493, above.

色. 視其傍忽生一蓮臺, 娘勸之坐, 因謂曰, "我是觀音菩薩, 來助大師, 成大菩提矣." 言訖不現. 朴朴謂, "盻今夜必染戒, 將歸听之." 旣至, 見盻坐蓮臺, 作彌勒尊像, 放光明, 身彩檀金. 不覺扣頭而禮曰, "何得至於此乎?" 盻具叙其由, 朴朴嘆曰, "我乃障重, 幸逢大聖, 而反不遇. 大德至仁, 先吾著鞭. 願無忘昔日之契, 事須同攝." 盻曰, "槽有餘液, 但可浴之." 朴朴又浴, 亦如前成無量壽, 二尊相對儼然. 山下村民聞之, 競來瞻仰, 嘆曰, "希有希有." 二聖爲說法要, 全身躡雲而逝.

In the fourteenth year, *eulmi,*[509] of the Tianbao[510] era (755) King Gyeongdeok[511] of Silla ascended the throne (*according to an ancient record, in the twenty-fourth year,* eulmi, *of the Tianjian*[512] *era, King Beopheung*[513] *ascended the throne, but could there be a more serious reversal of [chronological] order than this*?), and on hearing these facts, he sent envoys in the *jeongyu* year (757), built a large temple and named it Baegwolsannam Monastery.[514] The monastery was completed in the second year, *gapjin*,[515] of the Guangde[516] era

509 The fourteenth year of the Tianbao era was 755, the fourteenth year of King Gyeongdeok's reign.

510 For Tianbao (天寶), see note 177, above.

511 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175, above.

512 Tianjian (天鑑) is thought to be a scribal error for the Tianjian (天監, 502–519) era name in the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang, in which case the *eulmi* year would have been the fourteenth rather than the twenty-fourth year. As King Beopheung ascended the throne in the thirteenth year of the Tianjian era (514), the fourteenth year would have been 515, a discrepancy of one year. But if the date is reckoned in accordance with the principle that the last year of the previous king's reign is also the first year of his successor's reign (*yunyeon chingwon beop*: 踰年稱元法), there is no discrepancy.

513 For King Beopheung (法興王, r. 514–540), see note 76, above.

514 Baegwolsannamsa (白月山南寺) is now known as the Nambaeksa (南白寺) site. It is located on the northern side of the foot of Mount Baegwol in Bukgye-ri, Buk-myon, Changwon in South Gyeongsang Province. The sites of various buildings still remain together with such historical remains as a three-story stone stūpa and the image of a Buddha carved on a stone cliff face (*maaebul*: 磨崖佛).

515 The second year of the Guangde era was 764.

516 Guangde (廣德, 763–764) is an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Daizong (代宗), coinciding with the twenty-second to twenty-third year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok of Silla.

(764) (*the ancient record states the founding year of the Dali*[517] *era (766), but this is yet another mistake*) on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. He remodeled the Maitreya statue and enshrined it in the main Buddha hall, and inscribed a plaque with the words, "The Hall of the Incarnated Saint Maitreya." He also modeled an Amitābha statue and enshrined it in the lecture hall, but because there was not enough gold remaining, it could not be covered completely, and as a consequence the Amitābha statue has some mottled patches on it. Its tablet reads, "The Hall of the Incarnated Saint, Amitābha."[518]

天寶十四年乙未, 新羅景德王卽位[古記云, 天鑑二十四年乙未法興卽位, 何先後倒錯之甚如此?], 聞斯事, 以丁酉歲遣使, 創大伽藍, 號白月山南寺. 廣德二年[古記云, 大曆元年, 亦誤.]甲辰七月十五日, 寺成. 更塑彌勒尊像, 安於金堂, 額曰, 現身成道彌勒之殿. 又塑彌陁像安於講堂, 餘液不足, 塗浴未周, 故彌陁像亦有斑駁之痕. 額曰, 現身成道無量壽殿.

A commentary states, "It can be said that the young woman appeared in the form of a woman to accept and transform[519] all living beings. According

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517 Dali (大歷, 766–779) is an era name in the reign of the Tang emperor Daizong (代宗), coinciding with the second to fifteenth year of the reign of King Hyegong of Silla.

518 In the Silla era it was a tradition of the monasteries of the Dharma-character school (Beopsangjong: 法相宗) that the Maitreya Buddha was enshrined in the main hall (*geumdang*: 金堂) and the Amitābha Buddha was enshrined in the lecture hall (Skt. *prāsāda*, K. *gangdang*: 講堂). This tradition subsequently continued in the monasteries of the Dharma-character school in the Goryeo era, and we can also see the same kind of layout in such monasteries as Hyeonhwasa (玄化寺), which was founded during the reign of Hyeonjong (顯宗, r. 1009–1031) in the Joseon era.

519 The term *seophwa* (攝化) means to receive or accept (*seopsu*: 攝受) and edify (*gyohwa*: 敎化) sentient beings. *Seopsu* also means Buddha's compassionate protection for all sentient beings.

to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*,[520] 'The virtuous teacher[521] Lady Maya,[522] while

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[520] The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Garland Sutra*, K. *Hwaeom gyeong*, 華嚴經) is a short form for the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra* (K. *Daebang gwangbul hwaeom gyeong*, 大方廣佛華嚴經). It is also known as the *Japhwa gyeong* (雜華經) and is one of the most important sūtras of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It provides a straightforward account of the enlightenment of Buddha and also recounts the enlightenment of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra centered on the Vairocana Buddha, after Buddha Śākyamuni had attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. Its content concerns the causal practices (*inhaeng*: 因行) and the merit contained in the result (*gwadeok*: 果德) of becoming a Buddha, focusing on the stages of bodhisattva practice beginning with the ten grounds (*sipji*: 十地), the ten abodes (*sipju*: 十住), the ten practices (*siphaeng*: 十行) and the ten dedications (*siphoehyang*:十廻向). The latter part of the sūtra is the "Chapter on Entry into the Dharma Realm" (Ip beopgye pum: 入法界品), which describes the search for truth of Sudhana (Seonjaedongja: 善財童子) as he visits fifty-three "virtuous teachers" (*seonjisik*: 善知識) to learn about the practices of the bodhisattva (*bosalhaeng*: 菩薩行). In this way he enters into the endlessly and repeatedly unfolding (*jungjung mujin*: 重重無盡) world of dependent arising, which is free from all hindrances. Today there is no known complete Sanskrit text but the "Chapter on the Ten Grounds" (Sipjipum: 十地品) and the "Chapter on Entry into the Dharma Realm" have survived in part, and it is generally believed that the complete sūtra was compiled in the western region of China. On the basis of the content of this sūtra, Zhiyan (智儼), Fazang (法藏) and Chengguan (澄觀) in succession established and developed China's Huayan (K. Hwaeom) School, and Huayan thought became the most outstanding philosophy in the scholastic Buddhism of China. There are three different translations of this text, namely, the sixty-fascicle translation by Buddhabhadra (K. Bultabaltara: 佛馱跋陀羅) during the Eastern Jin era, the eighty-fascicle translation by Śikṣānanda (K. Silchananta: 實叉難陀) during the Tang era, and the forty-fascicle translation by Prajña (K. Banya: 般若) at the end of the Tang era.

[521] The term for "virtuous teacher" is *seonjisik* (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*, 善知識), which refers to someone who leads others into the right path through their teaching and virtuous behavior. The word also means "knowledge" (*jisik*: 知識), "good friend" (*seonu*: 善友) or "wonderful friend" (*seungu*: 勝友). The *Prajnāparamitā* (*Perfection of Wisdom*) *Sūtra*, while expounding on emptiness (*gong*: 空) and impermanence (*musang*: 無常), describes *kalyāṇamitra* as those people who give joy to others and enable them to have faith. In the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, while travelling in search of the truth, Sudhana meets fifty-three *kalyāṇamitra*, who are depicted as being people, regardless of whether they are a bodhisattva or an ordinary human being, who lead sentient beings into the Buddha path by encouraging them to pursue goodness and abandon evil.

[522] Lady Maya (Skt. Mahāmāyā, K. Maya buin: 摩耶夫人) was the mother of Śākyamuni. She was the wife of King Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu. After becoming pregnant, she was on her way to her parental home in Devadaha when she took a rest in the Lumbinī Garden where she gave birth to Prince Siddhārtha but died seven days later. After her death she was reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, and it is said that later, after he became enlightened, Śākyamuni Buddha went up to the Tuṣita

residing in the eleventh stage,[523] gave birth to Buddha, which was the same as [showing] the gate of Buddhist liberation."[524] Now the same extraordinary meaning may be found in the young woman's giving birth.[525] If we examine the words she composed, they are sorrowful, gentle and appropriate for a spiritual being from heaven. Ah, if the young woman had not known how to accompany all sentient beings and how to recite the *dhāraṇī*,[526] how could

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Heaven in order to expound the dharma to her. In the "Chapter on Entry into the Dharma Realm (Ip beopgye pum: 入法界品)" (fascicle 57 of the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing* and fascicle 76 of the 80-fascicle *Huayan jing*), Lady Maya is the forty-first person that Sudhana meets during his visits to the fifty-three "good friends" in search of the truth.

523 The "eleventh stage" (*sibilji*: 十一地) corresponds to "virtual (or equal) enlightenment" (*deunggak*: 等覺), which constitutes the eleventh stage when the stages of bodhisattva practice are classified into fifty-two different stages, namely, the ten faiths (*sipsin*: 十信), the ten abodes (*sipju*: 十住), the ten practices (*siphaeng*: 十行), the ten different directions (*siphoehyang*: 十廻向), the ten grounds (*sipji*: 十地), virtual enlightenment (*deunggak*: 等覺), and wonderful enlightenment (*myogak*: 妙覺). (This system of fifty-two stages derives from the *Bosal yeongnak gyeong* [菩薩瓔珞經], but in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* there are only forty-one stages as the ten faiths are omitted and virtual enlightenment [*deunggak*] and wonderful enlightenment [*myogak*] are combined as the Buddha stage [*bulji*: 佛地])

524 The "gate of Buddhist liberation" (Hwanhaetalmun: 幻解脫門) refers to the "Dharma-gate" (*beommun*: 法門) (i.e. doctrine) of Lady Maya. In the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* each of the fifty-three "virtuous teachers" (*seonjisik*: 善知識) has his or her own "Dharma-gate", which they expound to Sudhana, and in the "Chapter on Entry into the Dharma Realm" (Ip beopgye pum: 入法界品), (80-fascicle *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, fascicle 76) Lady Maya attained such "gates of Buddhist liberation" as great determination (*daeseowon*: 大誓願), wisdom, and supernatural powers (*hwansul*: 幻術) (大願智幻解脫門) and became the mother of all bodhisattvas. "Oh son of Buddha, I have already attained the great determination, wisdom and supernatural powers of the bodhisattva, so I have always been the mother of all the bodhisattvas." (佛子 我已成就菩薩大願智幻解脫門, 是故常爲諸菩薩母. 80-fascicle *Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* vol. 76, 大 10–415c16. In the 60-fascicle *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (vol. 57, 大 10–764a19) it is called "Jihwan beommun" (智幻法門).

525 The fact that Nohil Budeuk and Daldal Bakbak became Maitreya and Amitābha through the young woman's help is analogous with the belief that Lady Maya became the mother of all Buddhas.

526 In the original text *tarani* (陀羅尼) is a transcription of the Sanskrit word *dhāraṇī*, which is also translated as *chongji* (總持), *neungji* (能持) and *neungcha* (能遮). Gathering together all the innumerable Buddha dharmas, committing them to memory and cherishing them is called *chongji*, while warding of all evil doctrines is called *neungji*. It is said that memorizing one character and one

she have accomplished this? The final phrase could reasonably have been, "Do not reproach me for being in one place with the pure wind." But she did not express it in this way because she did not wish to use worldly language.

Panegyric:
Before the emerald cliff, the sound of tapping at the door;
Who in the evening of the day can be knocking on the cloudy gate?
The southern hermitage is nearby, so its right to go there.
Do not tread on the green moss and stain my threshold.
The above [is in praise of] the northern hermitage.

The valley is dark. Where are you going?
Rest at my southern window and then go.
Deep in night I diligently count the 108 rosary beads[527]
And fear the sound may keep the traveler awake.
The above [is in praise of] the southern hermitage.

Wandering for ten leagues along a lonely trail under the shade of pines,
Seeking out the monk to test him, you arrived at his dwelling[528] by night.

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meaning of a Buddhist teaching in order to recall the entire dharma (*ilchebeop*: 一切法) is the way to prevent the extinction of the immeasurable Buddha dharma. *Dhāraṇī* contain various good dharmas and repel evil doctrines (*akbeop*: 惡法), so when bodhisattvas act for the sake of sentient beings to enlighten them, they absolutely need to obtain these *dhāraṇī* so that they can dwell among the general populace without fear and freely share the dharma with them. In later ages because the form of the *dhāraṇī* became similar to that of magic spells (*jumun*: 呪文), the two became confused, and the term *dhāraṇī* came to be used for both Buddhist incantations and magic spells. In general when the phrases that make up the incantations are only one or two characters in length, they are called *jongja* (種子), slightly longer ones are called *jineon* (眞言), and long incantations are called *dhāraṇī*.

527 In the text the term *baekpal* (百八: 108) refers to a Buddhist rosary made up of 108 beads symbolizing the 108 worldly afflictions (*beonnoe*: 煩惱).

528 The word for "monk's dwelling" is *choje* (招提) from the Sanskrit word *catur-diśa*, which is more fully transcribed as *jatujesa* (柘門提舍) or *chotujesa* (招門提舍). The Sanskrit term was also translated as "four directions" (*sabang*: 四方), "four directions monk" (*sabangseung*: 四方僧), "four directions monk's chamber" (*sabang seungbang*: 四方僧房). The word refers to a dwelling place where monks

Having bathed three times, just as day was dawning
You gave birth to two children and departed for the West.
The above [is in praise of] the saintly young woman.

議曰, 娘可謂應以婦女身攝化者也. 華嚴經摩耶夫人善知識, 寄十一地生佛如幻解脫門. 今娘之桷産, 微意在此. 觀其投詞, 哀婉可愛, 宛轉有天仙之趣. 嗚呼! 使娘婆不解隨順衆生語言陁羅尼, 其能若是乎! 其末聯宜云, '清風一榻莫予嗔.' 然不爾云者, 蓋不欲同乎流俗語爾.

讚曰, 滴翠嵓前剝啄聲. 何人日暮扣雲扃. 南庵且近宜尋去, 莫踏蒼苔汚我庭. 右北庵.

谷暗何歸已暝煙, 南窓有簟且流連. 夜闌百八深深轉, 只恐成喧惱客眠. 右南庵.

十里松陰一徑迷, 訪僧來試夜招提. 三槽浴罷天將曉, 生下雙兒擲向西. 右聖娘.

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can gather from everywhere and live together on terms of equality. As the common property of the monastic community (*seungdan*: 僧團) had been donated for the use of everyone in the community, it was called the "property of the monastic community" (*chojeseungmul*: 招提僧物). In this sense the term *choje* is basically a term for a Buddhist monastery.

4–16. The Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara at Bunhwangsa Causes a Blind Child to Regain Its Sight 芬皇寺千手大悲 盲兒得眼

Introduction:

Bunhwang Monastery, which was constructed in the reign of Queen Seondeok, is an important Buddhist monastery with a long history and is one of the seven major Buddhist monasteries of Silla that are said to have been built on the sites of monasteries from the era of the Buddhas of the past. This section is an account of a miraculous legend concerning an Avalokiteśvara image that was enshrined there. It is a story about the child of a woman who lived in Hangi District, which was one of the six districts of Gyeongju in the reign of King Gyeongdeok. When the child became blind at the age of five, the mother took him in her arms to the image of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara at Bunhwang Monastery and made the child sing the "Song of Supplication to the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara" [*Docheonsu Gwaneum ga*], whereupon the child's eyes were opened. One of the most generally held beliefs in the Silla period was that Avalokiteśvara, who could be called upon in any place of suffering, was able to appear in various forms and grant the wishes of human beings. The manifestations of faith in Avalokiteśvara, which enabled people to throw off the various sufferings they encountered in life, give birth to children and liberated them from the spiritual ignorance (*mumyeong*) and the three poisons (*samdok*) became even more varied as transformation Avalokiteśvaras such as the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara and Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara appeared. This section on Bunhwangsa[529] provides us with a typical example of such a transformation Avalokiteśvara. We

[529] For Bunhwangsa (芬皇寺), see note 185, above.

can surmise that the compassionate power of salvation of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara,[530] who had a thousand hands, each of which had one eye, and therefore also had a thousand eyes, became a particular object of faith for blind people. The name of the mother, Huimyeong, is also a symbolic expression insofar as it means "hoping for brightness." The "Song of Supplication to the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara," which is found in this section, is also one of the fourteen *hyangga* found in the *Samguk yusa*. As such it is considered to be a representative work that clearly demonstrates the structure of a song of supplication.

Annotated Translation:

At the time of King Gyeongdeok,[531] the son of Huimyeong, a woman who lived in Hangi Village,[532] suddenly became blind at the age of five years.[533]

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530 Thousand-Hands Avalokiteśvara (Cheonsu Gwaneum sang: 千手觀音像) is one of the transformations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and is a short form of "Avalokiteśvara with a Thousand Hands and a Thousand Eyes" (Cheonsu cheonan Gwanseeum bosal: 千手千眼觀世音菩薩). It is believed that Avalokiteśvara, whose name means "perceiver of the sounds of the world," immediately perceives the sounds of those who call on his name pleading to be rescued from their suffering and provides them with salvation. As the wishes of sentient beings are many and varied, Avalokiteśvara appears in a variety of forms in any place depending on the situation of the sentient beings pleading for salvation in order to grant their wishes. For this reason Avalokiteśvara is also called the Bodhisattva of "Great Compassion" (Daejabi: 大慈悲). In order to be able to respond to the multiplicity of requests from sentient beings, he came to be depicted in the form of a being with a thousand hands and a thousand eyes (*cheonsu cheonan*: 千手千眼). In paintings and statues he is depicted as having forty principal hands and in the palm of each hand there is an eye. Each of the forty hands has twenty-four counterparts making a total of a thousand hands and a thousand eyes in all.

531 For King Gyeongdeok, see note 175, above.

532 Hangi Village (Hangi-ri: 漢岐里) was Geumsangari Village (Geumsangari-chon: 金山加利村), which was one of the so-called Six Villages (Yukbu: 六部) of Jinhan (辰韓) that constituted the central power in early Silla. In the eighth year of the reign of King Yuri of Silla (31) it was renamed Hangi-bu (漢岐部), and in the reign of King Taejo of Goryeo it was again renamed Gadeok-bu (加德部). There are theories that it was located at either present-day Dongcheon-ri (東川里) in Cheonbuk-

One day the woman took her son in her arms and carried him to the portrait of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara[534] painted on the north wall[535] of the Left Hall (Jwajeon) of Bunhwang Monastery and made the boy sing a song and pray so that finally his eyes opened. The song[536] was as follows:

Kneeling down,
Two palms joined together,
In front of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara
I pray and offer these words:
Please spare just one of the thousand eyes in your thousand hands
And give it to me, who have lost both eyes.

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myeon or Bomun-ri (普門里) in Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province, but generally it is considered to have been located in Hyeongok-myeon to the west of Cheonbuk-myeon.

533 The word *im* (稔), which has the primary meanings of "ripe grain" or "harvest," also means a "season" or "year."

534 Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara, see note 530, above.

535 The biography of Solgeo (率居) in the "Biographies" section of *Samguk sagi* (vol. 48) mentions the wall painting at Hwangnyongsa together with the painting of Avalokiteśvara at Bunhwangsa, which were both painted by this most renowned Silla artist. The miracle-working Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara mentioned in this story is, therefore, thought to be the painting of Avalokiteśvara by Solgeo that is mentioned in the *Samguk sagi.*

536 This Silla song or chant (*hyangga*: 鄉歌) is known as the "Song of Supplication to the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara" (*Do cheonsu Gwaneum ga*: 禱千手觀音歌). There are, however, various opinions that the composer of this song was the blind five-year-old child, the child's mother Huimyeong, or that it was a prayer composed by a Buddhist monk. If we place primary importance on the original text, taking into consideration its general characteristics as a song of supplication and the fact that from the phraseology it appears to be sung from the point of view of the child facing an image of Avalokiteśvara, the correct opinion appears to be that the child's mother, Huimyeong, adapted a widely known prayer and had her child sing it as a song. From this point of view this song is highly valued as a song of supplication that contains the most devout and earnest intentions originating from the simple imaginative power that arises from everyday life. (*Ed. note: this Silla Buddhist song or chant* (*hyangga*: 鄉歌) *is partly written in* idu *which is not translateable, as Chinese characters are used simply to record the sounds of Sanskrit words. See Hwang Peigang,* "Samguk Yusa *wa hyangga yeongu*" (Samguk Yusa *and the Study of hyangga*) *in* Samguk yusa ui chonghap cheok komto, *The Academy of Korean Studies, Comprehensive Review of* Samguk yusa, *1987, 519-532, who provides some detailed examples.*)

Ah, if you grant this to me,
Somewhere it will become a root of compassion.

Panegyric:
Playing in the streets, riding a bamboo horse and playing an onion flute,
One morning these two eyes became completely blind.
If great master Avalokiteśvara had not bestowed his compassionate eyes [upon me],
I would have spent many spring days[537] when the willow branches fly in vain.

芬皇寺千手大悲 盲兒得眼
景德王代, 漢歧里女希明之兒, 生五稔而忽盲. 一日其母抱兒, 詣芬皇寺左殿北壁畫千手大悲前, 令兒作歌禱之, 遂得明.

其詞曰
膝肹古召旀
二尸掌音毛乎支內良
千手觀音叱前良中
祈以支白屋尸置內乎多
千隱手叱千隱目肹
一等下叱放一等肹除惡支
二于萬隱吾羅
一等沙隱賜以古只內乎叱等邪阿邪也
吾良遺知支賜尸等焉
放冬矣用屋尸慈悲也根古
讃曰 竹馬葱笙戲陌塵, 一朝雙碧失瞳人. 不因大士迴慈眼, 虛度楊花幾社春.

537 The term *sachun* (社春) has the same meaning as *chunsa* (春社), which is the fifth "flourishing day" (*muil*: 戊日) after "spring begins" (*ipchun*: 立春). It is one of the twenty-four solar terms, and means "spring days," i.e. the days of one's youth.

4-17. Josin and the Two Great Saints[538] of Naksansa, the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara[539] and Jeongchwi[540] 洛山二大聖 觀音 正趣 調信

Introduction:

This section contains a collection of stories relating to Mt. Nak, which was renowned as a place where Avalokiteśvara resided. The name Mt. Nak (Naksan) is said to have been bestowed on the mountain when Uisang, on returning from China, heard that the true body of Avalokiteśvara lived in a cave on this mountain located by the sea. After praying for a personal vision of the true body (*jinsin*) of Avalokiteśvara in a cave by the East Sea, Uisang received a rosary of crystal beads and a *cintāmaṇi* jewel, saw the true manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, received a request to build a monastery and constructed Naksansa. This section also includes the story of Wonhyo, who subsequently came to Mt. Nak in order to have a vision of the true body of Avalokiteśvara, but was unable to recognize the transformed manifestation of the deity. It also contains the story of the late Silla Seon

538 The expression "two great saints" (*idaeseong*: 二大聖) refers to the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara (Guaneum: 觀音) and Jeongchwi (正趣). During Sudhana's search to find out about how to become a bodhisattva in the "Chapter on Entry into the Realm of Reality" (Ipbeopgyepum: 入法界品) in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, Avalokiteśvara is the twenty-eighth and Jeongchwi the twenty-ninth bodhisattva to appear in the story to tell him about bodhisattva practice.

539 For Avalokiteśvara, see notes 265, 276 and 530, above.

540 Jeongchwi (正趣): one account states that the Bodhisattva Jeongchwi of the East came to the top of Mt. Geumgang (金剛山) in Korea and arrived at the abode of Avalokiteśvara; another that Sudhana, after hearing the teaching of Avalokiteśvara, left him and visited the bodhisattva Jeongchwi at Daecheon (大天) in Barapajeseong (婆羅波提城) in the south and listened to a sermon on bodhisattva practice from Jeongchwi, who had accomplished the *Bosal unmang peommun* (菩薩雲網法門). (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, vol. 51, "Chapter on Entry into the Realm of Reality" [Ipbeopgyepum: 入法界品] 大 9, pp. 718c–719c).


Cave of Avalokiteśvara at Naksan, Yangyang, Gangwon-do

master Beomil, the founder of Gulsan Monastery, who obtained an image of the bodhisattva Jeongchwi from a river and enshrined it on Mt. Nak, a story which is related to the founding legend of a Chinese monastery. In Goryeo times there were more examples of miracles of faith, such as the record that the two monasteries enshrining Avalokiteśvara and Jeongchwi remained unharmed by a wildfire. Also, at the time of the Mongol invasions the rosary beads and *cintāmaṇi* were buried, and when the Mongol army had withdrawn, after first being moved to Myeongju Fortress, they were moved to the palace to keep them safe. These accounts are followed by the story of Josin's dream. The account relates that in Silla times the manor (*jangjeon*) of Sedal Monastery in Yeongwol was in Myeongju. Josin (調信), who was sent there as the supervisor, liked the local governor's daughter and prayed for her hand in marriage in front of the Avalokiteśvara image in Naksan Monastery, but as his wish was not granted, he felt resentment towards Avalokiteśvara. Dozing off for a moment, he met the girl he was longing for in a dream, and they began to live together as a couple. After she gave birth to five children, their life together became more and more difficult. Eventually the eldest child starved to death, and their life became an endless round of suffering.

Realizing that happiness is nothing more than a precursor of anxiety, at the moment of parting from his wife, Josin awoke from his dream and his longing for worldly things disappeared. Josin abandoned his official position and founded Jeongto Monastery with his personal wealth and did many virtuous deeds. Iryeon then cites a commentary that states that people of this world are just striving after happiness but that this is just a dream from which they cannot awake. He then adds a song of admonition.

This section contains various details about Avalokiteśvara. First it provides an account of the story of Uisang, who figures prominently in the legend of the true body (*jinsin*: 眞身) of Avalokiteśvara on Mt. Nak, which is linked to the belief that Silla was a Buddha-land (*bulgukto*: 佛國土). This legend contains the complete form of belief in Avalokiteśvara, which together with the belief in the Amitābha Buddha, was the most widespread belief in the Unified Silla period. It also conveys the significance of the substantial salvation offered by Avalokiteśvara, based on the Universal Gate chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra,* and the diverse abodes of Avalokiteśvara, based on the Bodhisattva Abodes chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. Subsequently the belief in the bodhisattva Jeongchwi in late Silla is added in an account related to Seon Master Beomil. Jeongchwi is a bodhisattva who appears after Avalokiteśvara in the Chapter on Entry into the Realm of Reality (Ipbeopgyepum: 立法界品) in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, in which Sudhana meets fifty-three spiritual teachers. This is the sole text that provides a basis for belief in this bodhisattva. By showing the difference between Uisang, who successfully witnessed the true body of Avalokiteśvara in person, and Wonhyo who failed to do so, this chapter also reflects the inherent sectarianism of the time. Also, by showing Avalokiteśvara not providing substantial salvation and at the same time showing that Josin's desires were not ultimately fulfilled even in his dream, the legend about Josin reveals the true way of spiritual practice and thus adds another dimension of meaning to this section. Furthermore, through the account of Josin's appointment as the supervisor of the monastery's agricultural manor, we can gain an insight into the actual nature of land administration in Silla times. Although no additional sources are cited, based on an authorial comment that compares the account in the text with an account in an "old book" (*gobon*:

古本), we can surmise that there were various versions of the legend of the Naksan Avalokiteśvara in circulation in Iryeon's time. The record about the establishment of a monastery dedicated to Avalokiteśvara in this account should be studied in comparison with another account in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, concerning Ikjang (益莊) in the Goryeo period.

Annotated Translation:

Long ago, on his return from Tang China,[541] Dharma Master Uisang[542] heard that the true body (*jinsin*) of Avalokiteśvara[543] was living in a cave by the seashore, and so he called the place Mt. Nak. The place known in the regions to the west of China (*seoyeok*) as Mt. Potalaka[544] is here called Sobaekhwa

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541 According to *Samguk yusa*, vol. 4, Uisang returned to Silla from Tang China in 670 (the first year, *gyeongo*, of the Xianheng 咸亨 reign) because Gim Heumsun informed him that the Tang emperor Gaozong intended to attack Silla.

542 For Uisang (義相, 625–702), see note 367, above.

543 The term used for Avalokiteśvara is Daebi (大悲), "great compassion." See note 530, above.

544 Mt. Potalaka (Botarakgasan: 寶陁洛伽山) is known as the mountain where Avalokiteśvara resides. The word "Potalaka" may be translated either as "tree with small flowers" (*sohwasu*: 小花樹) or "small white flower" (*sobaekhwa*: 小白華). In the "Chapter on Entry into the Realm of Reality" (Ipbeopgyepum: 立法界品) in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Hwaeomgyeong: 華嚴經), Avalokiteśvara resides in a beautiful mountain by the sea called Mt. Potalaka. Sudhana visits this place and listens to a sermon from Avalokiteśvara. Consequently Avalokiteśvara's dwelling place came to be called Mt. Potalaka. In India the mountain is said to be located on the east of the Malaya mountain range on Cape Comorin on the southern tip of India. In China Mt. Potalaka is believed to be Mt. Putuo (普陀山) and Mt. Luojia (洛迦山) on the Zhoushan Islands (舟山群嶋) in Zhejiang (浙江) Province. In Korea it is considered to be Mt. Nak (Naksan). In the 60-fascicle *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* it is called Mt. Gwangmyeong (光明山) and in the 80-fascicle *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* it is called Mt. Bodallakga (補怛洛迦山). In Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* (*Da Tang xiyuji* 大唐西域記, see note 655, below) it is called Budaluojia (布呾洛迦), and in *Xinhua yanjing yinyi* (新華嚴經音義) it is called Mt. Xiaobaihuashu (K. Sobaekhwasusan 小白花樹山). After Qin Guan referred to Mt. Potalaka as Xiaobaihuashu in *Huayan jing shu* (華嚴經疏), it often came to be called Xiaobaihua (K. Sobaekhwa: 小白華) or simply Baihua (K. Baekhwa: 白花).

(small white flower). This name was adopted because the place is inhabited by the true body (*jinsin*) of the "white-robed master."[545]

After carrying out ritual purification[546] for seven days, [Master Uisang] floated his meditation cushion on the water, and eight groups of spiritual beings[547] led him into a cave where he offered an obeisance. A string of crystal rosary beads appeared in mid air, which Uisang received and then withdrew. The Dragon of the East Sea also gave him a *cintāmaṇi* bead, which the master received and then departed. He carried out ritual purification for another seven days and saw a manifestation (*jinyong*) [of Avalokiteśvara who] said, "At the top of the mountain above this place, two bamboos are growing so it would be good to build a Buddhist temple there." On hearing these words, the master left the cave and sure enough the bamboo was growing from the ground there. So he built the main Buddha Hall (*geumdang*), molded an image [of Avalokiteśvara] and attended it. Its rounded features and graceful form seemed to have been bestowed by heaven. The bamboo disappeared and so they knew that the place was inhabited by an incarnation [of Avalokiteśvara]. In this way the monastery came to be called Naksansa. The dharma master (Uisang) enshrined the two jewels in the temple (*seongjeon*) and then departed.[548]

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545 White-robed master (*baegui* Daesa: 白衣大士) is another term for "white-robed Avalokiteśvara" (*baegui* Gwaneum: 白衣觀音), which is one of the thirty-three transformations of Avalokiteśvara.

546 The term *jaegye* (齋戒) means to purify one's mind and body and avoid breaking taboos. The *palgwan jaegye* (八關齋戒) originally referred to the eight precepts of a lay person spending a day and a night in a Buddhist monastery, observing the vows of the monks during that time and in this way learning about the monastic lifestyle. Subsequently it came to refer to the observation of the following eight vows for six days of each month: to refrain from killing, stealing, sexual immorality, lying, drinking alcohol, adorning oneself, dancing and singing or watching the same, sitting or lying in a luxurious place, and eating outside set meal times.

547 The term *yongcheon palbu* (龍天八部) refers to the *cheollyong palbu* (天龍八部) or *palbujung* (八部衆), who are eight types of spiritual beings who guard the Buddha dharma, namely, *deva* (*cheon*: 天), *nāga* (*yong*: 龍), *yakṣa* (*yacha*: 夜叉), *gandharva* (*geondalpa*: 乾闥婆), *asura* (*asura*: 阿修羅), *garuḍa* (*garura*: 迦樓羅), *kiṃnara* (*ginnara*: 緊那羅), and *mahoraga* (*mahuraga*: 摩睺羅迦).

548 There are more detailed accounts of this story in other surviving texts such as the *Augmented*

Later Master Wonhyo[549] came in order to reverently behold and

Survey of the Geography of Korea (vol. 44, Yangyang [襄陽], section on Buddhist buildings [佛宇], Naksansa [洛山寺]). In the following passage from the section on Ikjang (益莊) in Goryeo, we find an alternative version of the story: "Naksansa is located to the northeast of Yangju near the village to the south of Gangseon courier station. On the coast several *li* to the east of the monastery there is a cave, which is more than 100 feet (*cheok*) high and is large enough for a ship loaded with 10,000 sacks (*seom*) of rice to enter. At the bottom of the cave the waves rush in and out so it is hard to fathom the depth of the ravine, and it is said that this is the place where Avalokiteśvara dwells on earth. In the sea about 50 paces in front of the cave there is a rock, with just enough space to spread out a mat on its top, which appears and then disappears beneath the surface of the water. Long ago Dharma Master Uisang of Silla made his seat on the rock and offered prayers with the intention of seeing Avalokiteśvara in person. After devoting himself sincerely for twice seven days, he was unable to see Avalokiteśvara so he threw himself into the sea but was lifted up by the dragon of the East Sea who placed him back on the rock. Avalokiteśvara stretched out his arm from the cave and giving him a rosary of crystal beads said, 'You cannot see my body directly. But if you go above the cave, my head is in the place where two bamboos grow. So it would be good if you could build a Buddhist monastery and enshrine a Buddha image there.' The dragon also gave him a *cintāmaṇi* and jade. The dharma master received them and went and found where the twin bamboos were growing. He built a Buddhist monastery there, made a Buddha image from the jade that the dragon had given him and enshrined it there. This monastery is in fact Naksansa. The rosary of crystal beads and the *cintāmaṇi* are kept in this monastery and have been handed down as treasures." (襄州東北降仙驛之南里, 有洛山寺. 寺之東數里許巨海邊有窟, 其高可百尺, 其大可容萬斛之舟, 其下海濤常出入, 爲不測之壑, 世稱觀音大士所住處也. 窟前距五十許步, 海中有石, 上可鋪一席, 出沒水面. 昔新羅義相法師, 欲親覩聖容, 乃於石上, 展坐拜稽. 精勤至二七日, 尙未獲覩, 便投身海中, 東海龍扶出石上). 大聖卽於窟中, 伸臂手授水精念珠曰, 我身未可親覩. 但從窟上, 行至雙竹湧出處, 是吾頂上, 於此可營一殿, 安排像設也. 龍亦獻如意珠及玉, 師受珠而來, 有雙竹湧立. 乃於其地創殿, 以龍所獻玉, 造像安之, 卽玆寺也.…水晶念珠及如意珠, 藏於是寺, 傳寶之).

549 Wonhyo (元曉: 617–686) was an eminent Silla monk. His family name was Seol. He was born in Gyeongsan and sought out and studied under many teachers and then intended to travel to China to study new schools of Buddhism but abandoned his journey en route, realizing that he had nothing more to learn. He studied the various Buddhist doctrines that had been introduced to Silla at that time and published a work that assessed the basic meaning of each one and also wrote more detailed summaries of those doctrines that interested him. He then wrote *Reconciliation of Disputes in Ten Aspects* (*Simmunhwajaengnon*: 十門和諍論), which synthesized the views of the various Buddhist doctrines and developed a new unified Buddhist view without conflicting standpoints. Wonhyo's One Mind (*ilsim*: 一心) thought, which was systematized in the most centrally important of all his written works, *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith* (*Gisillon so*: 起信論疏), and *Commentary on the Geumgang sammae gyeong* (*Geumgang sammaegyeong ron*: 金剛三昧經論), is considered to be the most

worship[550] [the incarnate Avalokiteśvara]. When he first arrived in the region, there was a woman clothed in white in the middle of a paddy-field harvesting rice. In jest the dharma master asked about the harvest, and in jest she replied that it was a lean year. Further on he came upon the woman beneath a bridge washing her menstrual cloth.[551] The dharma master asked for some water, but when the woman scooped up some of the dirty water and gave it to him, he tipped it out and scooped up some water from the stream and drank. At that moment a blue bird, which was sitting in a pine tree in the field, said, "Monk, stop [drinking] the ghee,"[552] and suddenly vanished never to reappear. At the bottom of the tree there was just one shoe. When the dharma master arrived at the temple, on the pedestal beneath the image of Avalokiteśvara, he saw a shoe that was the same as the one he had seen before and for the first time he realized that the divine woman whom he had met earlier was an incarnation

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outstanding result of Silla Buddhism. He married Princess Yoseok, who gave birth to Seol Chong (薛聰). He then went out among the common people and devoted himself to popularizing Buddhism by introducing the Amitābha Buddha to them. The Seodang hwasang Monument (Seodang hwasang bi: 誓幢和尙碑) was erected in his honor in the ninth century and in the reign of King Sukjong of Goryeo he was revered as the Hwajeong National Preceptor (Hwajeong guksa: 和靜國師). In addition to the three important works mentioned above, he also wrote more than eighty other works, including *Commentary on the Hwaeomgyeong* (*Hwaeomgyeong so*: 華嚴經疏), *Commentary on the Amitābha-sūtra* (*Amitagyeong so*: 阿彌陀經疏), *Essential Teachings of the Lotus Sūtra School* (*Beophwajong yo*: 法華宗要), *Doctrine of the Two Hindrances* (*Ijangui*: 二障義) and *A Critique of Inference* (*Pan biryang non*: 判比量論).

550 The term "reverently behold and worship" is *cheomnye* (瞻禮).

551 The term *wolsubaek* (月水帛) is another word for *wolgyeongdae* (月經帶), meaning "menstrual cloth."

552 The term for "refined ghee" is *jeho* (醍醐). When milk is separated it produces five different levels of products, *yu* (乳), *nak* (酪), *saengso* (生酥), *sukso* (熟酥), and *jeho* (醍醐). Among these five products *jeho*, derived from the Sanskrit word *maṇḍa*, or *sarpir-maṇḍa*, is said to be the most delicious. Therefore, in Buddhist sūtras, when *nirvāṇa*, the Buddha nature, or true doctrines are being described as being the highest truth, they are often compared to *jeho*. In Tiantai Buddhism (天台宗) the highest teachings, namely the *Nirvāṇa* and *Lotus sūtras*, are likened to *jeho* in order to distinguish them from the other five Tiantai doctrines. For this reason *jeho* also means an incomparably delicious taste and is an analogy for the most sublime state of Buddhahood or the profundity of Buddha's teachings.

[of Avalokiteśvara],[553] so from that time the people called [the pine tree] Gwaneumsong (Avalokiteśvara's pine). The dharma master entered the sacred cave in order to see the true appearance [of Avalokiteśvara], but a violent tempest arose and being unable to enter, he departed.

洛山二大聖 觀音 正趣 調信

昔義湘法師, 始自唐來還, 聞大悲眞身住此海邊窟內, 故因名洛山. 盖西域寶陁洛伽山, 此云小白華, 乃白衣大士眞身住處, 故借此名之.

齋戒七日, 浮座具晨水上, 龍天八部侍從, 引入崛內叅禮. 空中出水精念珠一貫給之, 湘領受而退, 東海龍亦獻如意寶珠一顆, 師捧出. 更齋七日, 乃見眞容. 謂曰 "於座上山頂, 雙竹湧生, 當其地作殿, 宜矣." 師聞之出崛, 果有竹從地湧出, 乃作金堂, 塑像而安之, 圓容麗質, 儼若天生. 其竹還沒, 方知正是眞身住也. 因名其寺曰洛山, 師以所受二珠, 鎭安于聖殿而去.

後有元曉法師, 繼踵而來, 欲求瞻禮. 初至於南郊, 水田中有一白衣女人刈稻. 師戲請其禾, 女以稻荒戲答之. 又行至橋下, 一女洗月水帛. 師乞水, 女酌其穢水獻之, 師覆棄之, 更酌川水而飮之. 時野中松上有一青鳥, 呼曰 "休醍醐和尚!" 忽隱不現, 其松下有一隻脫鞋. 師旣到寺, 觀音座下, 又有前所見脫鞋一隻, 方知前所遇聖女乃眞身也. 故時人謂之觀音松. 師欲入聖崛, 更覩眞容, 風浪大作, 不得入而去.

Subsequently, during the Taihe[554] era (827–836), Beomil,[555] the patriarch

553 Avalokiteśvara is said to appear in thirty-three different forms referred to as "responding bodies" (Skt. *nirmāna-kāya*, K. *eungsin*: 應身) depending on the wishes of sentient beings. Here the "responding manifestation" (*eunghyeon*: 應現) of Avalokiteśvara is in the form of a woman.

554 In the text Dahe (大和) should be Taihe (太和, 827–836), an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Wenzong (文宗), coinciding with the period from the second year of King Heungdeok's reign to the first year of King Huigang's reign.

555 Beomil (梵日, 810–889) was the founder of Sagulsa (Sagul sanmun: 闍崛山門). He is also known as Pumil (品日), and his family name was Gim (金). His grandfather was the Governor of Myeongju (溟州都督), Gim Surwon (金述元). He became a Buddhist monk in the sixteenth year of King Heondeok's reign (824), took the full precepts in the sixth year of King Heungdeok's reign (831) and accompanied Prince Gim Uijong (金義琮) to Tang China: there he received the dharma from Yanguan Zhaian (鹽官齊安) and also questioned Yaoshan Weiyan (藥山惟儼) on the Buddha dharma.

of the Gulsan [order] entered Tang China and arrived at Kaiguosi (開國寺) in Mingzhou.[556] A young postulant monk,[557] whose left ear had been cut off, after taking the lowest seat among all the monks, said, "I am also from your country. As my home is in the parish of Deokgi in Ingnyeong Prefecture[558]

During the Huichang (841–847) persecution of Buddhism in Tang China he fled to Mt. Shang (商山) and after paying homage at the Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch (K. Yukchotap, 六祖塔) he returned to Silla in the eighth year of King Munseong's reign (847). In the twelfth year of King Munseong's reign (850), he devoted himself to his calling in Mt. Baekdal (白達山) and then at the request of the governor of Myeongju Gim Gong, he provided spiritual leadership at Gulsansa. Subsequently, he steadfastly refused to listen to the enticements of King Gyeongmun, King Heongang and King Jeonggang and remained at the monastery for around forty years enlightening his disciples before his death in third year of King Jinseong's reign (889). His posthumous name is Grand Master Tonghyo (通曉大師, see Jodangjip [祖堂集], vol. 17). His disciples include Nangwon Gaecheong (朗圓開清) and Nanggong Haengjeok (朗空行寂). In the *Seon Treasury Record* (*Seonmun bojangnok*: 禪門寶藏錄), which appeared in late Goryeo, it is stated that the *Teachings of the True Returning Patriarchs* (*Jingwijosaseol*: 眞歸祖師說), which tells of Buddha visiting the patriarchs after his enlightenment to awaken them to their imperfections, was Beomil's work. Sangulsa and Seongjusa (Seongju sanmun: 聖住山門) were the two largest monasteries of the Nine Mountains School, which as the leading Buddhist school at the end of the Silla dynasty played a leading role in Seon Buddhism in Goryeo and produced many eminent monks.

556 Mingzhou (明州) was a regional name at that time (738) for present-day Ningbo (寧波) in Zhejiang Province (浙江省). The name derives from Mt. Siming (四明山), which is within its borders.

557 The term for "young postulant monk" is *sami* (Skt. *śrāmaṇera*, Ch. *shami*: 沙彌). The term refers to a male between the age of seven and twenty who has not yet taken the full precepts (*gujokgye*: 具足戒) and become a Buddhist monk but has observed the ten precepts of refraining from killing, stealing, sexual immorality, lying, drinking alcohol, using a high and broad bed, adorning oneself with flower garlands, watching dancing and singing, receiving precious things, and eating outside set meal times. A woman at a similar stage is referred to as a *samini*. The five orders of practitioners (*chulga ojung*: 出家五衆), therefore, are made up of *sami*, *samini*, monks who have received the full precepts, nuns who have received the full precepts, and *sikchamana* (Skt. *śikṣamāṇa*: 式叉摩那), namely, practitioners at the age of eighteen to twenty before becoming fully ordained monks and nuns, who are considered to be firm in their commitment to Buddhism and have accepted the four basic principles and six precepts (*yukbeop*: 六法).

558 Ingnyeong Prefecture (Ingnyeong-hyeon: 翼嶺縣) is now Yangyang County in Gangwon Province. It was originally called Ikhyeon Prefecture (Ikhyeon-hyeon: 翼峴縣) in Goguryeo, but in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok (757) its name was changed to Ingnyeong Prefecture (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, "Jiriji"). It is a prefecture of Seongsu County (守城郡) under the

on the border of Myeongju,[559] I beg that when you return to your country in the future you will build a house for me." After travelling around all the seats of Buddhist learning and practice,[560] he received the dharma from Yanguan[561] (*this matter is dealt with in detail in Beomil's biography*).[562] In the seventh year

administration of Myeongju. In 1221 the Yangju warden of the marches (Yangju bangeosa: 襄州防禦使) was sent there and in 1416 its name was changed to Yangyang (襄陽) (*Goryeosa*, vol. 58, "Jiriji," Ingnyeong Prefecture).

559 Myeongju (溟州) refers to present-day Gangneung in Gangwon Province and was one of the nine provinces (Guju: 九州) of Silla. It was originally called Haseulla (何瑟羅) and belonged to Goguryeo. It subsequently became part of the territory of Silla and was designated a minor capital (*sogyeong*: 小京) in the reign of Queen Seondeok (632–647). In the reign of Taizong (599–649) it was considered a strategically important region as it bordered on Malgal (Ch. Mohe) territory so it was designated as a province (*ju*: 州) with a military commandant (*gunju*: 軍主). In 657 its name was changed to Myeongju, and it had four prefectures Jeongseon-hyeon, Dongje-hyeon, Jisan-hyeon, and Dongsan-hyeon. The Myeongju governor administered nine counties in all (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, "Jiriji," Myeongju).

560 The term *chongseok* (Ch. *congxi*: 叢席) means the teaching assemblies (K. *beopseok*, Ch. *faxi*: 法席) of Seon monasteries. The term *chongnim* (Ch. *conglin*: 叢林), which literally means grove or forest, refers to a place where Buddhist monks gather to dwell in peace and practice and is generally used to refer to a Seon monastery. In India dwellings for monks built in forests outside the outskirts of a city were called *araṇya* (K. *Nanya*, Ch. *alanruo*, 阿蘭若) or *piṇḍa-vana*. The term comes from the likening of a harmonious gathering of monks in a monastery to trees in a forest. Subsequently monasteries in other branches of Buddhism such as the Doctrinal School (*gyojong*: 敎宗) followed the Seon School in calling monasteries *chongnim*. In *chongnim* all the property of the monastery was held in common, monks from outside were received in accordance with set regulations, and official appointments were also only made with the approval of the monastic community.

561 Yanguan (鹽官) is a reference to Yanguan Zhaian (鹽官齊安, ?–842), who was a Chan monk in late Tang China. As he was the head of Haichangsi (Haichangyuan: 海昌院) in Yanguan (鹽官), Hangzhou (杭州), he acquired the name Yanguan. He entered the monastic community at a young age, took the tonsure from Yuncong (雲琮), received the full precepts from Vinaya Master Zhiyan and studied the Vinaya. He subsequently attained enlightenment as a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一) and continued his dharma lineage. In the last year of the Yuanhe era (820) he repaired Falesi (法樂寺) on Mt. Xiao (蕭山) in Yuezhou (越州), Zhejiang Province (浙江省) and taught and practiced there. When he became the head of Haichangyuan, he gathered together many monks and promoted the Chan style (禪風) of Mazu before passing away at the age of ninety. After the Buddhist persecutions of Wuzong, Xuanzong, who revived Buddhism, heard the dharma from Yanguan Zhaian and is said to have been inspired by him.

562 In the text *bonjeon* (本傳) is a reference to the biography of Beomil included in the *Record of the*

of the Huichang[563] era (847), [Beomil] returned to his own country and after first creating Gulsan Monastery,[564] he passed on the teachings [he had learned in China]. In the twelfth year, *muin*, of the Dazhong[565] era (858) on the fifteenth day of the second month, at night in a dream the postulant monk he had met previously appeared beneath his window and said, "When you were in Kaiguo Monastery in Mingzhou in the past you made a promise and consented [to my request], so why is it taking so long?" Shocked, the patriarch awoke and together with several tens of people went to Ingnyeong and found the place where [the postulant monk] had lived. A woman lived in a village at the foot of Mt. Nak and on being asked her name said that she was called Deokgi.[566] The woman had one son who was barely eight years old and who always went to play under a stone bridge to the south of the village. He said to his mother, "Among the children that I play with, there is

Ancestral Hall (K. *Jodang jip*, 祖堂集). In *Jodang jip*, vol. 17, Myeongju Gulsan go Tonghyo daesa (溟州崛山故通曉大師) states that after Beomil had met many teachers he visited Yanguan Zhaian and became greatly enlightened on hearing Zhaian's words, 'the ordinary mind is the Way' and continued to practice diligently under him for a further six years.

563 Huichang (會昌, 841–847) is an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Wuzong (武宗), coinciding with the third to ninth years of King Munseong's reign. During this period there was an enormous persecution of Buddhism in China.

564 Gulsansa (崛山寺) was a late Silla Seon monastery located in the region of Haksan-ri, Gujeong-myeon, Gangneung, Gangwon Province. It was the head monastery of the Sagul sanmun School (闍崛山門), which was one of the Nine Mountains Schools of Seon (Gusan seonmun: 九山禪門), and together with the Seongju School (Seongju sanmun: 聖住山門) in Boryeong was one of the twin pillars of Seon Buddhism in Silla. It was founded in late Silla by Beomil (梵日) in the twelfth year of King Munseong's reign (850). On the extensive monastery site a number of relics have survived including a massive stone flagpole base, a monk's memorial stūpa (*seungtap*: 僧塔), which is presumed to be from the Goryeo era, and a stone Buddha image. The Sagul Seon School was the representative Seon school at the beginning of the Goryeo dynasty as well and produced many monks who were very active.

565 Dazhong (大中, 847– 859) is an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Wuzong (武宗), coinciding with the period from the ninth year of King Munseong's reign to the third year of King Heonan's reign.

566 Deokgi (德耆) is the name of a village in the vicinity of Naksansa.

one who gives off golden rays of light." His mother told this to the patriarch. The patriarch was surprised and rejoicing went together with the child to the place under the bridge where he played and found a stone Buddha in the water. After it was taken out, it was found to be a statue of the bodhisattva Jeongchwi with the left ear cut off just like the postulant monk [whom Beomil] had met previously. Thereupon [Beomil] made some divining sticks and divined a place to build a shrine. As the upper side of Naksan was found to be auspicious, he built a three-*gan* temple (*jeon-gak*)[567] and enshrined the statue in it (*in an old book the activities of Beomil are placed before those of Uisang and Wonhyo. But on examination it can be seen that the activities of Masters Uisang and Wonhyo took place at the time of Gaozong*[568] *of Tang whereas those of Beomil took place after the Huichang era, so they are separated by more than 170 years. Therefore,* [*these accounts*] *have been edited in chronological order. Some say that Beomil was a disciple of Uisang but this is mistaken*).

後有崛山祖師梵日, 大和年中入唐, 到明州開國寺. 有一沙彌截左耳, 在衆僧之末, 與師言曰, "吾亦鄉人也. 家在溟州界翼嶺縣德耆坊, 師他日若還本國, 須成吾舍." 旣而遍遊叢席, 得法於鹽官[事具在本傳]. 以會昌七年丁卯還國, 先創崛山寺而傳教. 大中十二年戊寅二月十五日, 夜夢昔所見沙彌到窓下, 曰 "昔在明州開國寺, 與師有約, 旣蒙見諾, 何其晩也?" 祖師驚覺, 押數十人, 到翼嶺境, 尋訪其居. 有一女居洛山下村, 問其名, 曰德耆. 女有一子, 年才八歲, 常出遊於村南石橋邊. 告其母曰, "吾所與遊者, 有金色童子." 母以告于師. 師驚喜, 與其子尋所遊橋下, 水中有一石佛, 舁出之, 截左耳, 類前所見沙彌, 卽正趣菩薩之像也. 乃作簡子, 卜其營構之地, 洛山上方吉, 乃作殿三間安其像.[古本載梵日事在前, 相曉二師在後. 然按湘曉二師尒在於高宗之代, 梵日在於會昌之後, 相去一百七十餘歲. 故今前却而編次之. 或云, 梵日爲相之門人, 謬妄也.]

More than one hundred years later a wildfire occurred that reached the mountain, and only these two monasteries were untouched by the fire while

567 A *gan* (間) refers to the space between a pair of columns; thus a three-*gan* temple is one with four columns at the front.

568 Gaozong (高宗, r. 649–683) was the third emperor of Tang China.

all the others were burned down.

In the *gyechuk* and *gabin* years[569] (1253–1254) after the great Mongol army[570] invaded, the two saint's portraits and the two jewels were moved and placed in the fortress at Yangju.[571] The Mongol army made a very sudden attack, and when the fortress was about to be overthrown, Head Seon Master Ahaeng (*formerly his name was Huihyeon*) placed the two jewels in a silver container, which he hid about his person and was about to run away when they were seized by a temple slave called Geolseung, who burying them deep in the ground swore, "If I am unable to avoid death at the hands of the enemy troops, these two jewels will never appear in the human world again as there will be no one who knows [where they are]. If I do not die I will rightly present these two jewels to the nation." On the twenty-second day of the tenth month of the *gabin* year the fortress was overthrown, and Ahaeng was unable to escape death, but Geolseung escaped. After the enemy troops withdrew, he dug up [the two jewels] and presented them to the Myeongju Storehouse Inspector[572]

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569 During these years the fifth Mongol invasion took place and much damage was inflicted, including the seizure of Geumcheon, Yeongheung and Cheorwon and the siege of Chungju.

570 The term *seosan daebyeong* (西山大兵) is a reference to the Mongol army that invaded Goryeo. After the first Mongol invasion in the eighteenth year of King Gojong (1231), the whole nation suffered extensive damage in the third invasion of 1235, then in the fourth invasion of 1238 the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda was destroyed, and such destruction continued until the end of the seventh invasion.

571 Yangju (襄州) is present-day Yangyang County (襄陽郡) in Gangwon Province. In Silla times it was called Ingnyeong Prefecture (翼嶺縣) but in 1221 it was elevated to county status by the Yangju warden of the marches (Yangju bangeosa: 襄州防禦使). When it surrendered in the Mongol invasion of 1257, it was downgraded by the Deongnyeong prefect (Deongnyeong gammu: 德寧監務), but in 1260 it was restored to its previous status by the Jiyang jusa (知襄州事). It was also called Yangsan (襄山) and was renamed Yangyang in 1416 at the beginning of the Joseon dynasty (*Goryeosa,* vol. 58, "Jiriji," 翼嶺縣).

572 Store Inspector (*gamchangsa*: 監倉使) was a sixth- or seventh-ranking official in the "two borders" (provinces) (*yanggye*: 兩界) during the Goryeo dynasty. He was regularly dispatched to the region twice a year in the spring and autumn and appears to have been an official tasked with the job of supervising and managing storehouses and taxes. ("The Store Inspectors are stationed in the northeast and northwest. In the third year of Myeongjong's reign Store Inspectors were posted in the Five Provinces and all of them were also appointed to the post of Agricultural Inspectors [*gwonnongsa*: 勸農使]." (監

at that time, *nanjung*[573] Yi Noksu,[574] who kept them safely in a storehouse strongbox and gave instructions for their safekeeping with each changing of the guard. In the eleventh month of the *muo* year (1258), Great Seon Master Gagyu,[575]the abbot of Girim Monastery[576] and a senior monk[577] of the Jogye Order[578] reported, "The two jewels from Naksan are spiritual treasures of the nation, but when Yangju Fortress was overthrown,[579] Geolseung, a

倉使, 東西北面置之. 明宗三年, 五道監倉使, 皆兼勸農使. Goryeosa, vol. 77, "Baekgwanji" [百官志])

573 *Nangjung* (郎中) was an upper-fifth-ranking official post in the Chancellery for State Affairs and the Six Ministries, which were the central government organs during the Goryeo period. It was a third-level position after *sangseo* (尙書) and *sijal*. In 1257 the post was renamed *jeongnang* (正郞) and underwent various other changes thereafter.

574 In his capacity as *wonoerang* (員外郞) in the forty-fifth year of Gojong's reign, Yi Noksu (李祿綏) met Yeo Chudal, who had been posted to Ga Province (嘉州), and who had been entrusted with carrying out negotiations (*Goryeosa*, vol. 24, Sega, Gojong 45th year, 7th month, *eulmyo*).

575 Gagyu (覺猷) was a prayer monk in the inner palace (*naejeon*: 內殿) at the time of the relocation of the Goryeo government to Ganghwa Island in 1232.

576 Girimsa (祇林寺) is located on Mt. Hamwol (含月山) in Hoam-ri, Yangbuk-myeon, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. We know that it was founded before the reign of King Sinmun in Silla because of the following record that states that in 682 in the year following King Sinmun's ascension to the throne, he visited Gameunsa, which had been built in memory of the late King Munmu, and on his way back received a jade belt (*okdae*: 玉帶) from a dragon, and as he continued his return journey, he stopped in the vicinity of Girimsa to have lunch (*Samguk yusa*. vol. 2, "Gii," 萬波息笛). As a major monastery in the eastern region of North Gyeongsang Province, it was the head monastery (*bonsa*: 本寺) responsible for administering Bulguksa (佛國寺) as its dependent monastery (*malsa*: 末寺). The monastery houses many relics such as the Seated Statue of the Bodhisattva Geonchil (Geonchil bosal jwasang), a three-story stone stūpa and a very substantial number of manuscripts and artifacts that were recovered from inside the Buddha triad modeled in clay in the Vairocana Hall (Hall of the Great Tranquil Light, K. Daejeokgwangjeon: 大寂光殿).

577 The term *nosuk* (老宿) refers to a person who is mature in years and experience. In Buddhist circles it refers to a monk who has practiced for many years and is of unimpeachable character.

578 The term *boneop* (本業) refers to the Jogye Order (Jogyejong: 曹溪宗). During the Goryeo dynasty Buddhist sects were referred to as *eop* (Skt. *karma*: 業). Iryeon is here referring to his own sect.

579 There is a difference of one year in the dating of the seizure of Yangju here in the *Samguk yusa* and in the *Goryeosa*. In the "Ruling family" (*sega*: 世家) section in the tenth month of the 40th year of

temple slave, buried them inside the fortress, and when the enemy troops withdrew, he presented them to the Storehouse Inspector, who kept them in the storehouse of Myeongju barracks. Now the fortress at Myeongju is also under threat and cannot be held so they should be transferred and deposited in the royal storeroom."[580] The king approved and gave his royal assent [to the suggestion]. Ten men were selected from the Night Patrol[581] and taking Geolseung with them, brought [the two jewels] back from Myeongju Fortress and had them placed under guard in the palace storehouse.[582] At that time [the king] gave each of the ten people who had carried out this task one *geun* (600 grams) of silver and five bushels (*seom*) of rice.

後百餘年, 野火連延到此山, 唯二聖殿獨免其災, 餘皆煨燼.

及西山大兵已來, 癸丑甲寅年間, 二聖眞容及二寶珠, 移入襄州城. 大兵來攻甚急, 城將陷時, 住持禪師阿行[古名希玄], 以銀合盛二珠, 佩持將逃逸, 寺奴名乞升奪取, 深埋於地. 誓曰, "我若不免死於兵, 則二寶珠終不現於人間, 人無知者. 我若不死, 當奉二寶獻於邦家矣." 甲寅十月二十二日城陷, 阿行不免而乞升獲免. 兵退後掘出, 納於溟州道監倉使. 時郎中李祿綏爲監倉使, 受而藏於監倉庫中, 每交代傳受. 至戊午十一月, 本業老宿祇林寺住持大禪師覺猷奏曰, "洛山二珠, 國家神寶. 襄州城陷時, 寺奴乞升埋於城中, 兵退, 取納監倉使, 藏在溟州營庫中, 今溟州城殆不能守矣, 宜輸安御府." 主上允可. 發夜別抄十人, 率乞升, 取於溟州城, 入安於內府. 時使介十人, 各賜銀一斤, 米五石.

King Gojong (1252) it is stated that "the Mongol army overthrew Yangju Fortress" (*Goryeosa*, vol. 24) and in the Jiriji (地理誌) section under the heading Ingnyeong-hyeon (翼甯縣) it states, "In the forty-first year of Gojong's reign (1253) it was downgraded to a prefecture and in the forty-fourth year it surrendered to the enemy and was again downgraded by the Deongnyeong prefect (Deongnyeong gammu: 德甯監務)" (*Goryeosa*, vol. 58). The record here is thought to have been the source for the entry in the *Goryeosa* "Jiriji."

580 The term *eobu* (御府) refers to the place where the king's possessions were stored.

581 The Night Patrol (Yabyeolcho: 夜別抄) was the elite force tasked with patrolling the capital Gaegyeong (Gaeseong) and the major provinces and prefectures at night after the establishment of the Choe Military Rule.

582 The term *naebu* (內府) refers to a palace storehouse.

Long ago in Silla times the agricultural estate[583] of Sedal Monastery[584] (*now Heunggyosa*)[585] was in Nari County[586] in Myeongju (*but on examining the* Geographical Record [Jiriji] *there is no Nari County, only Naseong County*,[587]

583 The term *jangsa* (莊舍) refers to an agricultural estate belonging either to a member of the aristocracy or to a monastery.

584 Sedalsa (世達寺) was located on Mt. Taehwa (太華山), Heungwol-li, Nam-myeon, Yeongwol-gun, Gangwon Province. This monastery was where Gungye (弓裔) resided after being expelled from the Silla royal family before he established Taebong (泰封) in late Silla (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 50, "Yeoljeon," Gungye).

585 Heunggyosa (興敎寺) was located on Mt. Taehwa (太華山) Heungwol-li, Nam-myeon, Yeongwol-gun, Gangwon Province. It should not be confused with the Heunggyosa located in Gaeseong. The memorial stela for Injong's son National Preceptor Wongyeong Chunghui (元敬國師沖曦) was set up there. The *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 46, 寧越, section on Buddhist buildings), records that "Heunggyosa is located on the western side of Mt. Taehwa. The memorial stela of the Goryeo monk Chunghui, son of Injong is there. The stela's inscription has become eroded so the words cannot be read except for the record of the monk's disciples on the reverse side of the stela. The Learned Gentleman of the Bomun Pavilion (Bomungak haksa: 寶文閣學士) Choe Seoni wrote the inscription at the command of the king" (在大華山西, 有高麗僧沖曦碑. 曦仁宗之子, 碑文剝落, 讀不能 句,唯碑陰, 誌師之門人. 而寶文閣學士崔詵, 奉宣爲之文, 曰 … 故書國師門人凡二百二十一人于左云). Fragments of the inscriptions on both sides of the stela have been recorded in *Stone Monument Inscriptions of Korea* (*Daedong geumseokseo*: 大東金石書).

586 Nari County (Narigun: 棕李郡) was also written as Nai County (Naigun: 棕已郡), which is the name of the county in Gangwon Province today, and as Naryeong County (Naryeong-gun: 奈靈郡). In Goryeo times it was called Gangju (剛州). According to *Samguk sagi*, "Naryeong County was originally Baekje's Nai County but King Pasa seized it, and King Gyeongdeok changed its name so it is now Gangju" (奈靈郡, 本百濟奈已郡, 婆娑王取之, 景德王改名, 今剛州) (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, "Jiriji," 朔州 奈靈郡). The *Goryeosa* adds: "In the fourteenth year of Seonjong's reign (994) it was called Gangju Dodallyeonsa; in the ninth year of Hyeonjong's reign (1017) it was downgraded; and in the twenty-first year of Injong's reign (1142) its name was changed to its current name Hyeollyeonggwan (本高句麗柰已郡, 新羅婆娑王取之, 景德王改稱柰靈郡. 成宗十四年稱剛州 都團練使, 顯宗九年來屬, 仁宗二十一年更今名, 爲縣令官)" (*Goryeosa*, vol. 57, "Jiriji," Gyeongsangdo, 順安縣).

587 Naseong County (Naseong-gun: 棕城郡) is present-day Yeongwol County in Gangwon Province. According to the *Samguk sagi*: "Naseong County was originally Goguryeo's Nasaeng County but King Gyeongdeok changed the name so now it is Yeongwol County" (奈城郡, 本高句麗奈生郡, 景德王改名, 今寧越郡) (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, "Jiriji," 溟州 奈城郡). The character for "Na" in "Naseong" is different from the one recorded here in the *Samguk yusa* (see *Goryeosa*, vol. 56, 楊廣道 寧越郡. "寧越郡 本高勾麗奈生郡, 新羅景德王改奈城郡, 至高麗更今名.").

[*which*] *is now Yeongwol.*[588] *There is also a Naryeong County*[589] *in Yeonghyeon in Usuju,*[590] *which was originally Naigun and is now Gangju.*[591] *Usuju is present-day Chunju.*[592] *Now, speaking of Nari County, it is impossible to know where it was*). The monk Josin from this monastery was appointed head of the agricultural estate.[593] While Josin was on the estate, he liked the daughter of the county prefect Gim Heun and fell deeply in love with her. Many times he went before the Avalokiteśvara image on Mt. Nak and prayed secretly that he might be fortunate [enough to marry her], but after several years she was matched with someone else. He went before the dharma hall again and resenting the fact that Avalokiteśvara had not granted [his desire], he wept bitterly until dusk came and exhausted with thoughts of longing fell asleep momentarily. Suddenly in his dream the girl from the Gim family entered through the doorway with joy on her face and smiling brightly[594] said, "As soon as I first caught sight of you I fell in love with you in my heart and never forgot you for a moment, but in accordance with my parents' command I followed another man against my will. I have come here now so that we

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588 Yeongwol (寧越) is present-day Yeongwol County in Gangwon Province.

589 Naryeong County (Naryeong-gun: 奈靈郡), see footnote 586, above.

590 Usuju (牛首州) is present-day Chuncheon in Gangwon Province. In Unified Silla times it was called Sakju (朔州), and in Goryeo times it was called Chunju (春州). In the *Samguk sagi* it states, "In the sixth year of the reign of Queen Seondeok (637), the eleventh year of the Zhenguan era in Tang, Sakju became Usuju, and a military commandant was assigned to it (It is also said that in the thirteenth year of King Munmu's reign, the fourth year of the Xianheng era in Tang (673), it was named Suyakju). King Gyeongdeok changed the name to Sakju, and it is now Chunju." (朔州 善德王 六年 唐貞觀十一年, 爲牛首州, 置軍主. [一云 文武王十三年 唐咸亨四年, 置首若州.] 景德王改爲朔州, 今春州) (see *Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, "Jiriji," 溟州 and *Goryeosa*, vol. 58, "Jiriji," 春州: "本貊國, 新羅善德王 六年, 爲牛首州.")

591 Gangju (剛州), see note 586, above.

592 Chunju (春州), see note 590, above.

593 The term for "head of the agricultural estate" is *jijang* (知莊), the person who supervised an agricultural estate (*jangsa*: 莊舍) owned by a member of the aristocracy or a monastery.

594 The phrase, *chanyeon gyechi* (粲然啓齒) expresses the idea of showing one's teeth when smiling brightly.

may become a married couple."[595] Josin rejoiced as though he had gone mad, and together they returned to his hometown.

While living together for more than forty years, they had five children, but their house had just four bare walls[596] and they were unable to find even enough wild plants[597] to live on, so finally they fell into destitution.[598] Clinging to one another they traveled around all over the countryside trying to support themselves. After ten years of living in this way travelling through the fields their clothes became so ragged[599] that they were unable to cover their bodies. Finally when they were passing over Haehyeon Pass in Myeongju their eldest child, who was fifteen years old, suddenly died from starvation, and they buried him by the roadside with great lamentation. They took the remaining four children to Ugok Prefecture[600] (*now called U Prefecture*), where they built and lived in a hut with a thatched roof. The couple became old, sick and starving so that they were unable to move about, and their ten-year-old daughter was bitten by a local dog as she was going around begging for alms, and complaining of the pain, she lay down in front of her parents as they sobbed and wept. Hesitating, the woman restrained herself, wiped away her tears, and said hastily, "When I first met you, your

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595 The phrase *donghyeoljiu* (同穴之友), literally "two friends in the same hole," is an expression meaning a married couple.

596 The phrase *gadosabyeok* (家徒四壁) literally means "a house with just four walls [and nothing else]."

597 The term *yeogwak* (藜藿) literally means pigweed and the leaves of bean plants, that is to say the coarse food of the impoverished.

598 The term *naktak* (落魄) means to be destitute.

599 The expression *hyeonsun baekgyeol* (懸鶉百結) means clothes that are so ragged and tattered that they seem to have a hundred quails tied to them.

600 Ugok Prefecture (Ugok-hyeon: 羽曲縣) is also written as Ukok-hyeon (羽谷縣) and is present-day Samcheok County (三陟郡) in Gangwon Province. According to *Samguk sagi*, "Ugye Prefecture was originally Goguryeo's Ugok Prefecture but King Gyeongdeok changed the name to the one it now has" (羽谿縣, 本高句麗羽谷縣, 景德王改名, 今因之) (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 35, Myeongju; *Goryeosa*, vol. 58, "Jiriji," Yanggwangdo, Ugok Prefecture "羽溪縣, 本高勾麗羽谷縣, 新羅景德王改今名, 爲三陟郡領縣. 顯宗九年來屬, 別號玉堂.")

face was handsome, you were young, and you had many clothes, which were all clean. If I had any delicious food, I would share it with you, and the few clothes we had I would share with you. Now we have lived together for fifty years and our affection has deepened without parallel, our love has bound us together, and ours is truly a close karmic affinity. But in recent years we have grown old and weak, our sickness worsens with each passing year, and our hunger and cold grow worse every day. When we beg for shelter or drink, no-one responds, and the abuse we have received in doorways has piled up as high as a mountain; our children are cold and starving, and we have had no time to care for them. In such a situation how can we enjoy the love that should be in the hearts of a couple? Youthful faces and pretty smiles are like dew on blades of grass, and flowery promises[601] have become like willow branches blowing in the wind. I have become a burden to you and because you are here, I have many worries. Thinking back carefully on the joys of the old days, they were nothing more than stepping stones toward sorrow. How did you and I come to be in such extremity? Wouldn't it be better to be a solitary bird crying for its mate in a mirror[602] than to be a flock of birds starving to death? Although it is a violation of human affection to abandon someone when times are hard and follow them when times are good, people cannot just do as they please, and as meeting and parting also depend on fate, let us now part from one another." Josin was overjoyed to hear these words, and they each took two of the children and as they prepared to leave, the woman said, "As I will be returning to my hometown,[603] would you please go to the south." So saying they let go of each other's hands, and as they were

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601 "Flowery promises": in the text the term *jiran* (芝蘭) refers to *lingzhi*, the herb of immortality, and *lan*, the fragrant orchid.

602 The expression *cheongnan ji yugyeong* (隻鸞之有鏡) originates from a legend about the *nan* bird (a mythical creature usually paired with the phoenix as a symbol of conjugal harmony) seeing its own reflection in a mirror and crying as it thinks of its lost mate and therefore means "to miss one's beloved."

603 The term *sangjae* (桑梓), which literally means "the mulberry and wild walnut," is an expression used to refer to one's hometown or one's parents' home.

about to depart, he awoke from his dream.

The fading lamp flickered feebly as the night gradually turned to day. When dawn came his beard and hair had turned white. Stupefied he no longer thought of worldly affairs, and he felt an aversion to the difficulties of life. Just as if he had experienced a hundred years of suffering, his lustful desires disappeared like ice melting away. Thereupon, with a contrite heart he turned toward Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and repented with all his heart. He went to Haehyeon and dug in the place where his child had been buried [in his dream] and discovered a stone statue of the Buddha Maitreya. He washed it clean and enshrined it in a nearby monastery. On his return to the capital he resigned from his appointment as supervisor of the estate and devoted all his personal assets to the construction of Jeongtosa (Pure Land Monastery) and diligently performed many good deeds.[604] It is not known how he ended his days on this earth.

昔新羅爲京師時, 有世達寺[今興教寺也.]之莊舍, 在溟州棕李郡.[按地理志, 溟州無棕李郡, 唯有棕城郡, 本棕生郡, 今寧越. 又牛首州領縣有棕靈郡, 本棕已郡, 今剛州. 牛首州今春州. 今言棕李郡, 未知孰是.] 本寺遣僧調信爲知莊. 信到莊上, 悅太守金昕公之女, 惑之深. 屢就洛山大悲前, 潛祈得幸, 方數年間, 其女已有配矣. 又往堂前, 怨大悲之不遂已, 哀泣至日暮, 情思倦憊, 俄成假寢. 忽夢金氏娘, 容豫入門, 粲然啓齒而謂曰, "兒早識上人於半面, 心乎愛矣. 未嘗暫忘, 迫於父母之命, 强從人矣. 今願爲同穴之友, 故來爾." 信乃顚喜, 同歸鄕里.

計活四十餘霜, 有兒息五. 家徒四壁, 藜藿不給, 遂乃落魄, 扶攜糊其口於四方. 如是十年, 周流草野, 懸鶉百結, 亦不掩體. 適過溟州蟹縣嶺, 大兒十五歲者忽餧死, 痛哭收瘞於道. 從率餘四口, 到羽曲縣[今羽縣也], 結茅於路傍而舍. 夫婦老且病, 飢不能興, 十歲女兒巡乞, 乃爲里獒所噬, 號痛臥於前, 父母爲之歔欷, 泣下數行. 婦乃難澁拭涕, 倉卒而語曰, "予之始遇君也, 色美年芳, 衣袴稠鮮. 一味之甘, 得與子分之, 數尺之煖, 得與子共之, 出處五十年, 情鍾莫逆, 恩愛綢繆, 可謂厚緣. 自比年來, 衰病歲益深, 飢寒日益迫. 傍舍壺漿, 人不容乞, 千門之恥,

604 The term *baegeop* (白業), which means "white karma," is an expression meaning "good deeds" and is synonymous with the term *seoneop* (善業), which means "good karma." It is one of the "three qualities of karma" (*samseongeop*: 三性業) together with "evil karma" (*ageop*: 惡業), and "indeterminate karma" (*mugieop*: 無記業).

重似丘山, 兒寒兒飢, 未遑計補, 何暇有愛悅夫婦之心哉? 紅顔巧笑, 草上之露, 約束芝蘭, 柳絮飄風. 君有我而爲累, 我爲君而足憂. 細思昔日之歡, 適爲憂患所階. 君乎予乎, 奚至此極? 與其衆鳥之同餒, 焉知隻鸞之有鏡. 寒棄炎附, 情所不堪, 然而行止非人, 離合有數, 請從此辭." 信聞之大喜, 各分二兒將行, 女曰, "我向桑梓, 君其南矣." 方分手進途而形開.

殘燈翳吐, 夜色將闌, 及旦鬢髮盡白. 惘惘然殊無人世意, 已厭勞生, 如飫百年辛苦, 貪染之心, 洒然氷釋. 於是慚對聖容, 懺滌無已. 歸撥蟹峴所埋兒塚, 乃石彌勒也. 灌洗奉安于隣寺. 還京師, 免莊任, 傾私財, 創淨土寺, 懃修白業, 後莫知所終.

A commentary states: After reading this biography [of Josin], I closed the book and thought surely this is not just the dream of Master Josin? Nowadays everyone is absorbed with enjoying the human world but although they try to be happy, they are simply failing to become enlightened. The following poem is composed as an admonition:

Momentary pleasure puts our heart at ease,
But suddenly in the midst of care our faces grow old and wan.
Do not wait again for the millet rice to cook,[605]
But realize that this difficult life is no more than a dream.
Controlling the body depends on first making the mind sincere.
The widower dreams of a beautiful woman[606] and the thief of a treasure chest.

605 The expression *hwangnyangsuk* (黄梁熟), which means "millet cooking," is a metaphorical expression for the transience of wealth, rank and honour. It is synonymous with the expressions *hwangnyang mong* (黄梁夢), meaning literally "millet dream" and "Handan *mong*" (邯鄲夢), meaning "Handan dream," which all derive from a Tang dynasty story in which a young man called Laosheng borrows a pillow from the Taoist hermit Lüweng (呂翁) at a wine shop in Handan (邯鄲) and falls asleep. In his dream he enjoys a lifetime of eighty different experiences of wealth, rank and fame, but when he awakes, the millet being prepared by Lüweng is still not fully cooked.

606 The term *ami* (蛾眉) literally means "moth-eyebrows" and is used here as poetic shorthand for "a beautiful woman."

How can one dream on a clear autumn night?
Occasionally close your eyes and attain clarity.

議曰 讀此傳, 掩卷而追繹之, 何必信師之夢爲然. 今皆知其人世之爲樂, 欣欣然役役然, 特未覺爾. 乃作詞誡之曰

快適須臾意已閑, 暗從愁裏老倉顔. 不須更待黃粱熟, 方悟勞生一夢間.
治身臧否先誠意, 鰥夢蛾眉賊夢藏. 何似秋來淸夜夢, 時時合眼到淸凉.

4-18.
The Buddha's Shadow on Mt. Eo 魚山佛影

Introduction:

This section examines and compares various records related to the legend that Mt. Maneo in Miryang is in fact the place where Buddha's shadow is said to have appeared in Nagarahāra in North India. The section begins with a story about some female demons (*nachallyeo*) that while living in Mt. Maneo associated with a dragon living in a lotus pond in nearby Gaya. By causing too much rain to fall, they prevented the crops from ripening. This led the king of Gaya to entreat Buddha to put a stop to the demons' evil ways. Subsequently in mid-Goryeo Maneosa was established at this place. On seeing records that claim that the site of this monastery was the same as the place in India where Buddha left his shadow, Iryeon went there in person and confirmed that the accounts, such as the stones in the valley sounding like metal and jade, were all true. He then presents material from the *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra* (*Gwanbul sammae gyeong*) as the source for this legend. According to this legend, Buddha arrived at a cave inhabited by female demons on Mt. Goseon in Nagarahāra. As the five female demons were associating with a venomous dragon and terrorizing the region, at the request of the king, Buddha delivered a sermon to the dragon and the demons on the "three refuges and the five precepts." After hearing this sermon, the dragon king entreated Buddha to stay there forever, and so Buddha went inside a stone cave and sat down, promising to stay there for 1,500 years. His body entered into the stone and his image was projected through the stone to the people outside. But the image was only visible if people looked at it from a distance. If they got closer it disappeared. It is also said that when Buddha trod on the stones, they emitted the sounds of gold and jade. This section also introduces in detail the legends about Buddha's shadow in Nagarahāra from the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaosengzhuan*: 高僧傳) and such representative Buddhist travel diaries as Faxian's *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguoji*: 佛國記) and especially Xuanzang's *Record of the*

Western Regions. By emphasizing the connection between the reflection of the Buddha at Mt. Maneo and similar phenomena in India, this account belongs with other legends that support the idea that Silla territory was formerly the land of the Buddhas of the past. As sources the author cites such materials as "an old record" (*gogi*: 古記), comments of the Goryeo monk Borim, as well as Buddhist sūtras and old Buddhist travel diaries.

Annotated Translation:

An old record (*gogi*) states: "Long ago Mt. Maneo[607] was [known as] Mt. Jaseong, or Mt. Ayasa[608] (*this should be Mayasa, which means 'fish'*). Next to it was the Gara Kingdom.[609] Long ago an egg descended from the sky by the seashore and became a man who ruled the country. This was none other than

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607 Mt. Eo (魚山, Mt. Fish) or Maneo (萬魚, Ten Thousand Fish) is a 670-metre high mountain located on the border between Danjang-myeon (丹場面) and Samnangjin-eup (三浪津邑), Miryang, South Gyeongsang Province. The *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 26, Miryang, section on "Mountains and Rivers" states, "Mt. Maneo is located twenty *li* to the east of the urban prefecture (*bu*: 府)," and the section on "Buddhist Buildings" in the same volume states that Maneosa (see note 616, below) was located in Mt. Maneo. Also, immediately after the section on Mt. Maneo, it states that Mt. Jassi (慈氏山) is located fifteen *li* to the east of the urban prefecture, but it is not known whether there is any connection between Mt. Jassi and Mt. Jaseong mentioned in the text.

608 Mt. Ayasa (阿耶斯山): if there is a connection with the *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra* (*Gwanbul sammae gyeong*), which is subsequently mentioned in this section, Mt. Ayasa should be Mt. Anasa (阿那斯山). The meaning of the word *anasa* is "a place where there is nothing to eat." (阿那斯 [譯曰無食處也], *Beonbeomeo* (翻梵語), vol. 9, 大 54–1043c19)

609 Gara Kingdom (Garakguk: 加羅國, see note 57, above) was another name for the kingdom of Gaya (加耶), which was also referred to as Gara (加羅) or Garak (駕洛). It was an ancient state in competition with Silla and Baekje that occupied the southern coast and the Nakdong River region. Around the beginning of the first millennium its centre was located in the Gimhae and Goryeong regions, but in 562 it was conquered by Silla. An account of the history of Gaya compiled and edited in the Goryeo dynasty may be found in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, "Gii," 'Annals of the Garak Kingdom' (Garakgukgi). A country called Yageongara guk (Ch. Yeganheluo guo: 耶乾訶羅國) appears in the *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra*; because of the similarity of pronunciation it is associated with the Gara or Garak Kingdom in Korea.

King Suro.[610] The Jade Pool [Okji] was within its borders at that time and in that pool there lived a venomous dragon. On Mt. Maneo there were five female demons,[611] which went back and forth and became familiar [with the dragon] causing lightning and rain to fall for four years so that the five grains never ripened. The king intended to put a stop to this by means of sorcery, but because he was unable to do so, he bowed his head to the Buddha and requested him to give a sermon on the dharma so that subsequently the female demons received the five precepts[612] after which there was no more mischief. Because of this the fish and dragons in the East Sea were transformed and became rocks filling the valley, each one giving off the sound of [temple] bells and hand bells (*gyeongsoe*)."[613] (*The above is the old record*).

610 For the King Suro myth (首露王神話) see note 61, above.

611 Female demons (Skt. *rākṣasī*, K. *nachallyeo*: 羅刹女): the Sanskrit word *rākṣasa* (K. *nachal*: 羅刹) was originally the name of the indigenous Indian people, but after the Aryan people conquered India, it came to be used to refer to an evil person and subsequently for any kind of evil spirit (*akgwi*: 惡鬼). *Rākṣasas* are said to have black bodies, red hair, and blue eyes, but their female counterparts *rākṣasī* are said to be women of matchless beauty, who only drink human blood and eat human flesh. The country of these female demons is said to be located in Sri Lanka. The popular impression of *rākṣasī* is that they are diabolical, fearful creatures with occult powers, which are able to fly through the air and travel quickly over land. But in the Buddhist sūtras, they became guardian deities. The *Rākṣasa* Heaven is one of the Twelve Heavens, and the female *rākṣasī* also appear there as guardian deities.

612 The five precepts (*ogye*: 五戒) are the five rules of moral conduct adhered to by lay believers, who are highly esteemed in the Buddhist tradition. The precepts are as follows: 1) Do not kill living beings (*busalsaeng*: 不殺生); 2) Do not take from others what has not been given (*butudo*: 不偸盜); 3) Do not commit sexual immorality (*busaeum*: 不邪淫); 4) Do not lie (*bumangeo*: 不妄語); 5) Do not drink alcohol (*bueumju*: 不飮酒).

613 Today in the valley beneath Maneosa in Mt. Maneo there is a slope strewn with large and small stones. The stones are all shaped just like fish, and so they are called "ten-thousand-fish-stones" (*maneoseok*: 萬魚石). As these stones also give off a metallic sound when struck, they are also called "bell-stones" (*jongseok*: 鍾石). There is also a legend about this phenomenon, which goes as follows: The son of the dragon-king of the East Sea, knowing that his life was about to expire, crossed over the Nakdong River and begged a monk in Mt. Mucheok to tell him where he could live anew. The monk then told him that the place where he came to a stop would be a place with which he had a karmic affinity. The dragon-prince departed followed by a shoal of countless fish and crossed over

Also on examination [we find that] in the twelfth [*recte* twentieth] year, *gyeongja*,[614] of the Dading era (1180), the eleventh year of Myeongjong's reign,[615] Maneosa[616] was first constructed. *Dongnyang*[617] Borim submitted

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many mountains. The place where he finally stopped for a rest was Maneosa. The dragon turned to stone and became a Maitreya statue, and all the fish became stones shaped like large and small fish. A huge stone inside the Maitreya Hall in Maneosa is called the "Maitreya Stone" (Mireukseok) and the slopes of stones beneath Maneosa are called "Maneoseok," namely, the "ten-thousand-fish-stones" (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 26, Miryang, section on Ancient Sites). It is said that in the reign of King Sejong (世宗) during the Joseon dynasty a traditional Korean musical instrument made up of stone chimes known as a *gyeongsoe* was made with these stones, but was never used because it could not be tuned correctly.

614 For the Jin reign period Dading (大定, 1161–1189) see note 415, above. The twelfth year of the Dading era (1172) in the sexagenary cycle would be *imjin* (壬辰), while the *gyeongja* year and the eleventh year of Myeongjeong's reign both correspond to 1180 (see note 615, below). It is clear, therefore, that in the text the numerals in the date "twelfth year of the Dading era" (大定十二年) have been accidentally transposed and the correct reading should be the "twentieth year, *gyeongja*, of the Dading era" (大定二十年, 1180).

615 According to the modern method of reckoning the chronology of Goryeo dynasty reigns, which considers a new king's reign to begin in the year following the death of the previous king (*yu nyeon chingwon beop*: 踰年稱元法), the eleventh year of Myeongjong's reign would have been 1181. But in the Goryeo dynasty, when the king's reign began as soon as he ascended the throne (*jeugwi nyeon chingwon beop*: 卽位年稱元法), it would have been the *gyeongja* year (1180). Iryeon's dating here, therefore, is in accordance with the Goryeo method of dating reigns.

616 Maneosa (萬魚寺) is located on the foot of the western side of Mt. Maneo (萬魚山), a 670-meter high mountain located on the border between Danjang-myeon (丹場面) and Samnangjin-eup (三浪津邑), Miryang, South Gyeongsang Province. It has various relics including a three-story stone stūpa (Treasure No. 466). There is a stony slope beneath the monastery, which is said to be the place where the son of the Dragon King of the East Sea and a vast shoal of fish came to rest, and where the prince turned into a large stone Maitreya statue and the countless fish all turned into large and small stones known as "ten-thousand-fish-stones" (*maneoseok*: 萬魚石). (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 26, Miryang, section on Ancient Sites)

617 *Dongnyang* (棟梁), literally "ridge beam and crossbeam" refers to a monk of outstanding virtue and ability. It is an abbreviated form of the expression *dongnyang ji jae* (棟梁之材), meaning "material for a ridge beam and crossbeam," that is to say a person of exceptional talents and abilities. This expression was originally used to refer to someone capable of shouldering the heavy responsibility of leading a household (*ilga*: 一家) or a nation (*ilguk*: 一國). Here it refers to the person with the main responsibility for managing the affairs of a Buddhist monastery.

this report: "There are three mysterious traces in this mountain, which are analogous to the shadow of the Buddha in Nagarahāra[618] in Northern India.[619] The first is that in a place close to the mountain on the border of Yangju,[620] there is a jade pool, which is the place where a venomous dragon resides. The second is that occasionally a cloud issues from the river and rises to the top of the mountain, and the sound of music comes from within the cloud. The third is that northwest of the shadow there is a rock, where the water is clear and never ceases [to flow]. This is said to be the place where the Buddha washed his robe."

The above is all recounted by Borim.[621]

Now having gone there in person and participated in a ceremony, there are two things that are clear and believable. One is that two-thirds of the

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618 The Chinese-character transcription of Nagarahāra is Nagalguk (Ch. Najieguo: 那竭國). It was also transcribed as Nagenagal (Ch. Najieluohe: 那揭羅曷) or Nageonggara (Ch. Naganheluo: 那乾訶羅) and was the name of a country in Northern India. It was in this country in a past era that Śākyamuni received from Dīpamkara Buddha (K. Yeondeungbul: 燃燈佛) the assurance (*sugi*: 授記) that he would become enlightened, and where King Aśoka set up a stone pillar. It is also said that to the southeast of the capital there was a seven-story stūpa, in which Buddha's forehead bone (頂骨) was enshrined. Concerning Nagarahāra, the *Record of the Western Regions* (*Da Tang xiyu ji*: 大唐西域記), vol. 2, states, "If one goes over 100 *li* to the southeast of Rampaguk over a high ridge and across a big river one comes to Nagarahāra." (*T*. vol.51, 878b 25–26) The country is thought to have been located in present day Afghanistan and to have occupied the southern part of the Kabul River basin centering on Jalahabad.

619 The term for "Northern India" is Bukcheonchuk (Ch. Beitianzhu: 北天竺; see note 98, above). According to Xuanzang, the region between Lanboguo (K. Nampaguk: 濫波國) and Sheduotulu guo (K. Seoldadoro guk: 設多圖盧國) was called Beitianzhu (K. Bukcheonchuk). In general terms, however, it refers to the area stretching from the region beyond the Hindu Kush mountain range in the north down to the upper reaches of the Indus River in the south.

620 Yangju (梁州) is present-day Yangsan (Yangsansi: 梁山市) in South Gyeongsang Province. It is located in the broad basin of the lower reaches of the Nakdong River and in early Silla times was a place where negotiations were held with Gaya, and consequently it was an important military district for the defence of the Silla border.

621 Of the three points of similarity mentioned in Borim's account, the accounts of the dragon living in a pool and Buddha washing his robe in a place near the "cave with the Buddha's shadow" (Buryeonggul, 佛影窟) can be found in the Nagarahāra chapter of Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions,* but in that work there is no mention of the cloud rising from beside the river and ascending to the top of the mountain with the sound of music coming from within the cloud.

rocks in the valley give off the sound of gold and jade, and the other is that if you look from a distance you can see [the shadow of the Buddha] but if you look from closer to you cannot see it so that sometimes you see it and sometimes you do not. The accounts from Northern India are recorded in detail at the end [of this book].

魚山佛影

古記云."萬魚山者, 古之慈成山也, 又阿耶斯山[當作摩耶斯, 此云魚也]. 傍有呵囉國, 昔天卵下于海邊, 作人御國, 卽首露王. 當此時, 境內有玉池, 池有毒龍焉. 萬魚山有五羅刹女, 往來交通, 故時降電雨, 歷四年, 五穀不成. 王呪禁不能, 稽首請佛說法, 然後羅刹女受五戒, 而無後害. 故東海魚龍, 遂化爲滿洞之石, 各有鍾磬之聲." (已上古記)

又按, 大定十二年庚子, 卽明宗十一年也, 始創萬魚寺. 棟梁寶林狀奏所稱."山中奇異之迹, 與北天竺訶羅國佛影事, 符同者有三. 一山之側近地梁州界玉池, 亦毒龍所蟄是也. 二有時自江邊雲氣始出, 來到山頂, 雲中有音樂之聲是也. 三影之西北有盤石, 常貯水不絶, 云是佛浣濯袈裟之地是也." 已上皆寶林之說.

今親來瞻禮, 亦乃彰彰, 可敬信者有二. 洞中之石, 凡三分之二, 皆有金玉之聲, 是一也. 遠瞻卽現, 近瞻不見, 或見不見等, 是一也. 北天之文, 具錄於後.

The following passage is found in the seventh volume of the *Gwanbul sammae gyeong*[622] contained in the *ga* box:[623]

622 *Gwanbul sammae gyeong* (Ch. *Guanfo sanmei jing*: 觀佛三昧經) is a shorter name for the *Bulseol gwanbul sammae hae gyeong* (Skt. *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra*, Ch. *Foshuo guanfo sanmei hai jing*: 佛說觀佛三昧海經) and is also called the *Gwanbul sammae hae gyeong* (Ch. *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*: 觀佛三昧海經) or the *Gwanbul gyeong* (Ch. *Guanfo jing*: 觀佛經). It comprises ten fascicles in total and was translated by Buddhabhadra (K. Bultabaltara, Ch. Fotuobatuoluo: 佛馱跋陀羅) in Eastern Jin (東晉) between 398 and 421. The sūtra has a total of twelve chapters that recount the story of Buddha giving a sermon in the Nigeuroda (Ch. Nijuloutuo: 尼拘樓陀) Forest in Kapilavastu (K. Kapillaguk, Ch. Jiapiluoguo: 伽毗羅國) for his father the king and his aunt on how to achieve enlightenment through mindfulness and contemplating the Buddha. This sūtra also makes extensive use of Indian mythology. The phrase *gwanbul sammae* refers to the meditation practice (*seonjeong*: 禪定) of single-mindedly observing and reflecting on the primary and secondary marks of the Buddha's body (*sangho*: 相好) and his merit and virtue.

623 'Ga box' (*gaja ham*: 可字函) is the 187th box of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (see note 45, above).

"Buddha arrived at the south of Mt. Anasa surrounded by demon caves to the north of a spring blooming with lotus near the poisonous dragon of the Danbokhwa Wood[624] on Mt. Goseon[625] in the Kingdom of Nagarahāra.[626] At that time the five demons in the cave metamorphosed into female dragons and had intercourse with the poisonous dragon. The dragon repeatedly poured down hailstones, while there were four years of continuous pestilence and famine due to the demons' wild outrageous behavior. Shocked and fearful the king offered sacrifices, praying to the gods of heaven and earth,[627] but to no avail. At that time there was a sagacious brahmin[628] of great intelligence who addressed the king saying, 'The son of King Śuddhodana[629]

624 *Dambokhwa* (Ch. *danfuhua*: 薝葍花) literally means "gardenias."

625 Mt. Goseon (古仙山): in the description of the Buddha's shadow in the *Record of the Western Regions*, the name of the mountain in which the cave is located is not mentioned, but in the "Biography of Huiyuan" in *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng juan*: 高僧傳, see note 642, below), there appears to be a similar narrative in the "Old Daoist's Stone Chamber" (古仙人石室), concerning the leaving behind of Buddha's shadow in order to enlighten a venomous dragon.

626 The text reads Yageonggaraguk but the first character *ya* (耶) is a mistake for the character *na* (那).

627 The term *singi* (神祇) is a contraction of *cheonsin* (天神), meaning "god of heaven," and *jigi* (地祇), meaning "god of earth."

628 The term for brahmin (Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) is *beomji* (Ch. *fanzhi*: 梵志), which is also written as *baramun* (Ch. *poluomen*: 婆羅門). It signifies someone who has attained the dharma from the Brahmā Heaven (K. Beomcheon, Ch. Fantian: 梵天) and lives in a pure place with the desire to be reborn in the Brahmā Heaven. It is also used to refer to any person following a religion other than Buddhism. *Dazhidulun* (Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, K. *Daejidoron*: 大智度論), T. 56 461b, states, "*Fanzhi* means all monastic religions outside Buddhism. If there are people who follow such religions, they are also called *fanzhi*" (梵志者, 是一切出家外道. 若有承用其法者, 亦名梵志).

629 Śuddhodana (K. Jeongban wang, Ch. Jingfan wang: 淨飯王) was the king of Kapilavastu and the father of Śākyamuni. In Chinese he is also called Baijing wang (K. Baekjeong wang: 白淨王). He was the eldest son of King Simhahanu (K. Sajahyeop wang, Ch. Shizijia wang: 師子頰王) and married the two daughters of the lord of a nearby fortified city Devadaha (Cheonbiseong: 天臂城,) Māyā (K. Maya: 摩耶) and Mahāpajāpatī (K. Mahapasapaje: 摩訶波闍波提). His wife Māyā gave birth to a son Siddhārtha (K. Sitdalta: 悉達多) who became the crown prince. In his later years Suddhodana became a pious devotee of the Buddha and protected him and his disciples.

of the country of Kapilavastu,[630] whose name is Śākyamuni[631] has now attained the Way.' Upon hearing these words the king rejoiced in his heart and, turning towards the Buddha, offered a bow saying, 'Today it is said that the Buddha sun[632] has already risen, and so why is it that it has not yet come to our country?' At that time the Buddha gave a command to many monks to bring people who had acquired the 'six supernatural powers'[633] to follow Buddha and accepted the entreaty of Bulpabuje the king of Nagarahāra. Then a light emanated from the crown of the Buddha's head and was transformed into ten thousand manifestations of Buddha[634] that went to that

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630 Kapilavastu (K. Kapillaguk, Ch. Gapiluoguo: 伽毗羅國) was the country of Śākyamuni's birth. Today there are different sites in India and Nepal claiming to be the sites of Kapilavastu. However, the generally accepted location of Kapilavastu is in the Tilaurokot region of Tarai in Nepal. Śākyamuni lived most of his life in Śrāvastī (K. Sawiseong: 舍衛城), the capital of Kośalā (K. Kosalla: 憍薩羅).

631 The word for Śākyamuni is Seokgamoni (Ch. Shijiamuni: 釋迦牟尼). He is also called Seokgamun (Ch. Shijiawen: 釋迦文). The shortened forms are Seokga (Ch. Shijia: 釋迦) and Moni (Ch. Mouni: 牟尼). He is also referred to by translated versions of his name such as Neungin (Ch. Nengren: 能仁), meaning "able to be benevolent" and Neungin (Ch. Nengren: 能忍), meaning "able to be patient." Honorific forms of his name are Seokga sejon (Ch. Shijia shizun: 釋迦世尊) and Seokjon (Ch. Shizun: 釋尊), which both mean "the world-honoured Śākyamuni." Śākya is the name of a clan and means "capable," while *muni* is an honorific term, meaning a "wise person." The meaning of Śākyamuni, therefore, is "wise person of the Śākya clan."

632 The "Buddha sun" (Buril: 佛日) is a metaphorical expression for the power of Buddha's wisdom, virtue and compassion to banish the ignorance and folly of sentient beings just as the sun overcomes the darkness.

633 The "six supernatural powers" (*yuksintong*: 六神通), as the name suggests, were six capabilities beyond those of ordinary mortals, namely, "the power of heavenly eyes" (*cheonantong*: 天眼通), with which one can see things invisible to the physical eyes; "the power of heavenly ears" (*cheonitong*: 天耳通), with which one can hear sounds inaudible to the physical ears; "the power of knowing others' hearts" (*tasimtong*: 他心通), (*sungmyeongtong*: 宿命通), with which one can know the past lifetimes of oneself and others; "the power of divine legs" (*sinjoktong*: 神足通) with which one can travel miraculously to any place; and "the power to escape completely" (*nujintong*: 漏盡通), with which one can attain enlightenment and be released from suffering and not be reborn in this world.

634 "Manifestations of Buddha" (Daehwabul: 大化佛) are also referred to as "responsive bodies" (*eungsin*: 應身) or "transforming bodies" (*byeonhwasin*: 變化身). They are bodies of Buddha that

country. At that moment the Dragon King and the five female demons made an obeisance to the ground[635] and received the precepts from the Buddha, who gave [them] a sermon on the three refuges[636] and the five precepts.

After listening to everything, the Dragon King knelt down and joining his hands together implored the Buddha to remain in that place always. 'Oh Buddha if you do not remain, my evil mind might arise again, and I shall be unable to attain the wisdom of enlightenment.'[637] At that time Brahmā[638]

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appear in all different forms depending on the perseverance of the sentient being observing them.

635 The term for "make an obeisance to the ground" is *ochetuji* (五體投地), which is one of the ways of offering a bow in the Buddhist tradition and is the most respectful form of bow in India. The term *oche* refers to the two arms, two knees and the head. To perform this bow, first one kneels on the ground on both knees. One then rests both arms on the ground and finally touches the ground with one's head.

636 The three refuges (*samgwi*: 三歸) are also referred to as the *samgwiui* (三歸依) or the *samgwigye* (三歸戒). They are also known as the three jewels (*sambo*: 三寶), namely, the Buddha (Bul: 佛), the dharma (*beop*: 法), and the sangha (*seung*: 僧). Taking refuge in the three jewels is an essential ritual for both lay and ordained Buddhist monks. Taking refuge has the meaning of seeking the protection and invoking the support of the three jewels and escaping the suffering of rebirth in this world for eternity.

637 The expression for "the wisdom of enlightenment" is *anyok bori* (Ch. *anou puti*: 阿耨菩提), which is a short form of *anyokdara sammyak sambori* (Ch. *anouduoluo sanmiao sanputi*: 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提), which is a transcription of the Sanskrit term, *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*. It is also found as the following translations of the Sanskrit term, *musang jeongpyeon ji* (無上正遍知), *musang jeongdeung jeonggak* (無上正等正覺), or *musang jeongdeung gak* (無上正等覺). The term refers to the Buddha's enlightened wisdom. Although the term includes such meanings as equality and harmony, it refers to the Buddha's enlightened "wisdom" (*ji*: 知) as being "unexcelled" (*musang*: 無上) and "reaching everywhere" (*jeongpyeon*: 正遍). All bodhisattva practices in the Mahāyāna tradition are aimed at attaining this enlightenment so bodhisattvas are said to have the "*anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi* mind" (K. *anyokdara sammyak sambori sim*, 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心). Also a person who has attained this state of supreme enlightenment is called an "*anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi* buddha" (K. *anyokdara sammyak sam bulta*, 阿耨多羅三藐三佛陀) or *musang jeongdeung ja* (無上正等覺者).

638 Brahmā (Beomcheonwang: 梵天王) or (Beomcheon: 梵天). In Indian mythology Brahmā is the god of creation and is one of the three great gods in Brahmānism. In Buddhism the first meditation heaven (K. *cho seon cheon*, 初禪天) in the form realm (K. *saekgye*, Skt. *rūpa-dhātu*) belongs to Beomcheon and is divided into three, namely, Beomjungcheon (梵衆天), Beombocheon (梵輔天), and Daebeomcheon (大梵天), which are collectively called Beomcheon. Brahmā is also called

came before the Buddha again and offering a bow made the entreaty, 'As Bhagavat[639] exists for the sake of all the living beings of the future world, it is not right that he should only live for the sake of this one small dragon.' All the one hundred thousand Brahmās[640] made the same entreaty. Then the Dragon King presented a seven-jewel-pedestal (*chilbodae*) to the Buddha, who said to the Dragon King, 'As I do not need this seat, just bring me the demon's grotto and offer it to me.' The Dragon King rejoiced at this (*etc.*). Then Buddha came and comforted the Dragon King saying, 'I intend to accept your entreaty and spend 1,500 years sitting inside your cave.' So saying the Buddha raised his body and entered into the rock. [The rock] became just like a clear mirror, so that people could see their faces in it, while all the dragons appeared, and Buddha's reflection appeared outside while he was inside the rock. At that time all the dragons placed their hands together in joyfulness[641] and never left that place where they were always able to gaze upon the Buddha. The Buddha sat in the full lotus position inside the stone walls and appeared to living beings when they looked from a distance but did not appear when they looked from close at hand. Whenever the multitude

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Beomwang (梵王) and also "the lord of this world of suffering" (*saba segye*: 娑婆世界). Together with Indra (Jeseokcheon: 帝釋天) he became a guardian deity of the correct dharma (*jeongbeop*: 正法) and implored Buddha to give them his first sermon on the dharma. He is said to be always in attendance on the right hand side of Buddha holding a white duster (*bulja*: 拂子).

639 Bhagavat (K. Pagapa: 婆伽婆): a person who has all the virtues and receives the esteem of the world; an honorific title for Buddha. It is also transcribed as Bakgabeom (Ch. Baogafan: 薄伽梵) and translated as *yudeok* (有德: having virtue), *yu dae gongdeok* (有大功德: having great merit and virtue), *jungu* (衆祐: sentient beings' helper), or *sejon* (世尊: world-honored).

640 For Brahmā, see footnote 638, above.

641 The term for "placed their hands together" is *hapjang* (合掌), which means to place both hands together and concentrate one's mind with veneration in worship. As one of the original forms of etiquette in India, it was the fourth of nine stages of expressing respect and was adopted into Buddhism. In this act of placing both hands together, the right hand representing holiness and the left hand representing unrighteousness are brought together with the intention of expressing the deepest sincerity. In Buddhism the act of placing one's hands together is an expression of the deepest respect coming from the heart and the desire to be in accord with righteousness.

of celestial beings made offerings to the shadow of the Buddha, the shadow image would even give a sermon."

It is also said, "Whenever Buddha trod on the rock, it would emit the sounds of gold and jade."

可函觀佛三昧經第七卷云."佛到那乾訶羅國古仙山, 薝葍花林毒龍之側, 青蓮華泉北, 羅刹穴中, 阿那斯山南. 爾時彼穴有五羅刹, 化作女龍, 與毒龍通. 龍復降雹, 羅刹亂行, 飢饉疾疫, 已歷四年. 王驚懼, 禱祀神祇, 於事無益. 時有梵志, 聰明多智, 白言大王, '伽毗羅淨飯王子, 今者成道號釋迦文'. 王聞是語, 心大歡喜, 向佛作禮曰, '云何今日佛日已興, 不到此國?' 爾時如來勅諸比丘, 得六神通者, 隨從佛後, 受那乾訶羅王弗巴浮提請. 爾時世尊頂放光明, 化作一萬諸大化佛, 往至彼國. 爾時龍王及羅刹女, 五體投地, 求佛受戒. 佛卽爲說三歸五戒.
龍王聞已, 長跪合掌, 勸請世尊常住此間. '佛若不在, 我發惡心, 無由得成阿耨菩提.' 時梵天王復來禮佛請, '婆伽婆爲未世諸衆生, 故莫獨偏爲此一小龍.' 百千梵王皆作是請. 時龍王出七寶臺, 奉上如來, 佛告龍王. '不須此臺, 汝今但以羅刹石窟持以施我.' 龍歎喜.[云云.] 爾時如來安慰龍王, '我受汝請, 坐汝窟中, 經千五百歲.' 佛湧身入石. 猶如明鏡, 人見面像, 諸龍皆見, 佛在石內, 映現於外. 爾時諸龍合掌歡喜, 不出其地, 常見佛日. 爾時世尊結伽趺坐在石壁內, 衆生見時, 遠望卽現, 近則不現. 諸天供養佛影, 影亦說法." 又云, "佛蹴嵓石之上, 卽便成金玉之聲."

In the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*)[642] are the following words: "Huiyuan[643] heard that Buddha's shadow was in India and that long

[642] *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳) is a Chinese collection of biographies of eminent Buddhist monks in fourteen volumes written by Huijiao (慧皎) in Liang (梁) China. It contains biographies of 257 eminent monks during the 453-year period from the time when Buddhism was first transmitted to China in the tenth year of the Yongping era (67) in the Later Han dynasty until the eighteenth year of the Tianjian era (519), as well as recording the names only of a further 500 monks.

[643] Huiyuan (惠遠 or 慧遠) lived from 335 to 417. A Buddhist monk of Eastern Jin (東晉), he was the founding patriarch of the Pure Land School and the initiator of the first Buddhist prayer society (Ch. *nianfoshe*, K. *yeombulsa*: 念佛社). He left his home to follow Buddhism after hearing a sermon on the perfection of wisdom (Skt. Prajñāpāramitā) from Daoan (道安, 312–385), a great propagator of Buddhism in China. Huiyuan then diligently studied the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

ago this shadow had been left behind for the sake of a dragon in a stone chamber of an ancient hermit to the south of Nagalga Fortress in the country of Bactria[644] in northern India" (*etc.*)[645]

Also in Faxian's[646] *Record of the Western Regions*[647] there is the following

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(K. *Banyakbaramilda-gyeong*: Ch. *Banruoboluomiduo-jing*: 般若波羅密多經), gathered many disciples at Donglinsa (東林寺) on Mt. Lu and taught them the dharma. Discussing Buddhist thought with Kumārajīva, Sanghadeva and others, Huiyuan devoted himself to the development of the study of the *prajñā* sutras and in 402 founded the White Lotus Society (Bailianshe: 白蓮社) with monks and lay people and promoted the Pure Land School practice of chanting the name of the Buddha Amitābha. He also wrote the treatise *On Why Monks Do Not Bow Down Before Kings* (*Shamen bujing wangzhe lun*: 沙門不敬王者論), in which he emphasized the autonomy of Buddhism in relation to state power.

644 Bactria (K. Woljiguk: Ch. Yuezhiguo: 月支國, Dayuezhiguo: 大月氏國) was a country in the so-called "western regions" (K. *seoyeok*, Ch. *xiyu*: 西域), which in Buddhist writings refer to India, Central Asia and present-day Turkmenistan. It was located in Northern India and in the region of the Hindu Kush mountain range. It played a major role in the cultural exchange between India and China and made an enormous contribution to the transmission of Buddhism to China, producing such translator monks as Lokakṣema (K. Jirugacham, Ch. Zhiloujiachan: 支婁迦讖), Zhiqian (支謙), and especially Dharmarakṣa (K. Chukbeopho, Ch. Zhufahu: 竺法護, fl. 265–313), who was of Bactrian parentage and was known as the Bactrian Bodhisattva (K. Wolji bosal, Ch. Yuezhi pusa: 月支菩薩), and also as the Bodhisattva of Dunhuang.

645 This is quoted from the "Biography of Huiyuan" in *Biographies of Eminent [Chinese] Buddhist Monks*, vol. 6, ("遠聞, 天竺有佛影, 是佛昔化毒龍所留之影, 在北天竺月氏國那竭呵城 南古仙人石室中, 經道取流沙, 西一萬五千八百五十里, 每欣感交懷志欲瞻覩." T. 50–385b 08–11).

646 Faxian (法現; 法顯, 337–422), a Buddhist monk during the Eastern Jin (東晉) era, traveled to India via Chang'an, Dunhuang and Khotan and stayed there for six years visiting all the Buddhist sites, studying the Vinaya and Sanskrit, crossing over to Sri Lanka, returning to China on a merchant ship, and arriving at Shandong in 412. Subsequently he resided at Daochangsa (道場寺) and before his death translated the many sūtras and Vinaya texts that he had brought back with him from India. As the first Chinese monk to cross over the Pamir Mountains, his travel journal *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian* (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*: 高僧法顯傳), which is also known as *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguoji*: 佛國記), together with Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions*, provides valuable eyewitness information about India and the various countries of Central Asia.

647 Here *Xiyuzhuan* (K. Seoyeokjeon: 西域傳, *Record of the Western Regions*) refers to the *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian*.

record: "I reached the border of Nagarahāra.[648] In a place half a *yojana*[649] to the south of Najie Fortress, there is a stone chamber to the southwest of Mt. Bo,[650] in which the Buddha left his shadow. If one looks at that place from about ten paces away rays of light like the form of the true image of the Buddha shine forth, but as one moves closer[651] they gradually fade away.[652] The kings of various countries have sent painters in order to paint it, but they have not been able to depict it accurately. According to the people of that country, 'All the one thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa[653] will leave their shadows in this place.' Approximately one hundred paces to the west of the shadow is the place where the Buddha cut his hair and his fingernails when he was on the earth (*etc.*)."

In the *seong* box,[654] in the second volume of the *Record of Western Lands,*[655] is the following account: "Long ago when the Buddha was on the

648 For Nagarahāra see note 618, above.

649 The Chinese term for the Sanskrit word *yojana* is *yusun* (Ch. *youxun*: 由旬). It was also transcribed as *yusana* (Ch. *yushena*: 踰闍那), *yuseonna* (Ch. *yushanna*: 踰繕那), *yueon* (Ch. *youyan*: 由延) and is an Indian unit of measurement. It refers to the distance an ox could draw a cart in one day. In the *Record of the Western Regions* it is stated that the distance the king and his retinue could march in one day was forty *li*. There are differing opinions over the exact distance of a *yojana*, but it is thought by some to have been approximately 19.5 km.

650 Mt. Bo is the name of the place where the Shadow Cave was located in Nagarahāra.

651 The character *won* (遠) means "far away," but it is thought that this character has been written in error for the character *geun* (近), meaning "nearby" (see following note).

652 The *Biography of Faxian* states "the closer one gets, the more (the Buddha shadow) fades away" (轉近轉微) and both the *Gwanbul sammae gyeong* and *Record of the Western Regions* state that the closer one gets, the less distinct the shadow becomes, and the further away one gets the clearer it becomes. For this reason it is thought that in the original text here in the *Samguk yusa*, the phrase "the further one gets away, the more indistinct [it becomes]" (轉遠轉微) was written in error instead of "the closer one gets, the more indistinct [it becomes]" (轉近轉微).

653 On the Bhadrakalpa or "wisdom *kalpa*," see footnote 14, above.

654 "*Seong* box" (K. *Seongja ham*: 星字函) denotes the 464th container of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (see note 45, above).

655 The *Record of Western Lands* (*Xiyuji*: 西域記) is a shorter version of *Record of the Western Regions*

earth, this dragon became a cattle herd and supplied the king with milk and *lassi*,[656] but he made a mistake while he was making his offering and received a reprimand. Harboring rage and resentment in his heart, he bought flowers with some coins and made an offering of them at a stūpa[657] with the supplication,[658] 'Please turn me into an evil dragon that will destroy this country and harm the king,' and then went to a cliff, threw himself off and died. Eventually, while living in this cave, he became the Great Dragon King, nurturing an evil mind. Knowing about this, the Buddha arrived at this place through his supernatural powers, and when the dragon saw the Buddha, his

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(*Da Tang xiyu ji*: 大唐西域記), the twelve-volume work written by Xuanzang (玄奘) of Tang and edited by his disciple Bianji (辯機) that was completed in 646. During sixteen years of travelling in search of the dharma (*gubeop yeohaeng*: 求法旅行), Xuanzang visited 110 countries in person including the present-day western regions of China, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India as well as recording information about twenty-eight additional countries. On his return to China at the command of the Tang emperor Taizong (太宗), he wrote down an account of his travels. The varied content of the work includes detailed and accurate descriptions of Mahāyāna and Theravada Buddhism, the formation and propagation of the various sects and their actual beliefs, together with information on geography, customs, language, legends, industry, and so on. This record, which contains information that cannot be found anywhere else, has proved to be a valuable reference source that has been widely used in conjunction with excavations of Buddhist sites in India and other countries in the region in the modern period.

656 The term for *lassi*, a type of yoghurt made from fermenting cow's or sheep's milk, is *nak* (酪).

657 The term for stūpa is *soldopa* (Ch. *zudupo*: 卒堵婆). It is also transcribed as *soldopa* (Ch. *sudubo*: 窣堵波) as well as *tappa* (Ch. *tapo*: 塔婆) and *tap* (Ch. *ta*: 塔). The term refers to a grave in the form of a hemispherical mound in ancient India, but after the death of the Buddha, it became more of a memorial. At the time of the Kushan Empire many brick stūpas were constructed with bones of Śākyamuni Buddha, items he had used, or locks of hair buried within them. According to the *Record of the Western Regions* quoted here, this stūpa was called the "stūpa of Dīpaṃkara Buddha" from whom Śākyamuni received the assurance of enlightenment (see note 618, above).

658 The term which has been translated here as "supplication" is *sugi* (Skt. *vyākaraṇa*, Ch. *shouji*: 授記), which is also written as *sugyeol* (Ch. *shoujue*: 授決), *gibyeol* (Ch. *jibie*: 記別) and *gibyeol* (Ch. *jibie*: 記莂). Originally the term meant explaining the doctrine in the twelve different types of sūtra through analysis or by means of questions and answers, but its meaning changed to mean predicting the enlightenment of a disciple or the place of his or her reincarnation. Subsequently it came to mean predicting one's enlightenment through the maturation of karma (*gwabo*: 果報) in the future world and foretelling one's title (*myeongho*: 名號) after attaining enlightenment.

evil thoughts finally ceased, and receiving the precept against taking life,[659] he made the entreaty, "Oh Buddha please stay in this cave forever and receive my offerings." The Buddha said, "As I will pass on[660] in the future, I will leave my shadow for you. If you should ever feel anger or evil thoughts arising in your mind, always look at my shadow and your evil thoughts will cease. [Buddha] concentrated his mind and went inside the stone chamber, and if one looked from a distance he appeared, but if one looked from nearby he did not appear.[661] Also the footprints on the rock were considered to be one of the seven treasures (*etc.*)."[662] The above is all from the sūtras and has been summarized here.

The people east of the sea [i.e. Koreans] call this mountain Anasa,[663] but

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659 The precept against taking life (*bulsalgye*: 不殺戒) is one of the five precepts and is applied to all sentient beings.

660 The term for "pass on" is *jeongmyeol* (Skt. *vyupaśama*, Ch. *jimie*: 寂滅), which means to liberate oneself from life and death and enter into a state of extinction. This term includes the senses of abandoning the delusions of this world and entering into a state of bliss. In the Theravada tradition it signifies *nirvāṇa* and the death of monks and is expressed by such terms as *jeok* (寂), *ipjeok* (入寂), *wonjeok* (圓寂), which are all interchangeable with the term *jeongmyeol*. The terms *jeongmyeol* (寂滅) and *myeoldo* (滅度) are also used for the Sanskrit term *nirvāṇa* (K. *yeolban*, Ch. *niepan*: 涅槃). *Nirvāṇa* originally meant "to extinguish" or "to blow out." Subsequently it came to mean attaining a state of perfect enlightenment in which all the flames of passion have been completely extinguished and is seen as the final goal of Buddhism. In this context it simply means the Buddha's death.

661 This quotation about the shadow image (see note 652, above) is similar to the record on Nagarahāra that appears in *Record of the Western Regions,* vol. 2. (T. vol.51, 879a 05–16), with a slight variation in wording. However, the final sentence, namely, "Also, the footprints on the rock were considered to be one of the seven treasures" (攝神獨入石室. 遠望卽現. 近則不現. 又令石上蹴爲七寶), is not found in the *Record of the Western Regions.*

662 The term for "seven treasures" is *chilbo* (七寶) and refers to the seven treasures that are considered precious in this world. They differ slightly depending on the sūtra, but in general they are gold, silver, glass, agate, crystal, coral, and pearls.

663 This mountain is also called Anasa (阿那斯) in the *Buddha-dhyana-samadhisagara-sūtra* (*Gwanbul sammae gyeong*). The meaning of the word *anasa* is "a place where there is nothing to eat" (*Beonbeomeo* [翻梵語, *Sanskrit Dictionary*], vol. 9; T. 2030, vol.54, 1043c19). Nevertheless, Iryeon ignores both the sūtra and the Korean legend and insists that it should be called Manasa, which means "fish."

it should be called Manasa.[664] In translation this means 'fish' and the name comes from these events that took place in northern India.

高僧傳云,"恵遠聞, 天竺有佛影, 昔爲龍所留之影, 在北天竺月支國那竭呵城南古仙人石室中."［云云］又法現西域傳云,"至那竭國界, 那竭城南半由旬有石室, 博山西南面, 佛留影此中. 去十餘步觀之, 如佛眞形, 光明炳著, 轉近轉微. 諸國王遣工摹寫, 莫能髣髴. 國人傳云,'賢劫千佛, 皆當於此留影.' 影之西百步許, 有佛在時剃髮剪爪之地."［云云］

星函西域記第二卷云,"昔如來在世之時, 此龍爲牧牛之士, 供王乳酪, 進奉失宜, 旣獲譴嘖. 心懷恚恨, 以金錢買花供養, 授記窣堵婆,'願爲惡龍, 破國害王.' 卽趣石壁, 投身而死. 遂居此窟爲大龍王, 適起惡心. 如來鑑此, 變神通力而來至此, 龍見佛, 毒心遂止, 受不殺戒, 因請'如來常居此穴, 常受我供.' 佛言,'吾將寂滅, 爲汝留影. 汝若毒忿, 常觀吾影, 毒心當止.' 攝神獨入石室, 遠望卽現, 近則不現. 又令石上蹴爲七寶."［云云］已上皆經文, 大略如此.

海東人名此山爲阿那斯, 當作摩那斯. 此翻爲魚, 蓋取彼北天竺事而稱之爾.

664 Manasa (Skt. Manasvin: 摩那斯): the dragon-king Manasa is one of the eight great dragon kings (*yongwang*: 龍王) who attend an audience to hear the sermon in the *Lotus Sūtra* and is also the dragon king who causes rain in the *Flower Adornment Sūtra*. For this reason it is also translated as "compassionate mind" (*jasim*: 慈心) and "lofty intention" (*goui*: 高意) (*Iljeolgyeongeumui* (一切經音義), vol. 27, 大 54, 447a05, "摩那斯龍王［摩那意也, 斯慈也, 流出也, 言此龍王凡興雲, 再皆從慈心出也.］") It is also translated as "wise" (*chonghye*: 聰慧) or "majestic" (*guwi*: 具威). (*Beonyeong myeonui jip* [翻譯名義集, *Sanskrit Glossary*], T. 2031, vol.54, 1078c11 "摩那斯, 此云大身, 或云大意, 或云大力.")

4-19.

The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae 臺山五萬眞身

Introduction:

This chapter contains legends about the "true bodies" (*jinsin*: 眞身) of bodhisattvas residing on Mt. Odae in Pyeongchang. It has two sections, entitled "The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae" and "The Biography of Crown Prince Bojildae of Mt. Odae." These provide the basis for belief in the existence of "true bodies" of bodhisattvas on Mt. Odae, but, as the content of the two sections is similar, only the first section is presented here.

"The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae" contains a story about Jajang, which provided the starting-point for belief in the "true bodies" of bodhisattvas on Mt. Odae. This section contains the story of Jajang's direct encounter (*chingyeon*) with Mañjuśrī in China and, after his return to Silla, his subsequent encounter with Mañjuśrī at Wonnyeom Monastery and his founding of Jeongam Monastery. This section also states that the hermitage built by the monk Sinui at the site where Jajang had stayed was called Woljeong Monastery.

The two princes Bocheon and Hyomyeong then become the main protagonists of this account, and their story appears to begin during Jajang's era. After touring Haseo Prefecture region, the two princes secretly entered Mt. Odae and lived there in seclusion. The two princes each built a hermitage and while practicing their faith climbed the five peaks of Mt. Odae together and witnessed the 50,000 "true bodies" of the Vairocana Buddha and 10,000 Mañjuśrī Bodhisattvas on the central peak, 10,000 Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattvas on the eastern peak, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and 10,000 Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattvas on the southern peak, Amitābha Buddha and 10,000 Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattvas on the western peak, and Śākyamuni Buddha and the 500 Great Arhats on the northern peak. While



Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae, Pyeongchang, Gangwon-do

the princes were worshipping Buddha and these bodhisattvas every morning, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī appeared in 36 different forms, and the two princes made offerings of tea and dedicated themselves to their Buddhist practice. When the nation's sovereign was deposed, and the people came to entreat the two princes to return to the palace, Bocheon declined, and Hyomyeong ascended the throne. In 705 Hyomyeong founded Jinyeo Monastery (Jinyeowon) and inaugurated the Flower Adornment Society (Hwaeomsa). The monastery was paid for by the nearby villages, and he also established a farm for its upkeep. Bocheon on the other hand continued to practice his devotions for fifty years and experienced many miracles such as divine beings coming down from heaven to listen to his sermons and to offer him tea. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī also gave him a prognostication of his future enlightenment.

Before his death Bocheon made the request that, as Mt. Odae was a place where the bodhisattvas' true bodies resided, Wontong Monastery should be built on the eastern peak as a shrine to Avalokiteśvara, Geumgang Monastery on the southern peak as a shrine to Kṣitigarbha, Sujeong Monastery on the western peak as a shrine to Amitābha, an Arhat shrine and Baengnyeon

Monastery on the northern peak, and Jinyeo Monastery and Hwaeom Monastery on the central peak. He also requested that the name of Bocheon Hermitage, where he had practiced, be changed to Hwajang Monastery and that it should be considered the head monastery on Mt. Odae. He also requested the construction of Munsugap Monastery on the site of the lower hermitage and for it to be made the main meeting place for the monasteries of Mt. Odae and to ensure that incense was burnt there continuously without interruption to ensure that peace prevailed in the nation.

By comparison, in "The Biography of Crown Prince Bojildae" there is no mention of Jajang. The section begins immediately with the account of the two princes Bojildo (Bocheon) and Hyomyeong entering Mt. Odae after travelling around Haseo Prefecture, each building their own hermitage and while living there worshipping and making offerings to the 50,000 true bodies of the bodhisattvas and the 36 transformation bodies of Mañjuśrī. The people of the country came to make one of the princes king, but Bocheon declined their entreaties in tears, and so Hyomyeong was taken back to the palace and placed on the throne. Ten years after his ascension to the throne Hyomyeong founded Jinyeo Monastery (Jinyeowon) while Bocheon continued to practice his devotions for fifty years. The content in "The Biography of Crown Prince Bojildae," therefore, appears to provide a clearer and more complete account than "The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae." As the name for Bocheon is different in the two sections, it is thought that they were based on different sources. Due to its almost identical content, however, the second section has been omitted and any relevant material from it has been included in the footnotes.

The material concerning Jajang in this chapter is based on a source referred to as "an ancient text" (*gojeon*: 古傳) from the mountain, but no source is mentioned for the material concerning the two princes Bocheon and Hyomyeong. As this account is directly related to the history of Silla, relevant topics have been augmented with detailed footnotes based on materials found in the *Samguk sagi*.

The legend about the true bodies of Mt. Odae laid the foundation for the Buddha land faith in Silla, beginning with the belief that both Jajang

and Mañjuśrī resided in the mountain. The origin of this belief can be found in Avataṃsaka beliefs. But this legend of the 50,000 true bodies provides us with a general overview of aspects of faith in the Buddhas of the Five Directions—Śākyamuni, Kṣitigarbha, Amitābha, and Avalokiteśvara centering on the Vairocana Buddha—such as monasteries, associations (*gyeolsa*: 結社), Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, sūtra recitation, and worship. The structure of this kind of belief has a close relationship with esoteric Buddhism. Therefore, we can see that the legend of the 50,000 true bodies of Mt. Odae has its origins in Avataṃsaka belief but was transformed by esoteric beliefs. The Mt. Wutai faith in China, which provides clues to the Mt. Odae faith in Korea, shows many similar aspects as it also had its origins in the Avataṃsaka beliefs of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, which were advanced by Chengguan. Subsequently Amoghavajra (C. Bukong jingang) spread esoteric teachings widely making Mt. Wutai the holy ground of a flourishing faith.

This chapter has also become an object of much historical interest because of its account of the succession to the throne of a crown prince. The structure of the legend concerning the two crown princes, Bocheon and Hyomyeong, who were descendants of King Jeongsin the Great, also reveals the process whereby the two sons of King Sinmun, King Hyoso and King Seongdeok, succeeded to the throne. Furthermore, the appearance of the 50,000 true bodies, their worship and the founding of monasteries on Mt. Odae should be examined separately. Although the founding of Jiyeowon in 705 is thought to be an accurate historical fact, the founding of all the other monasteries on Mt. Odae is open to doubt because it is difficult to find any other records mentioning the founding of the monasteries that Bocheon recommended before his death.

Location	Shrine	Enshrined Buddha or Bodhisattva	Daily Sutra Recitation	Nightly Worship	Related Monastery
Eastern Peak	Avalokiteśvara Shrine	Avalokiteśvara	*Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for the Benevolent King*, *Thousand-Hand Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī*	Worship of Avalokiteśvara	Wontongsa
Southern Peak	Kṣitigarbha Shrine	Kṣitigarbha, Eight Great Bodhisattvas, 10,000 Kṣitigarbhas	*Kṣitigarbhapraṇidhāna Sūtra*, *Diamond Sūtra*	Chanting of prayers from the *Chan zha sha na ye bao sūtra*	Geumgangsa
Western Peak	Amitābha Shrine	Image of Amitābha (Muryangsu sang), Amitābha, 10,000 ahasthāmaprāpta-bodhisattvas	*Lotus Sūtra*	Worship of Amitābha	Sujeongsa
Northern Peak	Arhat Shrine	Image of Śākyamuni, Śākyamuni and 500 Arhats	*Bulboeun gyeong*, *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*	Worship of *Nirvāṇa*	Baegyeonsa
Central Peak	Jinye Shrine	Images of Mañjuśrī, Vairocana, 36 Mañjuśrī	*Flower Adornment Sūtra*, *Mohe bore boluomi daoxing jing*	Worship of Mañjuśrī	Hwaeomsa
Head-quarters	Bocheon Hermitage Hwajangsa	Vairocana Triad	*Tripitaka*	Devotion to the gods of the Flower Adornment Sūtra	Beomnyunsa
Meeting Place	Lower hermitage Munsugapsa		Continual offering of bows and prayers to the gods of the Flower Adornment Sūtra		

Table of Shrines and Related Monasteries for Mt. Odae Proposed by Bocheon.

Annotated Translation:

If we examine an old legend[665] from the mountain, [we find that] its fame as a place where Buddha[666] resided began in the time of Dharma Master

[665] The old legend (*gojeon*: 古傳): the following chapter of *Samguk yusa* "The Five Saints of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae" (臺山月精寺五類聖衆) quotes "an ancient record from a monastery" (寺中所傳古記), and it is most probable that the two sources are in fact the same.

[666] The term *jinseong* (眞聖), meaning "true saint," has the same meaning as *jinsin* (眞身), meaning

Jajang.[667] Originally the dharma master entered Tang China to see the incarnate bodhisattva Mañjuśri[668] of Mt. Wutai[669] at the time of Queen Seondeok[670] in the tenth year, *byeongsin*, of the Zhenguan era (636)[671] (*the* Tang Biographies of Monks[672] *gives the twelfth year,*[673] *here I have followed*

'true body,' which here is a reference to Buddha. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (Ch. *Dazhi du lun*, K. *Daeji do ron*: 大智度論) states, "In the Buddha body (*bulsin*: 佛身) there is a 'true body' (*jinsin*: 眞身) and a 'transformation body' (*hwasin*: 化身). The true body completely fills the void, gives off light in all directions, gives voice to sermons on the dharma to the countless worlds of all the directions and makes all the sentient beings listen together so that each one will be enlightened when they hear it" (*Daxhi du lun* 大智度論, vol. 30, T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 278a18–23. 佛眞身者, 遍於虛空, 光明遍炤十方, 說法音聲亦遍十方無量恆河沙等世界, 滿中大衆皆共聽法, 說法不息. 一時之頃各隨所聞而得解悟).

667 For Jajang, see note 3, above.

668 The name of the bodhisattva Mañjuśri (K. Munsu bosal, Ch. Wenshu pusa: 文殊菩薩) is also transcribed as Munsusari (Ch. Wenshushili: 文殊師利) or Mansusilli (Ch. Manshushili: 曼殊室利) and is translated as Myodeok (Ch. *miaode* 妙德; lit. "Marvellous Virtue"), and Myogilsang (Ch. *miaojixiang*: 妙吉祥; lit. "Marvellously Auspicious"). Together with the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Mañjuśri is one of the attendant bodhisattvas of Buddha Śākyamuni (Seokga yeorae: 釋迦如來) and is responsible for wisdom (*jihye*: 智慧). He is often depicted riding on the back of a lion, holding the sword of wisdom (*jigeom*: 智劍) in his right hand and a blue lotus (*cheongyeonhwa*: 青蓮華) in his left. It is said that like Buddha he also has the thirty-two bodily marks (*sang*: 相) and the eighty minor marks (*jongho*: 種好) (K. *Munsu banniwon gyeong*, Ch. *Munsu bannihuan jing*: 文殊般泥洹經), and he is often given the name *kumāra* (K. *dongja*: 童子), meaning boy or prince ("Entry into the Dharma Realm," *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* [*Hwaeomgyeong*: 華嚴經]). For this reason he is sometimes enshrined in the form of an image of a boy (*dongjasang*: 童子像). It is stated in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* that Mañjuśri resides in Mt. Wutai (K. Mt. Odae) (60 *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, vol. 29, 菩薩住處品. 大 9, p. 590a03–05. 東北方有菩薩住處, 名淸涼山, 過去諸菩薩常於中住. 彼現有菩薩, 名文殊師利, 有一萬菩薩眷屬, 常為說法.)

669 For Mt. Wutai, see note 115, above.

670 For Queen Seondeok (宣德王, r. 632–647), see note 117, above.

671 For Zhenguan (貞觀, 627–649), see note 142, above.

672 *Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Tang gaoseng zhuan*: 唐高僧傳), also known as *Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*: 續高僧傳), or simply as *Tang Biographies* (*Tang zhuan*: 唐傳), was compiled in the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan era (645) by Daoxuan (道宣, 596–667, see note 371, above). The work contains the collected biographies of Buddhist monks who lived during the Northern Dynasties and early Tang, after the period covered by the earlier book entitled *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*: 高僧傳) or *Liang Biographies of*

the Original History of the Three Kingdoms).[674] When he first arrived at the banks of the Taihe Pool[675] in China, where a stone statue of Mañjuśrī was located, he prayed devoutly for seven days and suddenly in a dream the great saint[676] gave him a four-verse hymn in praise of the Buddha (Kr. *gesong*, Ch. *juchi* 句偈). Remembering this on awakening, he was unable to understand it because it was all in Sanskrit.[677] In the morning on the following day a Buddhist monk with a robe of red silk with golden dots, a wooden alms bowl and a piece of bone from the Buddha's skull suddenly came up to the dharma master and asked, "What is worrying you?" The master replied, "In a dream I received four verses of a hymn of praise to the Buddha, but as they are in Sanskrit, I do not understand what they mean." The monk translated them, saying, "*He-luo-po-zuo-nang*" means "I understand all the dharma;" "*Da-li-*

Eminent Monks (*Liang gaoseng zhuan*: 梁高僧傳, see note 642, above).). In fact it is thought to have been subsequently augmented up until 665. It comprises thirty fascicles and ten headings with 414 original biographies (*benzhuan*: 本傳) and 201 additional biographies (*fuzhuan*: 附傳).

673 The passage referred to here is as follows: "In the twelfth year of the Zhenguan era (638) at the head of more than ten literati and monks, he arrived at the capital from the east." (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*: 續高僧傳, vol. 24, 釋慈藏. T. 2060, vol. 50, p. 639b 13–14. 以貞觀十二年, 將領門人僧實等十有餘人, 東辭至京.)

674 By *Original History of the Three Kingdoms*, Iryeon is referring to *Samguk sagi* (*Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms*). "Dharma Master Jajang entered Tang to obtain the dharma." (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 5, fifth year of Queen Seondeok's reign, 慈藏法師, 入唐求法.)

675 Taihe Pool (Taihe chi: 太和池): At the summit of the central peak of Mt. Wutai in China on the northwest side there is a spring called Taihua Spring (Taihua quan: 太華泉). "On the top of the central peak there is Taihua Spring, which is thirty-eight paces in circumference. Its water sparkles clearly and transparently and it has never dried up. Everyone says it is a place where sacred beings come to bathe. So people who carve jade make sacrificial offerings of incense and flowers here." (*Gu qingliang zhuan* [古清凉傳], vol. 1, T. 2098, vol. 51, p. 1093b 21–25. 中臺, 高四十里, 頂上地平, 周迴六里零二百步. 稍近西北, 有太華泉 (亦名□池也), 周迴三十八步. 水深一尺四寸, 前後感者, 或深或淺不同. 其水清澈凝映, 未嘗減竭, 皆以為聖人盥漱之處. 故往還者, 多以香花財賄投之供養.)

676 The term for "great saint" is *daeseong* (大聖). This term is used to refer to Buddha or a bodhisattva, and here it refers to Mañjuśri.

677 The term for Sanskrit is *beomeo* (Ch. *fanyu*: 梵語), the language in which the original Indian Buddhist sūtras were written.

duo-qu-ye" means "One's original nature is without possessions;" "*Nang-he-xi-he-nang*" means "I understand the Buddha nature in this way" and "*Da-li-lu-she-na*" means "Soon I will see Nosana Buddha (Vairocana)."[678] Giving him the robe and the other things that he had with him,[679] the monk then asked a favor of him, saying, "Please keep these things safe as they belonged to the original teacher, the World-Honored Śākyamuni (Seokga sejon)." He also said, "Mt. Odae is on the border of Myeongju in the northeast[680] of your country. As there are always ten thousand Mañjuśrī Bodhisattvas dwelling there please go there to see [them]." As he finished these words he disappeared.

[Jajang] intended to return to Silla in the future after visiting the sites of miracles [in China], when the dragon from Taihe Pool appeared in person and asked him to offer a sacrifice. [Jajang] made offerings for seven days and then [the dragon] said, "The old monk who gave you the hymn of praise to the Buddha was an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī." This urgent request that he should construct a temple and erect a stūpa is also recorded in detail in a Tang biography (*byeoljeon*). In the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign (643)[681] the dharma master came to this mountain to see the true form [of Mañjuśrī], but for three days it grew cloudy and dark, and so he returned without success. Again while he was staying in Wonnyeong

678 The content of this hymn comes from the following passage, "If you know all dharmas (*ilchebeop*: 一切法), know that your own nature is without possessions, and together with this know the original essence of all being (*beopseong*: 法性) then you will see Vairocana (了知一切法, 自性無所有. 如是解法性, 卽見盧舍那)." *Eighty-Volume Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, vol. 16, *Sumi jeongsang gechan pum* (須彌頂上偈讃品), *T.* 279, vol.10, p. 82a 06–07. This is an important passage that was also quoted by Chengguan (澄觀, 738–839) and Zongmi (宗密, 780–839). The quotation in this chapter of this passage from the *Eighty-Volume Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese no later than 699, shows that it was introduced to Korea after the beginning of the eighth century.

679 For Jajang's enshrinement of relics, see chapter 4–13, above.

680 The term for northeast is *ganbang* (Ch. *genfang*: 艮方). *Gan* (Ch. *gen*: 艮) is one of the eight trigrams (K. *palgwae*, Ch. *bagua*: 八卦) and in terms of direction signifies the northeast.

681 The seventeenth year of the Zhenguan (貞觀) era corresponded to the twelfth year of the reign of Queen Seondeok (善德女王) of Silla.

Monastery,[682] he saw the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who said, "Go to the place where the arrowroot vines flourish." That place is now Jeongam Monastery[683] (*this is also included in the Tang biographies*, byeoljeon).[684] Later the ascetic monk[685] Sinui, a disciple of Beomil,[686] came looking for the place where Dharma Master Jajang had rested, built a hermitage and lived there. A long time after Sinui died, when the hermitage had also fallen into ruins, Yuyeon, an elder, virtuous monk[687] from Suda Monastery,[688] restored [the hermitage]

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682 Jajang donated his natal home in order to build Wonnyeongsa (元寧寺). See "Uihae," 'Jajang jeongyul' (慈藏定律) in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 24.)

683 Jeongamsa (淨巖寺) is located on Taebaeksan, Gohan-ri, Gohan-myeon, Jeongseon-gun, Gangwon Province. It has various buildings including the Jeongmyol Bogung (Nirvāna Hall) founded by Jajang. The Sumano Stūpa (Treasure No. 410) is located on a steep mountain slope behind the Jeongmyeol Bogung and its name comes from the agate (*mano*) that Jajang is said to have brought back from Tang China and used in its construction. Jajang built the Seongnam Shrine (石南院) on this place, which is called Galbanji (葛蟠地), and is said to have lived out his final years there (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 24, "Uihae," 'Jajang jeongyul'). See also chapter 4–20, below.

684 Chapter 4–20, below, states that after Jajang and before Sinui, the devotee Sinhyo (Sinhyo geosa: 信孝居士) lived in this place.

685 The term for "ascetic monk" is *duta seung* 頭陀僧. *Duta* is a transcription of the Sanskrit term *dhūta*, which literally means "to cast off." It is also transcribed as *duda* (杜多), and translated as *gije* (棄除), *suchi* (修治), and *dusu* (抖擻). It refers to the practice of a Buddhist monk in disciplining the mind and body by casting off all human attachments. There are twelve basic ascetic practices, including "dwelling in the forest as a hermit," "begging for food and only receiving one meal a day," and "wearing clothes made from rags."

686 For Beomil (梵日, 810–889) see note 555, above.

687 The term for "elder, virtuous monk" is *jangno* (長老), which is derived from the Sanskrit term *sthavira*. It is used to refer to elder monks of high virtue who have been living the monastic life for a long time. In the Seon Buddhist tradition monks who teach students are also referred to as *jangno.*

688 Sudasa (水多寺) was established by Jajang at Gangneung in Gangwon Province. In Goryeo times there were two monasteries in Seonsan and Haeju called Sudasa, and there is also a record left by Yi Seunghyu (李承休) that a portrait of White-robed Avalokiteśvara (*baegui* Gwaneum) by the renowned Chinese monk painter Wu Daozi (吳道子, d. 792) was kept here (Yi Seunghyu 李承休, *Dongan geosa jip* 動安居士集, 行錄, vol. 1). Yi Gyubo (李奎報), Gim Buui (金富儀), and others also left behind poems about this monastery.

and lived there. This place is now Woljeong Monastery.[689]

臺山五萬眞身

按山中古傳, 此山之署名, 眞聖住處者, 始自慈藏法師. 初法師欲見中國五臺山文殊眞身, 以善德王代, 貞觀十年丙申[唐僧傳云十二年, 今從三國本史.], 入唐. 初至中國太和池邊石文殊處, 虔祈七日, 忽夢大聖授四句偈. 覺而記憶, 然皆梵語, 罔然不解. 明旦忽有一僧, 將緋羅金點袈裟一領, 佛鉢一具, 佛頭骨一片. 到于師邊問, "何以無聊?" 師答, "以夢所受四句偈, 梵音不解爲辭." 僧譯之云, "呵囉婆佐曩, 是曰了知一切法, 達𠼝哆佉嘢, 云自性無所有, 曩伽呬伽曩, 云如是解法性, 達𠼝盧舍那, 云卽見盧舍那." 仍以所將袈裟等, 付而囑云, "此是本師釋伽尊之道具也, 汝善護持." 又曰, "汝本國艮方溟州界有五臺山, 一萬文殊常住在彼, 汝往見之." 言已不現.

遍尋靈迹, 將欲東還, 太和池龍現身請齋. 供養七日, 乃告云, "昔之傳偈老僧, 是眞文殊也." 亦有叮囑創寺立塔之事, 具載別傳. 師以貞觀十七年, 來到此山, 欲覩眞身, 三日晦陰, 不果而還. 復住元寧寺, 乃見文殊云, "至葛蟠處." 今淨喦寺是[亦載別傳]. 後有頭陁信義, 乃梵日之門人也, 來尋藏師憩息之地, 創庵而居. 信義旣卒, 庵亦久廢. 有水多寺長老有緣, 重創而居, 今月精寺是也.

When Dharma Master Jajang returned to Silla, Great King Jeongsin's crown prince Bocheon[690] and his brother Hyomyeong[691] arrived in Haseo

689 Woljeongsa (月精寺) is located on Mt. Odae, Dongsan-ri, Jinbu-myeon, Pyeongchang-gun, Gangwon Province. It was founded in 643 by Jajang, who first of all built a thatched hut (*choam*: 草庵) and dwelt there. Over time a large monastery eventually came into being by stages. The 15.2-metre-high, octagonal nine-story granite stūpa, which is registered as National Treasure No. 48, stands in a courtyard in front of the main building of the monastery.

690 Bocheon (寶川) is referred to as Bojildo (寶叱徒) in the second section of this chapter (not translated here), entitled "Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo of Mt. Odae in Myeongju" (Myeongju Odaesan Bojildo taeja jeongi: 溟州五臺山寶叱徒太子傳記).

691 From this point in the text the content is repeated in the second section of this chapter (not translated here). In brief, in this section the two princes go to Mt. Odae and while engaging in Buddhist practice there, they worship the 50,000 true bodies of Buddha and the bodhisattvas. Prince Hyomyeong ascends the throne [in 702, as King Seongdeok, see note 164, above] and founds Jinyeosa in 705, while Prince Bojildo drinks auspicious water (*utongsu*) and continues to practice for

Prefecture[692] (*this place is Haseo County, which is in present-day Myeongju. It is also called Hagok Prefecture,*[693] *but this is not present-day Ulju*) and spent the night at the house of Gakgan[694] Seheon (*if we examine the* Samguk sagi *[we find] there is no record of Jeongsin, Bocheon and Hyomyeong. But the following words are written at the end of this record*: "*In the founding year of the Shenlong era* (*705*)*, he cleared a site and established a temple.*" *This was the fourth year,* eulsa*, of King Seongdeok's reign.*[695] *The king's name was Honggwang; his original name was Yunggi, and he was the second son of King Sinmun.*[696] *King Seongdeok's*

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fifty years. In three places in the later part of the account the phrase "and so on" or "etc. etc." (*un un*: 云云) may be found indicating that the account was abridged.

692 Haseo Prefecture (Haseo-bu: 河西府) is present-day Gangneung in Gangwon Province. It was originally Haseoryang (河西良) or Haseulla (何瑟羅) in Goguryeo, but on its incorporation into Silla it became Haseoju (河西州) before becoming Myeongju (溟州) during the reign of King Gyeongdeok. During the Goryeo dynasty it was called Myeongju, but from the second until the fifth year of Seongjong's reign it was called Haseo Prefecture before becoming Myeongju Commandery (Myeongju dodokbu) again. During the reign of King Chungnyeol it became Gangneung Prefecture.

693 Hagok Prefecture (Hagok-hyeon: 河曲縣) is present day Ulju (蔚州) in Ulsan Metropolitan City. Ulju was originally Gurahwa Village (屈阿火村), but its name was changed to Hagok Prefecture during the reign of King Gyeongdeok. Although Hagok-hyeon is a different place name from Haseo-bu in Gangneung, even in the *Goryeosa* there is a record that Hagok-hyeon was also called Haseo-hyeon (vol. 57 "Jiriji" 蔚州. "蔚州本屈阿火村, 新羅婆娑王取之置縣. 景德王改名河曲[一作河西], 爲臨關郡領縣. 高麗初更今名.") There is no knowing whether Iryeon's parenthetical commentary is accurate or not.

694 Gakgan (角干) was another name for Ibeolchan (伊伐飡), the first office rank in Silla. It was the highest office rank and could only be held by members of the true-bone (*jingol*) lineage. As a member of the regional nobility, we do not know if Seheon actually held this title or not. It would have been possible if he was a member of the true-bone lineage with an estate in the provinces.

695 For King Seongdeok (r. 702–737), see note 164, above.

696 King Sinmun (神文王, r. 681–692) was the thirty-first king of Silla. His family name was Gim, his given name Jeongmyeong (政明), and his style (*ja*) Ilcho (日招). He was the eldest son of King Munmu, and his mother was Queen Jaui (Jaui wanghu: 慈儀王后). His first queen was the daughter of Gim Heumdol (金欽突), but after she was deposed because of being implicated in her father's rebellion, the king took the daughter of Gim Heumun (金欽運) as his second queen. King Sinmun's reign occurred during the period of the establishment of the firm authority of the royal family in mid-Silla times, which had begun during the reign of King Muyeol. To this end during his reign the

elder brother was King Hyojo,[697] *whose name was Iigong or Iiheung, and was also a son of King Sinmun. As the courtesy name of King Sinmun Jeongmyeong was Iljo, the name Jeongsin is probably a mistaken form of Jeongmyeong sinmun. Hyomyeong is a mistaken form of Hyojo* (*or Hyoso*)*. The part in the record which states that "Hyomyeong ascended the throne during the Shenlong era, selected the site and built a temple" is also imprecise*).

On the following day they crossed over a high ridge, each at the head of a crowd of one thousand people, and arrived at Seongopyeong, where they spent several days touring around. Suddenly one evening the two brothers secretly promised to abandon the mundane world and without anyone knowing they went into hiding on Mt. Odae[698] (*the old record states that "the*

National Academy (Gukhak: 國學) was established based on such Confucian political concepts as educating and nurturing the talented. Bongseongsa (奉聖寺) and Mangdeoksa (望德寺) were also founded at this time. The system of "nine provinces and five minor capitals" (*guju osogyeong*: 九州五小京) was established in order to systematize the duties of the central government offices and enhance the regional control of the expanded territories of Unified Silla. The authority of the royal family was further enhanced by the abolition of officials' "stipend villages" (*nogeup*: 祿邑) and their replacement with annual grain grants (*sejo*: 歲租). The economic expansion of officials was further restrained by the adoption of the five-*myo* system (*omyoje*: 五廟制). It has also been pointed out that King Sinmun may have become the subject of the legend of the princes on Mt. Odae because he had two queens.

697 King Hyojo (孝照王) is an alternative form of King Hyoso (孝昭王, r. 692–702, see note 163, above). Although he is generally called King Hyoso, an inscription on a *śarīra* container found in the Hwangboksa Stūpa (皇福寺塔) proves that he was also called King Hyojo: "Great King Sinmun [神文王, 政明, r. 681–692] responded to this world in accordance with the five precepts and stabilized his rule by leading the people in accordance with the ten virtues. He accomplished many virtuous deeds, and in the third year, *imjin*, of the Tianshou era on the second day of the seventh month, he passed away. Queen Sinmok and Great King Hyojo established this three-story stone stūpa at Seonwonsa for the sake of the divine spirits of the royal ancestral shrine" (神文大王, 五戒應世, 十善御民, 治定功成, 天授三年壬辰七月二日乘天. 所以神睦太后 孝照大王, 奉爲宗廥聖 靈, 禪院伽藍, 建立三層石塔). In this legend it is mentioned that Hyomyeong became connected to the royal succession of King Sinmun, King Hyoso, and King Seongdeok (r. 702–737) because of the similarity of his name to that of King Hyoso.

698 According to "The Biography of the Crown Princes," "the two brothers went to Mt. Odae on the fifth day of the eighth month of the first year of the Taehwa era."

princes hid in the mountain in the founding year of the Taehwa era[699] *at the beginning of the eighth month of the* musin *year," but these words appear to be greatly mistaken. Examining [this matter] closely, King Hyojo, also called King Hyoso, ascended the throne in the third year,* imjin, *of the Tianshou*[700] *era [692] at the age of sixteen and died at the age of twenty-six in the second year,* imin, *of the Changan*[701] *era [702]. King Seongdeok ascended the throne in this year at the age of twenty-two. If we say "in the founding year of the Taehwa reign,* musin *[648]" then this would be forty-five years before King Hyojo (Hyoso) ascended the throne in the* imjin[702] *year [692]. [Forty-five years before King Seongdeok's ascent in 702] would be in the time of Taejong, King Munmu [recte King Muyeol, r. 654–661].*[703] *Thus, as we can see that this record is erroneous, it has not been selected*). As the people who had been attending the princes did not know where to go, they returned to the capital.

When the two princes reached deep into the mountain, a blue lotus

699 Taehwa (Ch. Taihe: 太和) was used as an era name both in China and Korea and could, therefore, refer either to the reign of the Tang emperor Wenzong (827–835) or to the reign of Queen Jindeok of Silla (647–650). In the case of both reigns, the founding year was the j*eongmi* year (丁未年), one year before the *musin* year (戊申年). The discrepancy commented on by Iryeon, however, might be the result of a different calculation method. Iryeon (一然) interprets the Taehwa era as being that of Queen Jindeok, which provides us with the date 648.

700 Tianshou (天授, 690–692) is the name of an era in the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (武則天), founder of the short-lived Zhou (周) dynasty. It refers to the period from the seventh month of the tenth year of Silla King Sinmun's reign until the first year of King Hyoso's reign.

701 Chang'an (長安, 701–704) is the name of an era in the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (武則天), coinciding with the period from the tenth year of King Hyoso's reign to the third year of King Seongdeok's reign.

702 The text has *gapjin* (甲辰, 702) but *imjin* (壬辰, 692) is correct as this was the year of King Hyoso's accession to the throne.

703 In the text Munmu (文武, r. 661–681) is an error and should be Muyeol (武烈, r. 654–661). Forty-five years before the first year of the reign of King Hyoso, 692, was 647, but in accordance with the traditional method for calculating reigns, the year of Queen Jindeok's accession would have been 648, namely the *musin* (戊申) year, the second year of the Taehwa era. (*Ed. note. The text of this note by Iryeon appears to be corrupt or to contain a non-sequitur at this point. The phrase in square brackets has been added to make sense of the sentence*).

suddenly blossomed out of the ground.[704] The elder prince built a hermitage and dwelt there, calling the place Bocheon Hermitage. Upon going more than six hundred paces to the northeast at the southern base of the northern peak there was another place where a blue lotus bloomed, and the younger prince Hyomyeong also built a hermitage and stayed there. Each of them diligently practiced the Buddha dharma. One day they climbed five mountain peaks intending to worship on them, when there appeared ten thousand incarnate Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattvas[705] on the eastern peak of Mt. Manwol, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas[706] at the head of ten thousand Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattvas on the southern peak of Mt. Girin,[707] Amitābha

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704 In the "Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo" it states that "the elder crown prince saw a blue lotus blossom growing below the site of the Jinyeo Hall at the foot of the central peak, built a reed hut, and lived there."

705 Gwaneum bosal (觀音菩薩, see notes 265 and 268, above) is a short form for Gwanseeum bosal (觀世音菩薩), namely Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva who saves sentient beings with compassion. On the basis of the *Lotus Sūtra* it is said that if anyone encountering difficulties calls on his name, he immediately takes notice of that voice and rescues the person from their trouble (see note 276, above). According to the *Lotus Sūtra* Avalokiteśvara resides on Mt. Potalaka (Botarakgasan: 補陀洛迦山) in the south. As an attendant bodhisattva—together with Mahāsthāmaprāpta bodhisattva (Daeseji bosal: 大勢至菩薩)—of the Buddha Amitābha, he also assists sentient beings to be reborn in the Western Paradise.

706 The Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Paldaebosal: 八大菩薩) are also called the Eight Bodhisattvas (Palbosal: 八菩薩). They are the eight bodhisattvas responsible for upholding the correct dharma (*jeongbeop*: 正法) and protecting sentient beings. The names of these eight bodhisattvas differ according to different sūtras, but in the *Eight Great Bodhisattvas Sūtra* (*Paldae bosal gyeong*: 八大菩薩經), they are Mañjuśrī (Munsu: 文殊), Samantabhadra (Bohyeon: 普賢), Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum: 觀音), Kṣitigarbha (Jijang: 地藏), Maitreya (Mireuk: 彌勒), Ākāśagarbha (Heogongjang: 虛空藏), Vajrapāṇi (Geumgangsu: 金剛手), and Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin (Jegaejang: 除蓋障).

707 Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (Jijang bosal: 地藏菩薩) is the bodhisattva who yearns to save all the sentient beings in this world, including those in hell, with a heart of pity and compassion and who received the request of Buddha Śākyamuni to work on earth during the period of "no buddhas" (*mubul*: 無佛), which lasts from Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa until the advent of the Maitreya, who will come to bring enlightenment to all beings in the future. In the *Ten Cakras of Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* (*Jijang simnyun gyeong*: 地藏十輪經) the origin of his name, "Earth-treasury," is explained as deriving from the fact that he sits as immoveable as the "earth" and his tranquil contemplations have accumulated a

Buddha[708] at the head of ten thousand Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattvas on the western peak of Mt. Jangnyeong,[709] Śākyamuni Buddha at the head of five hundred Great Arhats on the northern peak of Mt. Sangwang,[710] and

"treasury" of wisdom (安忍不動, 猶如大地. 靜慮深密, 猶如祕藏. 故稱地藏). Long ago in a former life Kṣitigarbha was the king of a country whose people engaged in all kinds of evil behaviour leading the king to make the vow to postpone his own enlightenment until all sentient beings had been liberated from their sins and attained enlightenment. Faith in Kṣitigarbha became widespread giving rise to the sayings "Only when all sentient beings have been saved will I become enlightened" (衆生度盡, 方證菩提) and "I vow never to attain enlightenment until hell is completely empty" (地獄未空, 誓不成佛). According to the *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha-sūtra* (*Daebanggwang simnyun gyeong*: 大方廣十輪經), unlike other bodhisattvas, Kṣitigarbha appears in the form of a Buddhist monk with a shaven head. He is usually portrayed holding a precious pearl (*boju*: 寶珠) in his left hand and a staff with metal rings (*seokjang*: 錫杖) symbolizing the six destinies (*yukdo*: 六道) in his right hand.

708 For Amitābha, see note 493, above.

709 Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva (Daeseji bosal: 大勢至菩薩): The name of this bodhisattva means "One who has attained great power (*deukdese*: 得大勢)" or "One who has greatly advanced in spirit (*daejeongjin*: 大精進)." He is an attendant bodhisattva and in Buddhist iconography is portrayed as standing or sitting on the right hand side of Amitābha. On the left of Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara symbolizes compassion (*jabi*: 慈悲) and on the right Mahāsthāmaprāpta symbolizes wisdom (*jihye*: 智慧). Mahāsthāmaprāpta lights up the whole universe with the light of his wisdom and gives unsurpassed power to sentient beings to throw off the suffering of the three evil destinies (*samakdo*: 三惡道), namely, the realm of hells, the animal realm and the realm of hungry ghosts. The name of this bodhisattva, "One who has attained great power," is said to derive from the fact that when he walks, the worlds of the ten directions shake.

710 Great Arhats (Dae arahan: 大阿羅漢): The Sanskrit term *arhat* is written both as *arahan* (阿羅漢) and *nahan* (羅漢) and refers to someone who has entered Nirvāṇa or attained enlightenment by overcoming all the human passions and is qualified to accept Buddhist offerings. For this reason the term is translated as *eunggong* (應供), meaning "accepting offerings," and *eungjin* (應眞), meaning "accepting truth." Particularly in the Theravada tradition it refers to the final stage of the four stages to enlightenment, namely, the first stage, *srotāpanna* (*sudawon*: 須陀洹), meaning "one who enters the stream" (*yeryu*: 預流) (i.e. someone who has embarked on the Buddhist path); second, *sakrdāgāmin* (*sadaham*: 斯陀含), meaning "one who returns once" (*illae*: 一來) (i.e. someone who will return to earth one more time to attain enlightenment); third, *anāgāmin* (*anaham*: 阿那含), meaning "one who does not return" (*bulhwan*: 不還) (i.e. someone who will not be reborn again in an earthly realm but only in a Pure Land from which he or she will enter Nirvāṇa); fourth, (P.) *arahant* (*arahan*: 阿羅漢) (S.) *arhat* (*nahan*: 羅漢), meaning "one who is worthy." An *arhat*, therefore, is someone who has reached the highest stage of Buddhist practice. In this respect Buddha's outstanding disciples are considered

Vairocana Buddha[711] at the head of ten thousand Mañjuśrī Bodhisattvas on the central peak of Mt. Pungno [also called Mt. Jiri]. [The two princes] worshipped these fifty thousand incarnations (*jinsin*) one by one.

Every day in the early hours of the morning[712] Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva visited the Jinyeo Hall (*present-day Sangwon Monastery*)[713] and appeared in thirty-six different manifestations.[714] Sometimes he appeared in the form of the Buddha's face, or in the form of a *cintāmaṇi* (*yeouiju*), the Buddha's eye, the Buddha's hand, a bejeweled stūpa, ten thousand Buddhas' heads, ten thousand lanterns, a golden bridge, a golden drum, a golden bell, a golden tower, a golden carriage, a golden *vajra*,[715] a golden vessel, a golden

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to be *arhat*s and are classified in various ways such as the Sixteen Arhats, the Five Hundred Arhats and so on.

711 Vairocana (Birochanabul: 毗盧遮那佛) is the dharma-body Buddha (Beopsinbul: 法身佛), which is the sum of all Buddha's truth bodies (*jinsin*: 眞身; i.e. a symbol of truth rather than a physical body). Originally meaning the sun, Vairocana is a dharma-body symbolizing the boundless wisdom of the Buddha, who attained enlightenment through meritorious acts carried out over a limitless period of time. In accordance with this meaning, the name is also translated as *byeonil checheo* (Skt. *sarvatragârtha*, Ch. *bianyiqiechu*: 遍一切處), meaning "omnipresent," *byeonjo* (Skt. *avabhāsa*, Ch. *bianzhao*: 遍照), meaning "to universally illumine," *gwangmyeong byeonjo* (Ch. *guangming bianzhao*: 光明遍照), meaning "luminous and omnipresent," and *daeil byeonjo* (Ch. *dari bianzhao*: 大日遍照), meaning "great omnipresent sun." Especially in esoteric Buddhism Vairocana is considered to be the same as Mahāvairocana (K. Daeil yeorae, Ch. Dari rulai: 大日如來), and he is valued for dispelling darkness and illuminating the universe.

712 The term *injo* (寅朝) has the same meaning as *insi* (寅時), referring to the time between 3:00 AM and 5:00 AM. It has been translated here as "in the early hours of the morning."

713 Sangwonsa (上院寺, originally called Jinyeosa) is located on Mt. Odae, Dongsan-ri, Jinbu-myeon, Pyeongchang-gun, Gangwon Province. Its name, which means "upper monastery," derives from the fact that it is located higher up the mountain than Munsugapsa, which is now called Woljeongsa.

714 "The Biography of the Crown Prince" states, "On the site of Jinyeosa the Great Saint Mañjuśrī appeared in thirty-six manifestations every day in the early hours of the morning (*insi*: 寅時). Both the princes offered acts of worship and every day in the early morning they fetched water and brewed tea, which they offered to the 10,000 true bodies of Mañjuśrī."

715 A *vajra* (*geumgangjeo*: 金剛杵) was originally an ancient Indian weapon, which was very strong and capable of destroying other weapons and armor, and so it was referred to as "diamond." In esoteric Buddhism the *vajra* symbolizes the enlightened mind (*borisim*: 菩提心) that overcomes all

hairpin, five-colored rays of light, a five-colored nimbus, a Chinese lily (Reineckia carnea), a blue lotus blossom, a golden field,[716] a silver field,[717] the Buddha's feet, thunder and lightning, a towering Buddha, a towering god of the earth, a golden phoenix, a golden crow, a horse taking the shape of a lion, a cockerel taking the shape of a phoenix, a blue dragon, a white elephant, a magpie, an ox taking the shape of a lion, or a roaming boar, or a blue snake. The two princes frequently fetched water from the valley, brewed tea and offered it to the Buddha, and at night each of them cultivated the Way in their hermitages.

When the younger brother of King Jeongsin struggled with the king over the succession to the throne, the people dethroned [him][718] and sent four generals to the mountain to meet [the two princes]. First they arrived in front of Hyomyeong's hermitage where they shouted "Mansei!" whereupon

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the passions. It became an important feature in Buddhist iconography and an important instrument of Buddhist practice. Practitioners of esoteric Buddhism always carry a *vajra* with them as a symbolic instrument with which to destroy the internal delusions of passion and folly and the external temptations that create impediments along the path to enlightenment. There are various different types of *vajra*, which are classified according the number of prongs that they have; for example, a single-pronged *vajra* is referred to as a *dokgojeo* (獨股杵), a two-pronged one as an *igojeo* (二股杵), a three-pronged one as a *samgojeo* (三股杵), a four-pronged one as a *sagojeo* (四股杵), and a five-pronged one as an *ogojeo* (五股杵).

716 The term for "golden field" is *geumjeon* (金田), which has the same meaning as the term "golden land" (*geumji*: 金地). Both terms refer either to a monastery site or a monastery itself. The origin of the term comes from the story that when Buddha Śākyamuni was living on earth his lay disciple Anathapandika Sudatta in the country of Śrāvastī (Sawiguk: 舍衛國) was looking for some land on which to build a monastery for Śākyamuni. Crown Prince Jeta (Jeta: 祇陀) said he would sell a piece of land to him if he covered it with gold. When Sudatta actually covered the land with gold coins, the prince donated the land and Sudatta built the Jetavanā monastery (Giwonjeongsa: 祇園精舍) on it for Śākyamuni.

717 The term for "silver field" is *eunjeon* (銀田), which has the same meaning as "silver land" (*eunji*: 銀地). Like *geumji* mentioned in the footnote above, it indicates a site suitable for a Buddhist monastery.

718 The "Biography of the Crown Prince" states that when the younger brother of Crown Prince Jeongsin died in the struggle for the Silla throne, the people of the country sent four generals to bring Crown Prince Hyomyeong back to the palace and place him on the throne.

a five-colored cloud descended and covered [the area] for seven days or more. The people of the country found the cloud and gathered together with the regal paraphernalia[719] to escort the two princes. But Bocheon, weeping, declined [to go] so they escorted Hyomyeong back, and he ascended the throne and reigned for several years (*according to one record, he ruled for more than twenty years, but as he was around twenty-six years old when he passed away, this is a mistake. He only ruled for ten years. Also, as there is no record of the younger brother of King Sinmun contending for the throne in the* Samguk sagi, *this fact cannot be verified*).

藏師之返新羅, 淨神大王太子寶川孝明二昆弟[按國史, 新羅無淨神寶川孝明三父子明文. 然此記下文云, 神龍元年開土立寺, 則神龍乃聖德王卽位四年乙巳也. 王名興光, 本名隆基, 神文之第二子也. 聖德之兄孝照, 名理恭, 一作洪, 亦神文之子. 神文政明字日照, 則淨神恐政明神文之訛也. 孝明乃孝照, 一作昭, 之訛也. 記云 "孝明卽位, 而神龍年開土立寺" 云者, 亦不細詳言之爾. 神龍年立寺者, 乃聖德王也.], 到河西府[今溟州亦有河西郡, 是也. 一作河曲縣, 今蔚州, 非是也.], 世獻角干之家. 留一宿. 翌日過大嶺, 各領千徒, 到省烏坪, 遊覽累日. 忽一夕昆弟二人, 密約方外之志, 不令人知, 逃隱入五臺山[古記云, "太和元年戊申八月初, 王隱山中," 恐此文大誤. 按孝照一作昭, 以天授三年壬辰卽位, 時年十六, 長安二年壬寅崩, 壽二十六. 聖德以是年卽位, 年二十二. 若曰 '太和元年戊申', 則先於孝照卽位壬辰已過四十五歲, 乃太宗武烈王之世也. 以此知此文爲誤, 故不取之.] 侍衛不知所歸, 於是還國.

二太子到山中, 青蓮忽開地上. 兄太子結庵而止住, 是曰寶川庵. 向東北行六百餘步, 北臺南麓, 亦有青蓮開處. 弟太子孝明, 又結庵而止, 各懃修業. 一日同上五峯瞻禮次, 東臺滿月山, 有一萬觀音眞身現在. 南臺騏驎山, 八大菩薩爲首, 一萬地藏. 西臺長嶺山, 無量壽如來爲首, 一萬大勢至. 北臺象王山 釋迦如來爲首, 五百大阿羅漢. 中臺風盧山亦名地盧山, 毗盧遮那爲首, 一萬文殊. 如是五萬眞身, 一一瞻禮.

每日寅朝, 文殊大聖到眞如院[今上院], 變現三十六種形. 或時現佛面形, 或作寶珠形, 或作佛眼形, 或作佛手形, 或作寶塔形, 或萬佛頭形, 或作萬燈形, 或作金橋形, 或作金鼓形, 或作金鍾形, 或作神通形, 或作金樓形, 或作金輪形, 或作金

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719 The term *nobu* (鹵簿) refers to the ceremonial implements used in an imperial procession.

剛杵形, 或作金甕形, 或作金鈿形, 或五色光明形, 或五色圓光形, 或吉祥草形, 或青蓮花形, 或作金田形, 或作銀田形, 或作佛足形, 或作雷電形, 或如來湧出形, 或地神湧出形, 或作金鳳形, 或作金烏形, 或馬產師子形, 或鷄產鳳形, 或作青龍形, 或作白象形, 或作鵲烏形, 或牛產師子形, 或作遊猪形, 或作青蛇形. 二公每汲洞中水, 煎茶獻供, 至夜各庵修道.

淨神王之弟與王爭位, 國人廢之, 遣將軍四人, 到山迎之. 先到孝明庵前呼萬歲, 時有五色雲, 七日垂覆. 國人尋雲而畢至, 排列鹵簿, 將邀兩太子而歸, 寶川哭泣以辭, 乃奉孝明歸卽位, 理國有年[記云, 在位二十餘年, 蓋崩年壽二十六之訛也. 在位但十年爾. 又神文之弟爭位事, 國史無文, 未詳.].

On the fourth day of the third month of the founding year, *eulsa*, of the Shenlong era (namely, the year in which Zhongzong of Tang China was restored to the throne, the fourth year [705] of the reign of King Seongdeok) Jinyeo Hall was rebuilt for the first time.[720] The king arrived in the mountain in person at the head of many officials and built a temple together with a clay statue of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, which he enshrined in the main Buddha Hall. He then called upon five eminent monks including the good teacher[721] Yeongbyeon to recite the *Garland Sutra*[722] for a long time and construct the Hwaeom Monastery. A levy was instituted on a regular basis[723] in the spring and autumn each year of one hundred bushels (*seok*) of tax grain and one bushel of clear oil from each province and prefecture in the vicinity of

720 The "Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo" states: "Prince Hyomyeong returned to his country, ascended the throne and reigned for more than twenty years. On the eighth day of the third month of the first year of the Shenlong era (705) he established Jinyeosa."

721 The term for "good teacher" is *jisik* (知識), the term used to refer to the people Sudhana met on his quest for enlightenment in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, and may be translated as "friend." Although the Chinese word appears to suggest the term "knowledge," it refers to the knowledge one might have of a very old friend. A person who leads people onto the right path in life is referred to as a *seonjisik* (善知識), meaning a "good friend," usually shortened to *jisik*. In this context it has been translated as "good teacher."

722 *Garland Sūtra*: see note 520, above.

723 The term *hanggyu* (恒規) means "a common practice" (*sangnye*: 上例).

the mountain to cover the expenses of making perpetual offerings to the Buddha. Six thousand paces to the west of Jinyeo Hall beyond Moni Ridge and Gohi Hill on fifteen *gyeol*[724] of firewood land[725] [the king] established a house[726] to oversee six *gyeol* of chestnut forest[727] and two *gyeol* of land for grain offerings.[728]

Because Bocheon always drank water from a divine valley,[729] late in life he was able to fly in his own body into the air. He arrived at Jangcheon Cave[730] in the country of Uljin beyond the Yusa River where he stayed and took on the task of memorizing the *Mahā-pratisarāvidyā-dhāraṇi*[731] night

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724 (*Ed. note.* gyeol, *literally equivalent to one foot, here evidently refers to a much larger area of land*).

725 The term *siji* (柴地) means land set aside for gathering firewood.

726 *Jangsa* (莊舍) is a house established for the purpose of managing an agricultural estate.

727 The term *yulji* (栗枝, chestnut branches) is thought to be an error for *yullim* (栗林), namely, a forest of chestnut trees.

728 *Jwawi* (坐位) is another word for *witojeon* (位土田), land that has been set aside for grain to be used in ceremonial offerings.

729 Here we read that "Bocheon always drank water from the divine valley" (汲服其靈洞之水), but the "Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo" states, "He drew water from Utong (汲于洞水)" and "He always drank divine water from Utong" (常服于洞靈水). The omission of the character "divine" from this phrase may have given rise to the name Utong (literally "from the valley"). In early Joseon at the base of the western peak of Mt. Odae it is said that the water from a spring there was called Utongsu (于洞水), which eventually became the Han River (Gwon Gun [權近] *Dongmunseon* [東文選] vol. 90, 五臺山西臺水精菴 重創記). Even today it is still known as the source of the Han River.

730 Jangcheon Cave (Jangcheon-gul: 掌天窟) is Seongnyu Cave (Seongnyugul: 聖留窟) located on Mt. Baengnyeon (白蓮山), Gusan-ri, Geunnam-myeon, Uljin-gun, North Gyeongsang Province. It is also called Taengcheon Cave (Taengcheongul: 撐天窟). It seems that the name "Seongnygul" (Divine residing cave) comes from the presence inside the cave of many stalactites in the shape of Buddha statues.

731 The Chinese-character title for *Mahā-pratisarāvidyā-dhāraṇi* is *Sugu darani* (隨求陁羅尼), which is a slightly shorter version of *Daesugu darani* (大隨求陁羅尼). It is also called *Sugu jeukdeuk daejajae darani* (隨求卽得大自在陀羅尼). This *dhārani* is said to remove all impediments arising from sin and to eliminate all evil destinies (*akchwi*: 惡趣) and may be found in the following sūtras: *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyin xinwunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* (普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀 羅尼經) translated by Amoghavajra (Bukong: 不空,

and day. The god of the cave revealed himself and said, "Two thousand years have already passed since I became the god of this cave, but today I have heard the truth of the *Mahā-pratisarāvidyā-dhāraṇi* for the first time. I wish to receive the Bodhisattva precepts."[732] On the day after the god received the precepts, the cave also disappeared without trace. Bocheon was shocked and considering it strange remained there for twenty days before returning to Sinseong Cave in Mt. Odae. For fifty more years he cultivated the Way,[733] so the gods of the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven[734] came down three times a day to hear the dharma, a host from the Palace of Maheśvara[735] brewed tea and

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705–774) and *Suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* (隨求卽得大自在陀羅尼神咒經) translated by Bao Siwei (寶思惟).

732 Bodhisattva precepts (Bosalgye: 菩薩戒): the basis for the precepts kept by bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna Buddhism is provided by the Vinaya Chapter (Yuljangpum: 律藏品) of the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* (Skt. *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Ch. *Fanwang jing*, K. *Beommang gyeong*: 梵網經), which teaches the ten major precepts (*sipjung*: 十重) and the forty-eight minor precepts (*sasippal gyeonggye*: 四十八輕戒). This work presented a new set of inclusive Mahāyāna precepts for all Buddhists, where previously there had only been monks' precepts (*bigugye*: 比丘戒), to be kept by those who had left their homes for the monastic life, and eight precepts (*palgwangye*: 八關戒) to be kept by the laity. Beginning with China, throughout the whole of the East Asian Buddhist world the monks' precepts continued to be used, but at the same time the bodhisattva precepts set out in the *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net* came to be applied to the laity. The ten major precepts of the bodhisattva precepts are as follows: Do not kill (不殺戒); do not take anything that has not been given (不偸盜戒); do not commit sexual immorality (不婬戒); do not lie (不妄語戒); do not brew alcohol (不酤酒戒); do not talk about the faults of others (不說過戒); do not praise yourself and speak ill of others (自讚毁他戒); do not be stingy (不慳戒); do not get angry (不瞋戒); and do not speak ill of the Three Jewels (不謗三寶戒).

733 The "Biography of Crown Prince Bojildo" states, "Prince Bojildo drank divine water from Utong and his body flew up into the sky and arrived at the River Yusa. He entered Jangcheon Cave in the great country of Uljin and practiced there. Once more he returned to Sinseong Cave on Mt. Odae and practiced there for fifty years."

734 For the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, see note 296, above.

735 Palace of Maheśvara (Skt. Śuddhāvāsa, K. Jeonggeocheon: 淨居天) is the fourth meditation heaven (*jesa seon cheon*: 第四禪天) in the form realm (*saekgye*: 色界) in which the afflictions of the desire realm (*yokgye*: 欲界) have already been extinguished and is the place into which those who have attained the third level of arhathood, namely, the *anāgāmin-level* (*anahamgwa*: 阿那含果)—meaning "the level of those who do not return" (*bulhwangwa:* 不還果)—are reborn. It contains five

offered it to him, forty saints hovered ten feet in the air watching over him constantly, his staff circumambulated his room three times a day making a noise, thus playing the role of a bell and a handbell [to mark the time] in accordance with which he cultivated the Way. On occasion the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī would pour water on Bocheon's forehead and predict his future enlightenment.[736]

以神龍元年[乃唐中宗復位之年, 聖德王卽位四年也.] 乙巳三月初四日, 始改創眞如院. 大王親率百寮到山, 營構殿堂, 并塑泥像文殊大聖, 安于堂中, 以知識靈卞等五員, 長轉華嚴經, 仍結爲華嚴社. 長年供費, 每歲春秋, 各給近山州縣倉租一百石, 淨油一石, 以爲恒規. 自院西行六千步, 至牟尼岾古伊峴外, 柴地十五結, 栗林六結, 坐位二結, 創置莊舍焉.

寶川常汲服其靈洞之水, 故晩年肉身飛空, 到流沙江外蔚珍國掌天窟停止, 誦隨求陁羅尼, 日夕爲課. 窟神現身白云, "我爲窟神已二千年, 今日始聞隨求眞詮. 請受菩薩戒." 旣受已, 翌日窟亦無形. 寶川驚異, 留二十日乃還五臺山神聖窟. 又修眞五十年, 忉利天神三時聽法, 淨居天衆烹茶供獻, 四十聖騰空十尺, 常時護衛, 所持錫杖一日三時作聲, 遶房三匝, 用此爲鐘磬, 隨時修業. 文殊或灌水寶川頂, 爲授成道記莂.

On the day [Bo]cheon intended to enter *nirvāna*, he left behind a letter concerning the tasks to be carried out in the mountain in the future in order to help the nation. [The letter] reads as follows:

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heavens, the heaven of no anxiety (*mubeon cheon*: 無煩天), the heaven of no torment (*muyeol cheon*: 無熱天), the heaven of skilful manifestation (*seonhyeon cheon*: 善現天), the heaven of skilful appearance (*seongyeon cheon*: 善見天), and the heaven of the most rarefied form (*saekgugyeong cheon*: 色究竟天). It is the best place in the form realm heaven (*saekgye cheon*: 色界天)

736 The term for prophecy of future enlightenment is *gibyeol* (記莂). The term originally meant predicting a disciple's attainment of enlightenment or predicting his place of rebirth. Subsequently it came to only mean a prophecy of enlightenment and attainment of Buddhahood in a future life. The prophecy predicted six elements, namely, the name of the country (*gukto*: 國土), the name of the buddha (*bulmyeong*: 佛名), the time (*sijeol*: 時節), the name of the *kalpa* (*geommyeong*: 劫名), one's family (*gwonsok*: 眷屬), and the duration of the period of the correct dharma (*jeongbeop jonsok gigan*: 正法存續期間). These elements varied according to the sūtra.

"As this mountain is part of Mt. Baekdu's great mountain range, each peak is the permanent abode of an incarnate [Bodhisattva]. Blue: at the northern corner of the eastern peak and at the foot of the southern slope of the northern peak, build a shrine to Avalokiteśvara and paint a circular Avalokiteśvara portrait[737] with ten thousand Avalokiteśvara images on a blue background and enshrine it there. By day have five devotees[738] read aloud eight volumes of the *Golden Light Sutra,*[739] the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Humane Kings*[740] and the *Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara Dhāraṇi;*[741]

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737 The term *wonsang* (圓相) refers to a portrait of a bodhisattva showing the various distinguishing features of an enlightened being within a circular design.

738 The term *bokjeon* (Skt. *puṇyakṣetra*, Ch. *futian*: 福田) means a field that is able to produce blessings and virtue. Just as a farmer tills the ground and then reaps the harvest, a person who serves and attends the Buddha, Buddhist monks or his or her parents is able to reap blessings and merit and is therefore likened to a "blessing field." So the term is used to refer either to Buddhist offerings or a person who makes such offerings. In this context it refers to monks who acquire merit through their monastic practice and through teaching the dharma to the people.

739 *Golden Light Sūtra*: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (Ch. *Jinguangming jing*, K. *Geumgwangmyeong gyeong*: 金光明經) is a sūtra which emphasizes substantial acts of repentance together with the protection of the state and the security of the people (*hoguk anmin*: 護國安民) and the kingly way (*wangdo*: 王道). As one of the sūtras concerned with the protection of the state, it was often recited at such national-level dharma assemblies as those held to conduct prayers for rain in times of drought (*giu*: 祈雨). There are various extant versions of this sūtra including the four-volume *Jinguangming jing* translated by Dharmakṣema of Northern Liang, the eight-volume *Hefu jinguangming jing* compiled by Baogui (寶貴) and others in the Sui dynasty (ca. 597), and the ten-volume *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* (金光明最勝王經) translated by Yijing of Tang (ca. 703). Together with the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* (*Inwang gyeong*: 仁王經), this sūtra is known as one of the "Three State-Protecting Sūtras (*Hoguk samgyeong*: 護國三經)" as it is believed that its recitation enables the state to receive the protection of the four heavenly kings (*sacheonwang*: 四天王).

740 *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Humane Kings*: *Inwang banya gyeong* (Ch. *Renwang banruo jing*: 仁王般若經) is also known as the *Inwang banya baramil gyeong* (Ch. *Renwang banruo boluomi jing*: 仁王般若波羅蜜經) or by its shorter title *Inwang gyeong* (Ch. *Renwang jing*: 仁王經). In this sūtra Buddha preaches to sixteen great kings that in order to protect their nations and to live in tranquility, they must accept the Buddha dharma and uphold the perfection of wisdom (*prajnā-pāramitā*). It was believed that the recitation of this sūtra would prevent calamities and attract blessing and so it was widely used in national-level dharma assemblies. These assemblies were called Assemblies for Humane Kings (*inwanghoe*: 人王會) or Sites of Enlightenment for Humane Kings (*inwang doryang*:

at night have them chant prayers and offer bows before Avalokiteśvara, and call [the shrine] Wontong Monastery. Red: on the southern side of the southern peak, build a shrine to the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, paint a circular portrait of Kṣitigarbha and ten thousand Kṣitigarbha images headed by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas on a red background and enshrine it there. Have five devotees read aloud the *Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*[742] and the *Diamond Sūtra*[743] by day; at night offer repentance in accordance with the *Sūtra on*

仁王道場). There are three purported translations of this sūtra by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu: 竺法護), Kumārajīva (Jiumaluoshi: 鳩摩羅什), and Amoghavajra (Bukong: 不空). Together with the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Geumgwangmyeong gyeong*: 金光明經), it is one of the Three State-Protecting Sūtras (*hoguk samgyeong*: 護國三經).

741 The *Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara Dhāraṇi* (Skt. *Mahākārunikacitta-dhāraṇī*, K. *Cheonsu tarani*, Ch. *Qianshou tuoluoni*: 千手陀羅尼) is also known as the *Cheonsu cheonan Gwanseeum bosal daewonman muae daebisim tarani gyeong* (千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經), *Cheonsu gyeong* (千手經), *Daebisim tarani* (大悲心陀羅尼) and *Daebi ju* (大悲呪). This sūtra is an eighty-two verse *dhāraṇī* telling of the meritorious virtue of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara. It was said that memorization of this *dhāraṇī* erased all sinful karma, and so it was widely used over a long period of time.

742 The *Kṣitigarbha pranidhana Sūtra* (*Jijang gyeong*: 地藏經) is the sūtra that tells of the basic vows and merits of the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (see note 707, above). The *Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing* (K. *Daeseung daejip jijang simnyun gyeong*: 大乘大集地藏十輪經) translated by Xuanzang (玄奘) of Tang, the *Sūtra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions* (Ch. *Zhancha shane yebao jing*, K. *Jeomchal seonak eopbo gyeong*: 占察善惡業報經), which is said to have been translated by Putideng (菩提燈), and the *Sūtra on the Fundamental Vows of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva* (Skt. *Kṣitigarbha-praṇidhāna-sūtra*, Ch. *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, K. *Jijang bosal bonwon gyeong*: 地藏菩薩本願經), translated by Śiksānanda (Ch. Shichanantuo: 實叉難陀), are generally referred to as the Three Sūtras of Kṣitigarbha (*Jijang sambu gyeong*: 地藏三部經). As the sūtra mentioned here is associated with a divination dharma assembly (*jeomchal beophoe*: 占察法會), it is most likely that of the three Kṣitigarbha sūtras the one being referred to here is the *Sūtra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions* (*Jeomchal seonak eopbo gyeong*).

743 The term for the *Diamond Sūtra* is *Geumgang banya gyeong* (金剛般若經), which is an abbreviation of *Geumgang banya baramil gyeong* (Skt. *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Ch. *Jingang banruo boluomi jing*: 金剛般若波羅蜜經). The shorter abbreviation *Geumgang gyeong* (金剛經) is also used. This *prajñā* sūtra became the basis of the "emptiness" school of thought in second century India and as such provided the foundation for Mahāyāna Buddhism. It has also been held to be of great importance to the Seon school of Buddhism since the time of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. There are

the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions,[744] and call [the shrine] Geumgang Monastery. White: on the western peak build a shrine to Amitābha Buddha and paint a circular portrait of Amitābha Buddha with ten thousand Mahāsthāmaprāpta bodhisattvas headed by the Amitābha Buddha and enshrine it there. By day have five devotees read aloud eight volumes of the *Lotus Sutra;*[745] at night have them chant and offer bows before the Amitābha Buddha, and call the shrine Sujeong Shrine.[746] Black: on the land south of the northern peak, build an arhat shrine and paint a circular portrait of Buddha Śākyamuni and the five hundred arhats headed by Śākyamuni on a black background and enshrine it there. By day have five devotees read aloud the Buddha's sermon on filial piety towards parents (*Bul boeun gyeong*)[747] and the *Nirvāṅa Sūtra;*[748] at night chant prayers from

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various translations done by Kumārajīva (Jiumaluoshi: 鳩摩羅什), Bodhiruci (菩提流支), Zhendi (眞諦), Dharmagupta (達磨及多), Xuanzang (玄奘), and Yijing (義淨).

744 The phrase *jeomchal yecham* (占察禮懺) means to offer repentance in accordance with the *Sūtra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions* (*Jeomchal seonak eopbo gyeong*: 占察善惡業報經).

745 *Lotus Sūtra*: in the text *Beophwa gyeong* (法華經) is an abbreviation for *Myobeop yeonhwa gyeong,* the *Lotus Sūtra* (see note 211, above).

746 Sujeong Shrine (Sujeongsa: 水精社): In Goryeo times also there was always a hermitage known as Sujeong Hermitage (Sujeong-am: 水精菴) on the western peak of Mt. Odae, and we also know that it was renovated at the beginning of the Joseon dynasty (1404). (Gwon Geun, *Dongmunseon*, vol. 90)

747 *Bul boeun gyeong* (佛報恩經) is an abbreviation for the *Dae bangpyeon bul boeun gyeong* (Ch. *Da fangbian fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經) in seven volumes. This sūtra teaches about filial piety towards one's parents. When Buddha was at Vulture Peak (Yeongchwisan: 靈鷲山) some non-believers (*oedo*: 外道) mocked him saying that he lacked filial piety because he had left home and abandoned his parents. Buddha consequently teaches about the hidden virtue of Buddhism. Throughout his countless incarnations Buddha has been the parent of all sentient beings and all sentient beings have also been his parents. He explains, therefore, that to leave one's home in order to practice Buddhism for the benefit of all sentient beings is a way of paying one's debt of gratitude towards one's parents. He teaches that in order to truly repay one's debt of gratitude with a heart of great compassion, one must never abandon all sentient beings. As substantial examples this sūtra provides various stories of the Buddha's previous lives (*bonsaengdam*: 本生譚) such as the story of when he was Prince Sujati (須闍提), who saved his parents from starvation with his own body, and the story of when he was Prince

the *Nirvāna Sūtra,* and call [the shrine] Baengnyeon Monastery. Yellow: in the centre at Jinyeo Monastery on the central peak, enshrine a clay statue of the Immoveable Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī[749] and on the rear wall on a yellow background paint the thirty-six changing forms[750] headed by Vairocana Buddha. Attend them and by day have five devotees read aloud the *Garland Sūtra*[751] and the *Six Hundred Nirvāna Sūtra;*[752] at night offer bows and chant prayers to Mañjuśrī and call [the shrine] Hwaeom Monastery.

Change the name of Bocheon Hermitage to Hwajang Monastery and enshrine a circular portrait of Vairocana Buddha and the *Tripiṭaka*[753] there.

Kṣānti (K. Inyok, 忍辱), who cured his father's illness.

748 *Nirvāna Sūtra*: see note 85, above.

749 Statue of the Immoveable Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī: The term *budong* (不動) means the state of being unperturbed by all the various afflictions, that is to say, the state of enlightenment (Skt. *bodhicitta*, K. *borisim*: 菩提心) and the state of concentration of great quiescence (*daejeokjeong*: 大寂定). Bodhisattvas who attain such states are called immoveable bodhisattvas (*budongji bosal*: 不動地菩薩). Mañjuśrī was the disciple of the Immoveable Wisdom Buddha (Budongjibul: 不動智佛) of the Golden World of the East (Dongbang geumsaek segye: 東方金色世界).

750 "The thirty-six changing forms" refer to the thirty-six changing manifestations of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

751 *Garland Sūtra*: see note 520, above.

752 *Six Hundred Nirvāna Sūtra* (K. *Yukbaek banya gyeong*, Ch. *Liubai banruo jing*: 六百般若經): This is another name for the *Mahānirvāna-parāmitā-sūtra* (K. *Maha banya baramilda gyeong*, Ch. *Mahe banruo boluomiduo jing*: 摩訶般若波羅蜜多經). This was an early Mahāyāna sūtra that made the first pronouncement about the Great Vehicle (K. Daeseung: 大乘). There are forty-two versions of the Chinese translation alone and Xuanzang of Tang made partial new translations and compiled various versions of the *Nirvāna Sūtra* in the 600-volume *Mahe banruo boluomiduo jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜多經). The *Da banruo jing* (K. *Dae banya gyeong*: 大般若經) takes up 400 of the volumes and the remaining 200 volumes are taken up by the *Dapin banruo* (K. *Daepum banya*: 大品般若), the *Xiaopin banruo* (K. *Sopum banya*: 小品般若), the *Jingang banruo* (K. *Geumgang banya*: 金剛般若), and so on.

753 The *Tripiṭaka* (K. *Daejanggyeong*: 大藏經), which in Sanskrit literally means the "three baskets," refers to the complete canon of Buddhist writings. It comprises a comprehensive collection (*samjang*: 三藏) of Buddhist writings, namely, the collected sermons of Śākyamuni Buddha as recorded in the sūtras (Skt. *sūtra-piṭaka*, K. *gyeongjang*, Ch. *jingzang*: 經藏), the collected Vinaya or monastic rules (Skt. *vinaya-piṭaka*, K. *yuljang*, Ch. *luzang*: 律藏), and the collected commentaries of Buddha's disciples (Skt. *abhidarma-piṭaka*, K. *nonjang*, Ch. *lunzang*: 論藏). During the Northern and Southern

By day have five devotees read the *Tripiṭaka* constantly and at night chant prayers to the Guardian Deities of the *Flower Adornment Sūtra;*[754] each year hold a Garland Assembly for 100 days and call [the shrine] Beomnyun Monastery.

As Hwajang Monastery is regarded as the main monastery among the monasteries of Mt. Odae, if you guard it securely and command morally upright devotees to burn incense[755] [to the Buddha] in perpetuity, the king will have a long life, the people will be at ease, the political situation[756] will be peaceful, and there will be bountiful harvests of all the different kinds of grain. Also, build Munsugap Monastery[757] at the lower hermitage, make it

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Dynasties in China the *Tripiṭaka* was called by various names including *Yiqie jingzang* (K. *Iljeol gyeongjang*: 一切經藏), but subsequently from the Sui and Tang dynasties onwards, it was referred to by the title *Dazang jing* (K. *Daejang gyeong*: 大藏經). In addition to the Sanskrit *Tripiṭaka* and Pali *Tipiṭaka* that were compiled in India, there are translated versions in classical Chinese, and various other languages such as Tibetan, the Tangut language of Western Xia (西夏), Mongolian, and Manchurian. The classical Chinese translation of the *Tripiṭaka* is the largest in scale, and it was first printed from woodblocks during the Song dynasty. Further sets of woodblocks were carved in the Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Qing dynasties. Two sets of woodblocks for the *Tripiṭaka* were carved during the Goryeo dynasty. The first set was destroyed during the Mongol Invasions, but the second set of 81,258 woodblocks, which was carved during the Mongol Invasions and is renowned for its accuracy, has survived until the present and is kept in Haeinsa in North Gyeongsang Province.

754 The Guardian Deities of the *Flower Adornment Sūtra* (*Hwaeom sinjung*: 華嚴神衆) are the deities who protect and attend Vairocana (Birojanabul: 毘盧遮那佛) the main Buddha of the *Flower Adornment Sūtra*. In the sixty-volume *Flower Adornment Sūtra* there are thirty-four types of guardian deity, and in the eighty-volume version forty types appear. After the mid-ninth century in Silla, it is said that popular belief in the guardian deities of the *Flower Adornment Sūtra* became extremely widespread as faith in the Avataṃsaka School and its teachings were strengthened from within in response to the emergence of the Meditation (Seon) School.

755 The term *hyanghwa* (香火) refers to the act of burning incense in a monastery as an offering (Ch. *gongyang*: 供養) to the Buddha.

756 The term *munmu* (文武) is a reference to the civil (*mun*: 文) and military (*mu*: 武) officials and in this contexts means the political situation. In the text the character *mu* (武) in *munmu* (文武) is written as *ho* (虎: tiger) in order to avoid using the character *mu* (武), which was the name of Hyejong (惠宗), the second king of Goryeo.

757 Munsugapsa (文殊岬寺) is present-day Woljeongsa (月精寺).

the central meeting place[758] for the monasteries of Mt. Odae and have seven devotees continually offer bows and prayers by day and by night to the host of gods [mentioned] in the Garland Sūtra. The cost of the clothing and expenditure for the rituals carried out by the thirty-seven persons [mentioned] above should be met from funds raised from the four types of offerings[759] [made to Buddhist monks] levied as a tax in the eight counties of Haseo Prefecture. If the [succeeding] generations of sovereigns do not forget to carry out these things, there will be good fortune."[760]

川將圓寂之日, 留記後來山中所行輔益邦家之事. 云,"此山乃白頭山之大脉, 各臺眞身常住之地. 青, 在東臺北角下, 北臺南麓之末, 宜置觀音房, 安圓像觀音, 及青地畵一萬觀音像, 福田五員, 晝讀八卷金經, 仁王般若, 千手呪, 夜念觀音禮懺, 稱名圓通社. 赤, 任南臺南面, 置地藏房, 安圓像地藏, 及赤地畵八大菩薩爲首一萬地藏像, 福田五員, 晝讀地藏經, 金剛般若, 夜占察禮懺, 稱金剛社. 白, 方西臺南面, 置彌陁房, 安圓像無量壽, 及白地畵無量壽如來爲首一萬大勢至, 福田五員, 晝讀八卷法華, 夜念彌陁禮懺, 稱水精社. 黑, 地北臺南面, 置羅漢堂, 安圓像釋迦, 及黑地畵釋迦如來爲首五百羅漢. 福田五員, 晝讀佛報恩經, 涅槃經, 夜念涅槃禮懺, 稱白蓮社. 黃, 處中臺眞如院, 中安泥像文殊不動, 後壁安黃地畵毗盧遮那爲首三十六化形, 福田五員, 晝讀華嚴經, 六百般若, 夜念文殊禮懺, 稱華嚴社. 寶川庵改創華藏寺, 安圓像毗盧遮那三尊及大藏經, 福田五員, 長閱藏經, 夜念華嚴神衆, 每年設華嚴會一百日, 稱名法輪社. 以此華藏社爲五臺社之本寺, 堅固護持, 命淨行福田, 鎭長香火, 則國王千秋, 人民安泰, 文虎和平, 百穀

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758 The term *dohoeso* (都會所) refers to a central meeting place.

759 The four types of offerings are the four basic items required by Buddha and Buddhist monks in their daily life, namely, clothing (*uibok*: 衣服), food and drink (*eumsik*: 飮食), bedclothes (*wagu*: 臥具), and medicines (*tangyak*: 湯藥). Sometimes bed clothes (*wagu*: 臥具) are substituted by shelter (*bangsa*: 房舍). The *Amitābha Sūtra* (*Muryangsu gyeong*: 無量壽經) states that continual offerings have to be made to all the Buddhas, and the introduction of the *Ullambanapātra Sūtra* (K. *Uranbun gyeong so*, Ch. *Yulanpen jing shou*: 盂蘭盆經疏) states that every year on the last day of *ha-angeo* (Skt. *varṣōṣita*; the ninety-day period during the rainy season when monks remain in the monastery) known as "the day of confession" (K. *jajail*, Ch. *ziziri*: 自恣日) the monks repented of their faults in front of the general public, who made offerings to the three jewels: Buddha, dharma and the sangha.

760 Here is a tabulated summary of the information found in this section:

豊穰矣. 又加排下院文殊岬寺爲社之都會, 福田七員, 晝夜常行華嚴神衆禮懺. 上件三十七員, 齋料衣費, 以河西府道內八州之稅, 充爲四事之資. 代代君王, 不

Location	Monastery	Enshrined Buddha or Bodhisattva	Chanting: by Day	Chanting: at Night	Association
· Below the northern outcrop of the eastern peak · Base of the southern side of the northern peak	Gwaneum-bang (觀音房)	Circular painting of Avalokiteśvara (Wonsang Gwaneum: 圓像觀音); painting of 10,000 Avalokiteśvaras (Man Gwaneumsang: 萬觀音像) on a blue ground	Eight-volume *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Palgwon geumgyeong*: 八卷金經), *Sūtra for Humane Kings* (*Inwang banya*: 仁王般若), *Avalokiteśvara dharani* (*Cheonsuju*: 千手呪)	Avalokiteśvara penitence (Gwaneum yecham: 觀音禮懺)	Wontong Association (圓通社)
Southern face of the southern peak	Jijang-bang (地藏房)	Circular painting of Kṣitigarbha (圓像地藏); painting of Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Jeokjihwa paldaebosal wisu: 赤地畫八大菩薩爲首) on a red ground; painting of 10,000 Kṣitigarbhas (Man Jijangsang: 萬地藏像)	*Kṣitigarbha pranidhana Sūtra* (*Jijang gyeong*: 地藏經), *Diamond Sūtra* (*Geumgang banya*: 金剛般若)	Divination penitence (Jeomchal yecham: 占察禮懺)	Geumgang Association (金剛社)
Southern face of the western peak	Mita-bang (彌陁房)	Circular painting of Amitābha (Wonsang Muryangsu: 圓像無量壽); Painting of the Amitābha (Baekjihwa Muryangsu yeorae wisu: 白地畫無量壽如來爲首) on a white ground; painting of 10,000 Mahāsthāmaprāpta bodhisattvas (Man Daeseji: 萬大勢至)	Eight-volume *Lotus Sūtra* (*Palgwon Beophwa* 八卷法華)	Amitābha penitence (Mita yecham: 彌陁禮懺)	Sujeong Association (水精社)
Southern face of the northern peak	Nahan-bang (羅漢堂)	Circular painting of Śākyamuni Buddha (Wonsang Seokga: 圓像釋迦); painting of Śākyamuni Buddha at the head of 500 Arhats (Heukjihwa Seokga yeorae wisu obaek Nahan: 黑地畫釋迦如來爲首五百羅漢) on a blackground	*Bul boeun gyeong* (佛報恩經), *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (Yeolban gyeong: 涅槃經)	Nirvāṇa penitence (Yeolban yecham: 涅槃禮懺)	Baegyeon Association (白蓮社)
Central peak	Jinyeo-won (眞如院)	Image of the Immoveable Mañjuśrī (Nisang Munsu budong: 泥像文殊不動), Mural on the rear wall of Vairocana at the head of 36 transformations (Hubyeok an hwangji hwa Birochana wi su samsimnyuk hwahyeong: 後壁安黃地畫毗盧遮那爲首三十六化形) on a yellow ground	*Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Hwaeom gyeong*: 華嚴經), *600-volume Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Yukbaek banya*: 六百般若)	Mañjuśrī penitence (Munsu yecham: 文殊禮懺)	Hwaeom Association (華嚴社)

忘遵行, 幸矣.

Headquarters monastery	Bocheon-am (寶川庵) –Hwajang-sa (華藏寺)	Circular painting of Vairocana triad with the Tripitaka (Wonsang Birochana samjon geup Daejang gyeong: 圓像毗盧遮那三尊及大藏經)	Tripiṭaka (Daejang gyeong: 大藏經)	Avataṃsaka Divine Guardian penitence (Hwaeom sinjung: 華嚴神衆)	Beomnyun Association (法輪社)
Lower shrine (Hawon:下院)	Munsugap-sa (文殊岬寺)		Avataṃsaka Divine Guardian Penitence (Hwaeom sinjung yecham: 華嚴神衆禮懺)	Avataṃsaka Divine Guardian Penitence (Hwaeom sinjung yecham: 華嚴神衆禮懺)	(Headquarters) (都會所)

4-20.
The Five Classes of Saintly Hosts of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae 臺山月精寺五類聖衆

Introduction:

The stories collected in this chapter inform us that Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae was known as the residence of the "five classes of saintly hosts" (*oryu seongjung*: 五類聖衆). The latter have already been described in detail in the previous chapter: they are the 10,000 Avalokiteśvaras, 10,000 Kṣitigarbhas, 10,000 Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattvas, 10,000 Mañjuśrīs and 500 Arhats that respectively reside on the five peaks of Mt. Odae. This chapter begins with an account of the role that Jajang played in pioneering Mt. Odae as an object of faith. However, it is said that Jajang, after praying at Mt. Odae in order to see a true body of Buddha in person, failed to have such an experience and moved to Mt. Myobeom where he founded Jeongamsa. Subsequently it was the Buddhist devotee Sinhyo, an extremely filial son, who while living in the place where Jajang had resided, encountered the transformation bodies (*hwasin*: 化身) of the five saints. At the end of the Silla dynasty, Sinui, a disciple of Beomil, the founding patriarch of the Sagul Seon School, built a hermitage and lived there. Thereafter the elder monk Yuyeon of Sudasa lived there, during which time the hermitage is said to have become a large monastery. The chapter concludes with an account of the founding and growth of Woljeongsa. The source for this account is described as being an old record (*gogi*: 古記) from a monastery. Although the title of this chapter is "The Five Saintly Hosts of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae," the content is somewhat vague on this subject to the extent that even the names of the five saintly hosts are not provided. Instead it provides relatively detailed information about the founding of Woljeongsa and the installation of its abbots. In particular this chapter is mostly concerned with the story about the Buddhist devotee Sinhyo, who led the monastery after Jajang. This story is intended to shed light on the historical origins of Woljeongsa, and at

the end it quotes the words of a geomancer, stating that the Woljeongsa site was the most outstanding place in the country and that Buddhism would thrive there for a long time. Through this added comment at the end of the chapter, we can see the importance that the monastery had in the minds of the people in late Goryeo.

Annotated Translation:

If we examine an ancient record that has been handed down in the temple, we find the following words: "Dharma Master Jajang[761] first came to Mt. Odae in order to see the incarnations of bodhisattvas, so he built a reed hut at the foot of the mountain and stayed there, but as he was unable to see an incarnate bodhisattva after seven days, he went to Mt. Myobeom[762] and founded Jeongamsa.[763] Subsequently, there was a lay Buddhist devotee[764] called Sinhyo, who was also called a transformation body[765] of the Learned Youth Bodhisattva.[766] His home was in Gongju,[767] where he looked after his

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761 For Jajang, see note 3, above.

762 Mt. Myobeom (妙梵山): According to the entry for Jeongseon-gun in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, Jeongamsa (淨巖寺) was located on Mt. Jeongam (淨巖山).

763 For Jeongamsa (淨巖寺), see note 683, above. In chapter 4–19, the second character in the name of the monastery is different: namely, Jeongamsa (淨岩寺).

764 The term *geosa* (居士) refers to a lay Buddhist devotee.

765 The term for "transformation body" is *hwasin* (Skt. *nirmāna-kāya*, Ch. *huashen*: 化身). This transformation body is a substantial manifestation in various different forms of Buddha or bodhisattvas for the sake of sentient beings that are still on a low level of spiritual practice.

766 The Learned Youth Bodhisattva (Yudong bosal: 幼童菩薩 → 儒童菩薩) was Śākyamuni's name in a previous life when he was a bodhisattva and made an offering of flowers to the Dīpaṃkara Buddha (K. Yeondeungbul: 燃燈佛). Śākyamuni offered Dīpaṃkara flowers and spread out his hair so that Dīpaṃkara's feet would not have to touch the earth. As a consequence of this meritorious act he received the prediction that he would attain Buddhahood in a future life.

767 Gongju (公州) is present-day Gongju in South Chungcheong Province.

mother with the utmost filial piety. As his mother would not eat anything except meat, this lay devotee went around the mountains and fields trying to find some meat when he saw five cranes on the path and shot an arrow at them. One of the cranes dropped a single feather and fled. Sinhyo picked up the feather and after covering his eyes with it looked at the people [in that region] and [found that] they all looked like animals. As he was unable to get any meat, he cut off some flesh from his own thigh and gave it to his mother. Subsequently he became a Buddhist monk and turned his home into a monastery, which is now Hyogawon.[768]

This lay devotee arrived at Hasol[769] on the outskirts of Gyeongju, and when he looked at the people [through the feather], they all looked like people. So he made up his mind to stay and live there. On the road he saw an elderly woman and asked her where to find a good place to live. The woman said, 'If you go over the western ridge, there is a north-facing valley, which would be a good place to live in.' As she finished speaking she vanished. Knowing that this was an instruction from the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,[770] the devotee went past Seongopyeong to the place where Jajang had built his house and lived there. A while later five monks came and said, 'Where is the robe that you brought with you?' The devotee was puzzled. But when one monk said, '[The robe] is the feather you picked up and looked at people through,' the devotee took it out and gave it to them. The monk put the feather over a hole in his robe, and it matched it exactly. It wasn't a feather but hemp cloth. Only after the devotee parted from the five monks, did he first realize that they were manifestations of Buddhist saints."

Woljeongsa was first a thatched hut built by Jajang, then the devotee

768 Hyogawon (孝家院) was located in Gongju, South Chungcheong Province. A monastery (*yeogwon*) called Hyogari Monastery (Hyogariwon: 孝家里院) is mentioned in the entry for Gongju in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, but there is no way of knowing whether it is the same monastery. (*Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, vol. 17, "Gongju mok," 'Hyogariwon')

769 Hasol (河率) is another name for Haseulla (河瑟羅), the old name for Gangneung in Gangwon Province.

770 For Gwaneum bosal, see note 506, above.

Sinhyo came and lived there, then the ascetic monk[771] Sinui[772] a disciple of Beomil[773] came, built a hermitage and lived in it. Subsequently Yuyeon, a senior monk[774] from Suda Monastery,[775] came there to live, and it gradually became a large monastery. The temple's five sacred assemblies and nine-

771 The term for "ascetic monk" is *duta* (Skt. *dhūta*, Ch. *toutuo*: 頭陀). This term is used to refer to a monk who practices asceticism (K. *duta haeng*, Ch. *toutuo xing*: 頭陀行) and is also transcribed as *duda* (Ch. *duduo*: 杜多). It is also translated by such terms as *gije* (Ch. *qichu*: 棄除), *suchi* (Ch. *xiuzhi*: 修治), and *dusu* (Ch. *dou*: 抖擻). The term refers to Buddhist monks' practice of training the mind and body by abandoning all human attachments and afflictions such as clothing, food, and housing. There are usually twelve forms of ascetic practice, including living in a monastery, begging for food, eating only one meal per day, and wearing worn-out clothing.

772 Sinui (信義) was a late Silla monk who was a disciple of Beomil.

773 Beomil (梵日 810–889) was the founder of the Sagul Monastery (Sagul sanmun: 闍崛山門). He is also known as Pumil (品日), and his family name was Gim (金); his grandfather was the Governor of Myeongju (溟州都督), Gim Surwon (金述元). He became a Buddhist monk in the sixteenth year of King Heondeok's reign (824), took the full precepts in the sixth year of King Heungdeok's reign (831) and accompanied Prince Gim Uijong (金義琮) to Tang China and received the dharma from Yanguan Zhaian (鹽官齊安) and also questioned Yaoshan Weiyan (藥山惟儼) on the Buddha dharma. During the Huichang (841–847) persecution of Buddhism in Tang China he fled to Mt. Shang (商山); after paying homage at the Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch (K. Yukchotap, Ch. Liuzuta: 六祖塔) he returned to Silla in the eighth year of King Munseong's reign (847). In the twelfth year of King Munseong's reign (850) he devoted himself to his calling in Mt. Baekdal (白達山) and then at the request of the governor of Myeongju Gim Gong, he provided spiritual leadership at Gulsansa. Subsequently, he steadfastly refused to listen to the enticements of King Gyeongmun, King Heongang and King Jeonggang, remaining at the monastery for around forty years enlightening his disciples before his death in the third year of King Jinseong (889). His posthumous name is Grand Master Tonghyo (通曉大師) (see Jodangjip (祖堂集), vol. 17). His disciples include Nangwon Gaecheong (朗圓開清) and Nanggong Haengjeok (朗空行寂). In the *Seon Treasury Record* (*Seonmun bojangnok*: 禪門寶藏錄), which appeared in late Goryeo, it is stated that the *Teachings of the True Returning Patriarchs* (*Jingwijosaseol*: 眞歸祖師說), which tells of Buddha visiting the patriarchs after his enlightenment to awaken them to their imperfections, was his work. Sangulsa together with Seongju Monastery (Seongju sanmun: 聖住山門) were the two largest and most representative monasteries of the Nine Mountains School, the leading Buddhist school at the end of the Silla dynasty; they played a leading role in Seon Buddhism in Goryeo and produced many eminent monks.

774 For *jangno* see note 687, above.

775 For Sudasa see note 686, above.

story stone stūpa[776] are all sacred vestiges. It is said that a geomancer once said, "Among all the famous mountains in the country this area is the most outstanding, and the Buddha dharma will flourish [here] for a long time."

臺山月精寺 五類聖衆

按寺中所傳古記云, "慈藏法師初至五臺, 欲覩眞身, 於山麓結茅而住, 七日不見, 而到妙梵山, 創淨岩寺. 後有信孝居士者, 或云幼童菩薩化身. 家在公州, 養母純孝. 母非肉不食, 士求肉出行山野, 路見五鶴射之, 有一鶴落一羽而去. 士執其羽, 遮眼而見人, 人皆是畜生. 故不得肉, 而因割股肉進母. 後乃出家, 捨其家爲寺, 今爲孝家院.

士自慶州界至河率, 見人多是人形. 因有居住之志, 路見老婦, 問可住處. 婦云, '過西嶺有北向洞, 可居.' 言訖不現. 士知觀音所教, 因過省烏坪, 入慈藏初結茅處而住. 俄有五比丘到云, '汝之持來袈裟一幅, 今何在?' 士茫然. 比丘云, '汝所執見人之羽是也.' 士乃出呈. 比丘乃置羽於袈裟闕幅中相合. 而非羽乃布也. 士與五比丘別, 後方知是五類聖衆化身也."

此月精寺, 慈藏初結茅, 次信孝居士來住, 次梵日門人信義頭陀來, 創庵而住. 後有水多寺長老有緣來住, 而漸成大寺. 寺之五類聖衆, 九層石塔皆聖跡也. 相地者云, "國內名山, 此地最勝, 佛法長興之處." 云云.

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776 The nine-story octagonal stone *stūpa* is located in front of the Daeungjeon, Main Buddha Hall in present-day Woljeongsa. Registered as National Treasure No. 48 and measuring 15.2 meters high, this *stūpa* is representative of the style of *stūpas* from the Goryeo era. As noted in 'The Inscription on the Stone Stūpa at Munsu (Mañjuśrī) Monastery on Mt. Odae' (the final section of "Buddhist Stūpas and Images" in *Samguk yusa*) the stūpa is slightly off centre in relation to the main axis of the monastery.

4-21.

Mt. Namwol (also called Gamsan Monastery) 南月山 (亦名 甘山寺)

Introduction:



Standing Amitābha statue of Gamsansa, National Museum of Korea

This chapter provides an account of inscriptions recording the making of the stone statues of Maitreya Bodhisattva and Amitābha Buddha at Gamsan Monastery, which was founded by Gim Jiseong on a site that he donated during the reign of King Seongdeok. Gim Jiseong was an important personage who held the official rank of *jungachan* and the government position of *sirang* in the Chancellery Office (Jipsaseong) during the reign of King Seongdeok when Unified Silla was at its zenith. Although restricted in the official positions he could hold due to his head-rank-six status, Gim Jiseong was an intellectual who acted vigorously within these limitations. According to the inscriptions on the back of the stone statues, Gim Jiseong loved natural scenery and admired the Daoist philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi and the Yogācāra teachings of Asaṅga (Muchak: 無著). At the age of sixty-seven he retired from his official position and studied the *Daodejing* and Yogācāra philosophy deeply. He donated his own land on Mt. Gam (Gamsan) and built a monastery there, as well as making stone statues of the Amitābha Buddha and Maitreya Bodhisattva for the sake of his parents. The Maitreya was made in 719 for his deceased mother, and the Amitābha in 720 for his deceased father. The statues were made not only as an act of supplication for the attainment of enlightenment of Gim Jiseong's own parents but also for the spiritual benefit of the sixth prince of King Muyeol, Gaewon (愷元)—who is thought to have been a relative—Gim's elder and younger

brothers and sisters, his first and second wives, a Buddhist monk, and various other people, including the king and all sentient beings. A characteristic feature of the monasteries of the Dharma-character School (Beopsangjong: 法相宗) in the Silla era was that Maitreya Bodhisattva was enshrined in the Main hall (*geumdang*: 金堂) and the Amitābha Buddha in the Lecture hall (*gangdang*: 講堂). By informing us that a Maitreya Bodhisattva statue was enshrined in the Main hall at Gamsansa and that an Amitābha Buddha statue was also made at the same time, this record provides us with substantial evidence of this practice in Silla Buddhism. These two Buddhist statues have survived down to the present day, and their identity can also be verified by another inscription on a statue that is thought to have been made by one Seol Chong. This section is based on quotations taken from the inscription on the back of the Amitābha statue, but it omits the beginning of the inscription, which records Gim Jiseong's activities, and provides a summary account of the making of the statues and the people who were involved in the task. Although there is a slight difference in Iryeon's interpretation of a few of the characters in the inscription and the interpretation of modern scholars, the lines quoted in this chapter are almost identical with those in the records inscribed on the back of the statues themselves. The two statues were discovered in 1916 in a rice paddy in Singye-ri, Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju when a survey of historical remains in the Gyeongju region was being carried out. They are now on display in the sculpture gallery of the National Museum of Korea. The Maitreya Statue is 189.4 cm high and 107.6 cm wide, while the Amitābha statue is 206 cm high and 109.1 cm wide. The record of the making of the statue inscribed on the back of the nimbus portion of the statue is in *haengseo* characters each measuring 2.4 cm in height. Through this chapter we can get some idea of how members of the Silla aristocracy donated land and founded monasteries as an offering for the spiritual welfare of their deceased parents and also how one member of the Silla intelligentsia spent his last years after retirement from public office deeply researching the *Daodejing* and the teachings of the Yogācāra School. We can also see that after scattering the ashes of both his parents in the East Sea, the most meritorious thing that Gim could do on behalf of his deceased parents was to found a monastery and to make statues

of a buddha and a bodhisattva.

Annotated Translation:

The monastery[777] is located more than twenty leagues to the southeast of the capital.[778] The following record[779] is found on the [back of the] flower-garland-patterned nimbus[780] of the statue of Maitreya,[781] the main buddha

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777 Gamsansa (甘山寺) was located at Gwaereung-ri, Oedo-eup, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. In the second month of 719 (the eighteenth year of King Seongdeok's reign) the *jungachan* Gim Jiseong (金志誠) donated land on Mt. Gam and founded the monastery to invoke blessings for his deceased father *ilgilgan* Gim Injang and his mother Gwancho-ri, as well as for the peace and security of the monarch and Gim's whole family. After the monastery was founded, he had a Maitreya Bodhisattva statue made for his mother and an Amitābha Buddha statue for his father and enshrined them in the monastery. When the Gyeongju region was being surveyed for historical remains in 1916, the Maitreya Bodhisattva statue and the Amitābha Buddha statue were discovered embedded in a rice paddy in Singye-ri, Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju. This field was subsequently found to be the site of Gamsansa. Today the Three-Story Stone Stūpa of Gamsansa (Gamsansaji samcheung seoktap) still stands on this site.

778 The capital referred to here is the Silla capital Gyeongju (*gyeongseong*: 京城).

779 According to the *Record of the Statue of Maitreya Bodhisattva at Gamsansa* (*Gamsansa Mireuk bosal josang gi*: 甘山寺彌勒菩薩造像記), the statue was made in 719 (the eighteenth year of King Seongdeok's reign) by Gim Jiseong to invoke blessings for his deceased parents, as well as for the king, Gaewon (愷元, see note 792, below), Gim Jiseong's own family, as well as all sentient beings. The first part of the inscription (*josanggi*: 造像記) on the back of the statue, which is not quoted here, relates that Gim Jiseong retired from his official post and, having a great admiration for the Zhuangzi (莊子) and Laozi (老子) and enjoying reading the *Daodejing*, considered the "true religion" (K. *jinjong*, Ch. *zhenzong*: 眞宗; i.e. Buddhism) to be of paramount importance, deeply researched the teachings of the Yogācāra School, and founded Gamsansa at the royal command. The second part of the inscription is the same as the quotation in the text above. Some of the characters in the *Samguk yusa* are different from those used in the inscription. For example, the character *chan* (飡) is written as *chan* (喰), and there are also some additional characters as well as some characters that are missing. These differences, however, do not significantly alter the meaning of the text.

780 The term for nimbus is *gwangbae* (Ch. *guangbei*: 光背), which refers to the depiction of an aura of light in a painting or a sculpture either around the head or the back of a Buddha or bodhisattva, indicating their holiness. There are various different types of auras including circular and pear shaped ones. Depending on the role they play in the depiction, they may be only behind the head (K.

in the monastery's main hall, "On the fifteenth day of the second month of the seventh year, *gimi,* of the Kaiyuan era[782] (719)[783] the *jungachan*[784] Gim Jiseong[785] created a stone Maitreya statue and built Gamsansa for the sake of his deceased father *ilgilgan*[786] Injang and his deceased mother Lady Gwancho-ri.[787] He also carried out these good deeds for *ichan*[788] Gaewon,[789]

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dugwang, Ch. *touguang*: 頭光), behind the body only (K. *singwang*, Ch. *shenguang*: 身光), and behind the whole of the figure (K. *geosingwang*, Ch. *jushenguang*: 擧身光).

781 The "statue of Maitreya" (Mireuk jonsang: 彌勒尊像) refers to the Gamsansa Maitreya. Its total height is 275 cm, and the height of the actual bodhisattva image is 183 cm. It is registered as National Treasure No. 81.

782 For Kaiyuan, see note 195, above.

783 The seventh year of the Kaiyuan era (719) was the eighteenth year of King Seongdeok's reign.

784 *Jungachan* (重阿喰): *achan* was the sixth grade in the Silla government's ranking system and was the highest official rank that members of "head-rank six" (*yukdupum*: 六頭品) could attain. As members of head-rank six could not rise to the level of the fifth rank *daeachan* or above, the grades of *jungachan* to *sajungachan* (四重阿飡) were added to the *achan* grade. Therefore, we know that anyone holding these official positions were members of head-rank six.

785 Gim Jiseong (金志誠) was the person who founded Gamsansa and had the two Buddhist statues made as a devotional act. On the inscription on the Amitābha Buddha statue, his name is written as Gim Jijeon (金志全). He attained the official grade of *jungachan* in the Silla government. After retiring from the position of *sirang* in the Chancellery Office (Jipsaseong) at the age of 67, he founded Gamsansa and had an Amitābha Buddha statue and a Maitreya Bodhisattva statue carved and enshrined in the monastery. He spent his twilight years in Gamsansa studying the *Discourse on the Stages of Concentration Practice* (Skt. *Yogâcāra-bhūmi-śāstra*, K. *Yuga saji ron*, Ch. *Yuqie shidi lun*: 瑜伽師地論) and the *Zhuangzi*.

786 *Ilgilgan* (一吉干) was the seventh official grade in the seventeen-official grade system of Silla. This grade was also called *ilgilchan* (一吉飡).

787 The character "*-ri*" (里), meaning "village," is appended to the names of the women who are mentioned in the inscriptions on the backs of the two Buddhist statues. It is thought that their names denote the names of the villages in which they were born or the village to which they moved when they got married. This type of name is similar to the type of name known as *taekho* (宅號), whereby a woman is given an appellation made up of the name of her place of origin and the suffix –*taek*, a respectful term for "house"—for example, a woman from Cheongju might be known as "Cheongju-taek."

788 For *ichan*, see note 146, above.

789 As is mentioned in Iryeon's comment at the end of this section, Gaewon (愷元) was the sixth son

his younger brother Sosa[790] Yangseong, the monk Hyeondo and his elder sister Gopa-ri,[791] his late wife Goro-ri,[792] his second wife Aho-ri, his elder stepbrother Ilgilchan Geuphan, Salchan[793] Ildang,[794] Daesa[795] Chonggyeong and his younger sister Suhilmae-ri. After her death the ashes of his mother, Lady Gwancho-ri, were scattered at Heunji on the shore of the East Sea"[796] (*As I was unable to interpret the meaning of the words in the phrase* "go-in-seong-ji (古人成之)" *I have just written down the ancient text as it was. The*

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of King Taejong (Gim Chunchu) and the child of Queen Munmyeong (Munhui). In the second year of King Muyeol's reign (655) he held the office of *ichan*, and in the seventh year of King Munmu's reign (667) he joined the war in Liaodong at the command of the Tang emperor Gaozong and was appointed to the office of *daeachan*. In 668 together with Gim Inmun and others he followed the Great Commander (Dae chonggwan) Gim Yusin as the Great Dang Commander (Daedang chonggwan) into battle against Goguryeo. In the third year of King Sinmun's reign (683) he was again appointed to the office of *ichan* and in the fourth year of King Hoso's reign to the rank of *sangdaedeung* (extraordinary rank one). From the inscriptions on the two statues we can see that Gim Jiseong, who had had them made as a devotional act, was closely connected with Gim Gaewon, who was the highest ranking member of the royal family after the king at that time.

790 *Sosa* (小舍, also called *saji* 舍知) was the thirteenth grade in the seventeen-grade system of Silla officials.

791 The name Gopa-ri (古巴里) is written as Gobo-ri (古寶里) in the inscription on the Gamsansa Amitābha Buddha.

792 Goro-ri (古老里) is written as Goro-ri (古路里) in the inscription on the Gamsansa Amitābha Buddha.

793 *Salchan* (薩湌, also *sachan* 沙湌 or *sagan* 沙干) was the eighth grade in the seventeen-grade system of Silla officials.

794 "Il dang" (一幢) is written as "Ildeung" (一憧) in the inscription on the Gamsansa Amitābha Buddha.

795 *Daesa* (大舍, also called *hansa* 韓舍) was the twelfth grade in the seventeen-grade system of Silla officials. This grade was the highest grade that could be attained by members of the head-rank four lineage.

796 The passage "亡妣官肖里夫人, 古人成之, 東海欣支邊散也" is written in *idu* (吏讀). The phrase in the inscription on the Gamsansa Maitreya is interpreted by Iryeon as being "東海欣支邊散之," and the corresponding phrase in the inscription on the Gamsansa Amitābha Buddha as "東海欣支邊散也." In either case, the meaning is that "[the ashes] of his mother were scattered at Heunji [on the shore of] the East Sea."

same is true for the words below).

南月山［亦名甘山寺］
寺在京城東南二十許里. 金堂主彌勒尊像火光後記云. "開元七年己未二月十五日, 重阿喰金志誠, 爲亡考仁章一吉干, 亡妣觀肖里夫人, 敬造甘山寺一所, 石彌勒一軀, 兼及愷元伊喰, 弟良誠小舍, 玄度師, 姊古巴里, 前妻古老里, 後妻阿好里, 兼庶兄及漢一吉喰, 一幢薩喰, 聰敬大舍, 妹首肹買里, 同營玆善. 亡妣官肖里夫人, 古人成之, 東海欣支邊散也." ［古人成之以下, 文未詳其意, 但存古文而已. 下同.］

The record[797] on the flower-garland-patterned nimbus behind the Amitābha Buddha[798][799] is as follows: "*Jungachan* Gim Jijeon[800] once served the king as a

[797] According to the inscription on the Gamsansa Amitābha, this statue was carved in 720 (the nineteenth year of King Seongdeok's reign). The content of the inscription is similar to that on the statue of Maitreya. It states that *jungachan* Gim Jijeon (金志全) founded a monastery in order to repay his debt of gratitude to his parents and his monarch and had the Amitābha Buddha statue made. It also states that Nama (奈麻) Chong (聰), who is thought to be Seol Chong (薛聰), composed the inscription on the king's orders. The inscription has become eroded so it has not been verified, but the calligraphy is thought to have been done by the Buddhist monk Gyeongyung (京融) and the *daesa* Gim Chwiwon (金驟源). Just as with the inscription on the Gamsansa Maitreya, there are several additional or missing characters and various other discrepancies but nothing that changes the actual meaning of the inscription.

[798] Today both the Amitābha and the Maitreya from Gamsansa are housed in the National Museum of Korea, and the inscriptions on the back of the flower-garland-patterned nimbuses, which clearly state the date and reasons for the making of the statues, are important historical records. The Amitābha statue is 174 cm high and is registered as National Treasure No. 82. According to the inscription on the back of the statue it was made in 720, but because the title *jipsasirang* (執事侍郎, see note 804, below), which was not introduced until 747, appears in the inscription, it is thought to have actually been made about thirty years later. The Amitābha Buddha statue has been considered to be somewhat later in sculptural style than the Maitreya Bodhisattva statue.

[799] The style of both the Gamsansa Maitreya and the Gamsansa Amitābha originated in the mid-seventh century of Silla. This style harmonized the Sui (隋) and Tang (唐) sculptural techniques, which had been directly influenced by Indian Buddhist sculpture, and established a particular Silla Buddhist sculptural style, which has been called "idealistic realism."

[800] Gim Jijeon (金志全) is another name for Gim Jiseong whose name appears in the inscription on

chamberlain[801] and also became a vice-minister,[802] but at the age of sixty-seven he resigned from office and went into retirement. He donated his estate[803] at Mt. Gam to found a monastery and created a stone Maitreya statue for the sake of the sovereign of the nation and Ichan Gaewon, his deceased father Ilgilgan Injang, his deceased mother, his deceased younger brother Sosa Yangseong, the monk Hyeando, his deceased wife Gorori, his deceased younger sister Gopari, and also for his wife Ahori. He made this offering on behalf of his father *ilgilgan* Injang. After his death [his ashes] were scattered at Heunji on the shore of the East Sea" (*if we examine the genealogical record of the royal family, Gim Gaewon was Taejong Gim Chunchu's sixth son Gakgan Gaewon, the son of Munhui.*[804] *Gim Jijeon is the son of the* ilgilgan *Injang.*

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the Maitreya statue.

801 The term for chamberlain is *sangui* (尙衣). In the inscription on the Amitābha statue it is written as *sangsa* (尙舍). This post entailed the management of such things as food and clothing in the palace.

802 The term for "vice-minister" is *jipsasirang* (執事侍郞). It was a vice-ministerial position under the Chief Minister (*jungsi*: 中侍) in the Chancellery Office (Jipsaseong: 執事省), which dealt with confidential affairs of state and general administrative affairs and was the highest administrative organ in Silla. It originated from the Pumju (稟主), which was renamed in 651 (the fifth year of King Jindeok's reign). Beneath the chief minister there were originally two officials with the title *jeondaedeung* (典大等), which was changed to *sirang* (侍郞) in 747 (the sixth year of King Gyeongdeok's reign). (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, "Japji 7," 'Jikgwan sang'). The title of *jipsasirang*, therefore, does not tally with the period during which Gim Jiseong was alive. For this reason it is thought that Gim Jiseong died soon after the carving of the Amitābha statue was begun in 719 and that it was not finally completed until thirty years later.

803 The term for estate is *jangjeon* (莊田), which refers to agricultural land (*jeongji*: 田地) and related buildings. Large scale landholdings and the associated buildings required to manage them, which belonged to the royal family, nobility, and monasteries, were called *jeonjang* (田莊), and the term *jangjeon* used here is thought to have the same meaning.

804 Munhui (文姬) was Queen Munmyeong (Munmyeong wanghu: 文明王后), the consort of the twenty-ninth king of Silla, Taejong King Muyeol. She was the daughter of Sopan (蘇判) Gim Seohyeon (金舒玄) and the sister of Gim Yusin (金庾信). From her marriage with King Muyeol she gave birth to the crown prince Beommin (法敏)—who became King Munmu—Gakgan (角干), Inmun (仁問), Munwang (文王), Nocha (老且), Jigyeong (智鏡) and Gaewon (愷元).

Heunji on the East Sea probably refers to the place where King Beommin[805] *was buried in the East Sea*).[806]

彌陁佛火光後記云, 重阿喰金志全, 曾以尙衣奉御, 又執事侍郞, 年六十七, 致仕閑居, 奉爲國主大王, 伊喰愷元, 亡考仁章一吉干, 亡妃, 亡弟小舍梁誠, 沙門玄度, 亡妻古路里, 亡妹古巴里, 又爲妻阿好里等, 捨甘山莊田, 建伽藍, 仍造石彌陁一軀, 奉爲亡考仁章一吉干, 古人成之, 東海欣支邊散也.[按帝系, 金愷元乃太宗春秋之第六子愷元角干也, 乃文姬之所生也. 金志全乃仁章一吉干之子. 東海欣支, 恐法敏葬東海也.]

805 Beommin (法敏) was the original name of King Munmu, the thirtieth king of Silla.

806 See also *Samguk yusa*, vol. 2, "King Munho Beommin" and *Samguk sagi*, vol. 7, "King Munmu, 21st year, 7th month." When King Munmu died in 681, he left behind a will instructing that, after his cremation in accordance with the Buddhist custom, his remains should be buried in the East Sea where he would become a dragon and block the incursions of Japanese marauders (*waegu*: 倭寇). Accordingly his cremated remains were ceremonially buried in a large rock in the East Sea near the shore. The underwater royal tomb (*sujungneung*: 水中陵) is thought to be Daewangam (大王岩; "great king rock") at Bonggil-li, Yangbuk-myeon, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province.

4-22.
Cheollyongsa 天龍寺

Introduction:

This section explains the historical background of Cheollyongsa (天龍寺), which used to be on Mt. Nam in Gyeongju. It provides an account of the history of the founding of the monastery, which was built by a lay Buddhist for the sake of his two daughters, whose names, Cheonnyeo and Yongnyeo, gave the monastery its name. The geomantic importance of the monastery is also emphasized by the citation of such texts as *Collected Discussions on the Three Han* (*Toron Samhan jip*: 討論三韓集) and of the words of a Chinese envoy, which provide an insight into the ideological tendencies of the Goryeo era. Later, Choe Jean, the grandson of a senior statesman from early Goryeo, Choe Seungno, [807] repaired the monastery, which had fallen into ruins, and instead of having the abbot of the monastery appointed by the court as was the usual practice at that time, the monastery received permission from the court for a person of outstanding scholarship and virtue to be selected from among its own community of monks and given the responsibility of abbot. A document from 1040, which has been ascertained to have been written by a local official, is cited as evidence of this fact. Choe Jean bequeathed this document to the monastery, and is said to have become a deity who protected the monastery even after his death, working various miracles so that he became revered not only as the benefactor who rebuilt the monastery but also as its guardian deity. This document also provides evidence that prior to this, Cheollyongsa, Jijangsa, Doseonsa, and four other monasteries around Pyeongyang, which

807 The family lineage of Choe Seungno recorded here is the same as the lineage provided by his biography in the *Goryeosa*. In the biography it is recorded that Gyehun (繼勳) as the son of Choe Jean was specially appointed to an eighth rank post because of his father's meritorious service. (*Goryeosa*, vol. 93, "Biographies (Yeoljeon)," 'Choe Seungno' [崔承老]) There are no further records about his descendents, and even such details as the location of his grave remain unknown to this day.

had received donations of land and so were self-supporting, were already using this system of selecting their abbots autonomously. The document further reveals that in early Goryeo when the nobility founded monasteries, they also had a deep involvement in the way that they were managed. At the same time it shows that ordinary monasteries were under the supervision of the court and that when a monastery was founded, the basic structure of the monastery, including the main hall, cloisters, monks' quarters, kitchen and storeroom were all made at the same time together with Buddhist images in stone and clay. As there are not many documents of this kind that have survived from the Goryeo period, this section is of particular significance.

Annotated Translation:

On Mt. Nam to the south of the Eastern Capital[808] there is a peak towering high into the sky, which people call Mt. Gowi.[809] There is a monastery to the south of this mountain called Gosa[810] in our language or also

808 Eastern Capital (Dongdo: 東都) was the name given to Gyeongju during Goryeo. From the reign of King Seongjong (成宗), it was called Donggyeong (東京; Eastern Capital) and placed under the charge of a Regent (*yusu*: 留守). Throughout the early Goryeo period it was one of the Three Capitals (Samgyeong: 三京) together with Gaegyeong (開京; Gaeseong 開城) and Seogyeong (西京; Western Capital, i.e. Pyeongyang); subsequently it was downgraded in status several times. Even in Silla, Gyeongju had sometimes been known as Donggyeong (東京): in the inscription on the Dansoksa Stela for Seon Master Sinhaeng (Dansoksa Sinhaeng seonsa bi: 斷俗寺 信行禪師碑), dated 813, Donggyeong (東京) refers to Gyeongju: ("Seon Master [Sinhaeng's] secular name was Gim, from the Eastern Capital" 禪師 俗姓金氏, 東京御里人也).

809 Mt. Gowi (高位山, "High Rank Mountain") is the southernmost peak of Mt. Nam in Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province and is 494 meters high. There is a record of it in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 21, Gyeongjubu, section on Mountains and Rivers). Also, in the "Map of the Great East" (Daedong yeojido (大東輿地圖) it is shown as a separate mountain below Mt. Seongbu (星浮山), to the south of Mt. Nam in Gyeongju. Gowi is thought to be a Chinese translation of the Korean word *suri*, and the mountain was commonly also called Mt. Suri.

810 Go Monastery (高寺)

Cheollyongsa.[811] According to *Collected Discussions on the Three Han*:[812] "In the Gyerim[813] region there are two "visiting streams"[814] and one "contraflowing" stream.[815] If an [impending] natural disaster is not suppressed at the sources

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811 Cheollyongsa (天龍寺) is located in Cheollyong-gok (天龍谷), Mt. Gowi, Yongjang-ri, Saenam-myeon, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. In the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol.21, Gyeongju-bu, section on Buddhist buildings) it is also shown as being located on Mt. Gowi. In a 1990 archaeological survey carried out by Dongguk University Museum, a fragment of a roof tile with the inscription (*myeong*: 銘) "twenty-seventh year of Jiajing (嘉靖)" (1548, the third year of King Myeongjong's reign) was unearthed, and a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* published in the "twenty-seventh year of Kangxi" (1688, the fourteenth year of King Sukjong of Joseon) appeared with the following colophon (*gangi*: 刊記): "Printed in Cheollyongsa on Mt. Gowi, in the south of Gyeongju Urban Prefecture." From these two records we can deduce that a substantial monastery continued to exist throughout almost the whole of the Joseon era. Various other artifacts have also survived on the monastery site until the present day, including the plinth for a three-story stone pagoda, a stone turtle which has lost its head, which is thought to be the base for a memorial stela, a stone trough (*seokjo*: 石槽), a stone lantern, a millstone, a pedestal for a Buddha statue, and a foundation stone. During the excavation in 1990 many more artifacts were uncovered including three small gilt-bronze standing Buddhas, which are thought to have been made in the Unified Silla period, a gilt-bronze pedestal, a small gilt-bronze Buddha head, a silver seated Bodhisattva in the posture of royal ease (*yuhuijwa*: 遊戲坐; i.e. one arm resting on a raised knee), and a stone pedestal for an octagonal shrine. Most recently to the north of the former monastery site a dharma hall and living quarters (*yosachae*) have been rebuilt, and a three-story stone stūpa has been restored using masonry from the ruins of the original stūpa.

812 The book *Collected Discussions on the Three Han* (*Toron Samhan jip*: 討論三韓集) is no longer extant, but from the content quoted here, it is thought to have been a work on geomancy (*pungsu*: 風水), which was popular during the Goryeo era.

813 Gyerim (鷄林; Rooster Forest, see note 292, above) is another name for Gyeongju. In the King Hyeokgeose section of the "Wonders" (Gii) volume of *Samguk yusa*, it is recorded that Gyerim was another name for Silla and explains the origin of the name as coming from two legends, namely, that when Hyeokgeose was born a rooster dragon (*gyeryong*: 鷄龍) appeared, and in the time of King Tarhae when Gim Alji appeared, a rooster crowed in a wood (*yeosup*: 始林). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 1, "Wonders" (Gii), 'Silla sijo Hyeokgeose' [新羅始祖 赫居世王]).

814 The expression "Visiting streams" (*gaeksu*: 客水) refers to streams flowing into a place from a different region.

815 The expression "contraflowing stream" (*yeoksu*: 逆水) is thought to have been used here because the stream arising from Cheollyongsa flows from south to north, contrary to most streams and rivers in Korea, which usually flow from north (or east) to south (or west). Areas through which such streams flowed were known as "rebellious regions" (*yeokhyang*: 逆鄉) and were reputed to be places from which rebels emerged.

of the visiting stream and the contraflowing stream, a calamity will occur whereby Cheollyong Monastery will be overthrown and collapse."

The [local] people have been told, "The contraflowing stream is none other than the stream to the south of Madeungo Village[816] in the south of the province." Also, "The source of this water reaches as far as Cheollyong Monastery."[817] An envoy from China, Yue Penggui[818] came and saw this and said, "If this temple is destroyed, the nation will fall within a few days." There was also a rumor that stated, "Long ago a benefactor[819] had two daughters

816 Madeungo Village (Madeungo chon: 馬等烏村): According to *Samguk yusa*, "Wonders" (Gii), 'King Hyeokgeose,' this village belonged to Saryang Village (沙梁部)—originally called Dolsangoheo Village (突山高墟村)—one of the Six Villages (Yukbu: 六部), but its name was changed to Namsan-bu (南山部) in the Goryeo era. There are various opinions about its exact location. One view, focusing on the name Namsan-bu (南山部), considers it to have been in the Banwol Fortress region of Mt. Nam (Namsan: 南山); many other differing views hold that it was located to the north of South Stream (Namcheon: 南川), to the east of West Stream (Seocheon: 西川), to the south of North Stream (Bukcheon: 北川), and so on.

817 The stream that rises at Cheollyongsa joins with streams from the neighboring Waryong Gorge and Teumsu Valley to form Girin Stream (麒麟川), which flows north into Gyeongju's West Stream (Seocheon: 西川).

818 Yue Penggui (樂鵬龜) was an official from Tang China. He was born in Huatai (滑臺) and in 881 during the reign of Emperor Xizong (僖宗) of Tang he was appointed to the post of *Hanlin xueshi chengzhi zhizhi gao* (翰林學士承旨知制誥), Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts, and eventually retired from government as *Taizi xiaobao* (太子小保), Guardian of the Heir Apparent. There is no record in the *Xin Tangshu* (新唐書), *Jiu Tangshu* (舊唐書), or the *Samguk sagi* (三國史記) that Yue Penggui ever visited Silla as an envoy, but in *Samguk yusa*, "Wonders," 'Beommin, King Munho,' there is a record of a story that Sacheonwangsa (四天王寺, Monastery of the Four Guardian Kings) was founded after the Tang army was repelled, in order to hold services for the longevity of the Tang emperor Gaozong, and Yue Penggui, an official in the Board of Rites (Libu *shilang*: 禮部侍郎), was dispatched in order to investigate the facts of the matter. In the collected works of the early Joseon scholar Gim Jongjik (金宗直), it is also recorded that Yue Penggui carried out "suppression magic" (*jinapjisul*: 鎮壓之術) in geomantically auspicious locations in Korea. (Jeompiljae munjip (佔畢齋文集) vol. 2, 'Hwanghwa jipseo' (皇華集序))

819 The term for "benefactor" is *danwol* (Skt. *dānapati*, Ch. *tanyue*: 檀越). Charitable giving (Skt. *dāna*) is one of the six perfections (Skt. *ṣaṭ-pāramitāḥ*, K. *yuk baramil*, Ch. *liu poluomi*: 六波羅蜜) of Buddhism, and a person who makes donations to a monastery is referred to by this term, *danwol*. It is also written as *danwol* (旦越) and *danna* (檀那).

who were called Cheonnyeo (Heaven Woman) and Yongnyeo (Dragon Woman). The parents built a temple for their two daughters and named it after them (i.e. Cheollyong: Heaven Dragon). The land was special and was a site that aided Buddhism, but it was ruined long ago in the last days of Silla."

Choe Seungno,[820] the son of Choe Eunham,[821] who was breastfed by the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara[822] of Jungsaeng Monastery,[823] was father to Choe Suk[824] who was father to *sijung*[825] Choe Jean,[826] who restored this monastery, which had fallen into ruins, and received a charter from the court to hold a ten-thousand-day dharma assembly for Śākyamuni Buddha.[827] He also bequeathed his personal correspondence (*sinseo*) and a record of his wishes as a benefactor (*wonmun*) to the temple. [He] died and became a guardian deity for the temple and performed many miraculous wonders. The gist of

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820 For Choe Seungno (崔承魯, 927–989) see note 278, above.

821 For Choe Eunham (崔殷諴) see note 272, above.

822 Great Saint Avalokiteśvara (Gwaneum daeseong: 觀音大聖): *daeseong* (大聖) means "great saint" (see note 465, above) and Gwaneum (觀音) is a short form of Gwanseeum (Skt. Avalokiteśvara, Ch. Guanshiyin: 觀世音).

823 Jungsaengsa (衆生寺) was located in Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. It is said that the monastery had an image of Avalokiteśvara created there by a famous court painter from China, which worked many miracles so that people came to visit it from far and wide. (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 3, "Stūpas and Images" Samso Gwaneum Jungsaengsa [三所觀音衆生寺])

824 Choe Suk (崔肅) was an early Goryeo civil official. He was the son of *daegwang naesiryeong* (大匡內史令) Choe Seungno (崔承老) and the father of *taesa munha sijung* (太師門下侍中) Choe Jean (崔齊顔). He attained the post of chief minister in the Chancellery for State Affairs (Munha sijung: 門下侍中).

825 *Sijung* (侍中) was a junior first ministerial position in the Goryeo period. It was the highest position in the Chancellery for State Affairs (Jungseo munhaseong: 中書門下省). It was a common name for the post of chancellor and was the only premiership at the junior first rank that actually had substantial powers that matched its name. It was customary for this position to be held in conjunction with the post of *pani busa* (判吏部事).

826 For Choe Jean (崔齊顔), see note 281, above.

827 Ten-thousand-day dharma assembly (*manil doryang*: 萬日道場): this is a dharma assembly of prayers or dharma talks lasting 10,000 days, which is to say around 30 years.

his personal correspondence is as follows:

"By the hand of the benefactor, Vice-Chancellor in the Supreme Council,[828] Juguk[829] Choe Jean.

Cheollyong Monastery on Mt. Gowi at the Eastern Capital (Gyeongju) had been in ruins for many years, so desiring that the king might have an abundantly long life and that the people and the nation might be at peace, the building of the main hall, cloisters, monks' quarters, kitchen, and storehouse has been completed. Whereupon I have provided several stone and clay-modeled statues of the Buddha and inaugurated a ten-thousand-day Śakyamuni dharma assembly. Since [this monastery] has already been established for the sake of the nation, it is only fitting that its abbot[830] should be appointed by the local government office, but at a time when there was a change [of abbot] it would be hard for the monastery's monks to feel at

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828 Vice-Chancellor in the Supreme Council (*Naesa sirang dongnaesa munha pyeongjang sa*: 內史侍郎同內史門下平章事) was a senior second position in the Supreme Council (*Naesa munha seong*: 內史門下省). It was the official post immediately below that of chief minister (*Munha sijung*: 門下侍中) and was first created in the reign of King Seongjong, then during the reign of King Munjong with the change of the name of the Supreme Council (Naesa munha seong) to Jungsa munha seong (中書門下省), the title of the post was changed to *jungseo sirang pyeongjangsa* (中書侍郎平章事).

829 *Juguk* (柱國) was a title awarded to officials in accordance with the awards system in the Goryeo period. The titles *sangjuguk* (上柱國: "upper pillar of state") and *juguk* (柱國: "pillar of state") were created at the beginning of Goryeo and were conferred regardless of the official rank (*gwangye*: 官階) or position of the recipient. In the reign of King Munjong the titles conferred junior second rank on their holders, but they disappeared in the reign of King Chungnyeol.

830 The term *juin* (主人) is another word for *juji* (住持), meaning abbot. As a monastic post that emerged for the first time after the tenth century, the abbot (*juji*) was above the Three Principals (*samgang*: 三剛), an autonomous group of senior monks that had originally managed each monastery. The abbot's role was to exercise control over the three principals. During the Goryeo era the person appointed to the post of abbot would have been someone who had passed the monastic examination (*seunggwa*: 僧科) and attained a monastic rank (*seunggye*: 僧階). Although in principle the abbot was appointed by the state, there were various exceptions such as the case of the so-called "immoveable monasteries" (*budong sawon*: 不動寺院), in which it was accepted practice that the role of the abbot was handed down from master to disciple. The document mentioned here provides evidence that Cheollyongsa was one of these exceptional monasteries that had special permission to appoint its abbot from among its own community of monks.

ease. However, after examining monasteries with sufficient donations from monastic lands, I found such examples as Jijang Monastery[831] in Mt. Gong,[832] which has two hundred *gyeol* of monastic land[833] and Doseon Monastery[834] on Mt. Biseul,[835] which has twenty *gyeol* of monastic land. Also, each of the mountain monasteries around the Western Capital have twenty *gyeol* of monastic-land. They all have a set rule of selecting an outstanding person of talent who adheres to the Buddhist precepts regardless of whether he is a monk superintendent[836] or not and appoint them to succeed to the post

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831 Jijangsa (地藏寺): According to the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 26, Daegu *dohobu*, section on Buddhist buildings) this monastery was located in Suseong-hyeon (壽城縣), which is present-day Suseong-gu in Daegu. It is said that this monastery held a record written by Gim Hwangwon (金黃元) of Goryeo. Suseong-hyeon is located twelve *li* to the south of Daegu regional military command (*dohobu*: 都護府). As Mt. Gong (Mt. Palgong) is located seventeen *li* to the north of Daegu, it would appear that Jijangsa was in fact located some distance away from Mt. Gong.

832 Mt. Gong (公山) refers to Mt. Palgong (八公山), which is a 1193-meter-high mountain that spreads across Gyeongsan-gun, Chilgok-gun, Yeongcheon-gun, and Gunwi-gun to the north of Daegu in North Gyeongsang Province. It is also called Buak (父岳). During the Silla period it was considered the central mountain (*jungak*: 中岳) of the five mountains (*oak*: 五岳) of national importance.

833 Monastic land (*nabipjeon*: 納入田) refers to land that has been donated in order to provide the funds necessary to support a monastery. These monastic lands that enjoyed the benefit of freedom from taxation expanded to such an extent during the Goryeo period that they began to create difficulties for the state finances.

834 Doseonsa (道仙寺) was located on Mt. Biseul, North Gyeongsang Province. As there is a Doseongsa (道成寺) on Mt. Biseul at Hyeonpung-myeon, Dalseong-gun, Daegu, it is thought that it may be the same monastery as Doseonsa. Doseongsa has a long history and is mentioned in the *Samguk yusa* as the place where the two monks Gwangi (觀機) and Doseong (道成) practiced. (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 5, "Hermits Lives" [Pieun], Two Saints of Mt. Po [包山二聖])

835 Mt. Biseul (毗瑟山) is a 1084-meter-high mountain that straddles Gakbuk-myeon, Jeongdo-gun, North Gyeongsang Province and Yuga-myeon, Okpo-myeon, Gachang-myeon, Dalseong-gun, Daegu. It is the location of several monasteries including Yongyeonsa and Yugasa. Mt. Biseul also appears under the name Mt. Po (包山) in *Samguk yusa*, vol. 5 (see preceding note) and the compiler of *Samguk yusa* Iryeon spent twenty-two years studying there.

836 The term for "monk superintendent" is *seungjik* (僧職), which was a monastic rank (*seunggye*: 僧階) awarded to monks who had passed the monastic exams (*seunggwa*: 僧科) in the Goryeo period.

of abbot in accordance with the esteem of the majority to burn incense and practice the Way. I was overjoyed to hear these words and have arranged that at our Cheollyong Monastery a monk of outstanding virtue and ability[837] should be selected from among the temple monks and be appointed as abbot and be the pillar of the community burning incense[838] and practicing the Way in perpetuity.[839] I have recorded this in a document that I have entrusted to the monastery administrative office[840] so that [this method] can begin with the present abbot. On receipt of the official document of the

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All abbots of monasteries had to be selected solely from among those monks who held the rank of *seungjik* or higher. It appears that the term *yujik* (有職) was used for those monks with the rank of *seungjik* and *mujik* (無職) for those monks without it. The monastic ranks awarded to monks who passed the monastic exams during the Goryeo era in the scholastic school (*gyojong*: 敎宗) of Buddhism in descending order were *seungtong* (僧統), *sujwa* (首座), *samjung daesa* (三重大師), *jung daesa* (重大師), *daesa* (大師), and *daedeok*, while in the meditation school (*seonjong*: 禪宗) the ranks in descending order were *daeseonsa* (大禪師), *seonsa* (禪師), *samjung daesa*, *jung daesa*, *daesa* and *daedeok*. In the thirtieth year of King Munjong's reign, however, in the regulations of the reformed stipend land law (*gyeongjeong jeonsi gwa*: 更定田柴科) it was stipulated that stipend land (*jeonsi*: 田柴) should be allotted to holders of the *daedeok* rank and that holders of the ranks of *daetong* (大統) and *butong* (副統) should be allotted stipend land of a lesser amount than those of *daedeok* rank, which seems to imply that *daetong* and *butong* were also monastic ranks.

837 See note 617, above.

838 The term for "burning incense" is *bunhyang* (焚香), which refers to the burning of incense in an incense burner during Buddhist worship (*yebul*: 禮佛).

839 The term *jinjang* (鎭長) has the meaning "in perpetuity." It is a standard term that is frequently found in documents relating to the inheritance of land and slaves in the Goryeo and Joseon eras.

840 The term for "temple administrative office" is *gangsa*: 剛司, thought to be an abbreviated form of *samgangsa* (三剛司), meaning the office used by the *samgang*, was the autonomous administrative organ in monasteries in the Silla and Goryeo periods. Originally based on the Chinese "three principals" (Ch. *sangang*: 三綱, see note 830, above) system of monastic administration, in Silla and Goryeo the term was changed to *samgang* (三剛), and it generally comprised four posts rather than three, namely, abbot (*wonju*: 院主), rector (*jeonjwa*: 典座), deacon (*yuna*: 維那), and steward for the year (*jikse*: 直歲). These positions were not filled by rank-holding monks appointed by the state but were monastic posts (*sajik*: 寺職) established by the monasteries themselves for the administration of the monastery.

commandant,[841] it should be shown to all the monks in the monastery so that each one may know its content in detail.

The sixth day of the ninth year of the Chongxi[842] era.

The above is signed in my capacity as a government official.

On examination, Chongxi is the name of the era of Xingzong[843] of the Qidan, which in our country[844] is the seventh year, *gyeongjin*, of the reign of Jeongjong[845] (1040).[846]

天龍寺

東都南山之南, 有一峯屹起, 俗云高位山. 山之陽有寺, 俚云高寺, 或云天龍寺.

討論三韓集云, "鷄林土內有客水二條, 逆水一條. 其逆水客水二源, 不鎭天災, 則致天龍覆沒之災." 俗傳云, "逆水者, 州之南, 馬等烏村南流川是." 又 "是水之源致天龍寺." 中國來使樂鵬龜來見云, "破此寺則國亡無日矣." 又相傳云, "昔有檀越有二女, 曰天女龍女. 二親爲二女創寺, 因名之."

境地異常助道之場, 羅季殘破久矣. 衆生寺大聖所乳崔殷誠之子承魯, 魯生肅, 肅生侍中齊顔. 顔乃重修其廢, 仍置釋迦萬日道場, 受朝旨, 兼有信書願文, 留于寺. 其卒爲護伽藍神, 頗著靈異.

841 The term for "commandant" is *yusugwan* (留守官). During the Goryeo period it was the title of an official dispatched to one of the Three Capitals (Samgyeong: 三京), namely, the Eastern Capital (Donggyeong: 東京; present-day Gyeongju), the Western Capital (Seogyeong: 西京; present-day Pyeongyang), and the Southern Capital (Namgyeong: 南京; present-day Seoul). The post of *yusugwan* was held by officials of third rank or higher and was also called *yususa* (留守事), *yususa* (留守使) and *yusugwan* (留守官).

842 Chongxi (重熙, 1032–1055) was an era name during the reign of Xingzong of Liao (遼) coinciding with the period from the first year of King Deokjong of Goryeo to the ninth year of King Munjong.

843 Xingzong (興宗, r. 1031–1055) was the seventh Liao Emperor.

844 "Our country" here refers to Goryeo of Iryeon's time.

845 Jeongjong (靖宗 r. 1035–1046) was the tenth king of Goryeo.

846 *Gyeongjin* year (1040): According to the *Goryeosa,* which follows the method of taking the year following the death of a monarch as the first year of his successor's reign (*yunyeon chingwon beop*: 踰年稱元法), 1040 would have been the sixth year of Jeongjong's reign, but in accordance with the method of taking the year a monarch actually succeeded to the throne as the first year of his reign (*jeugwi nyeon chingwon beop*: 卽位年稱元法), as was the practice in the Goryeo era, it would have been the seventh year of Jeongjong's reign.

其信書略曰. "檀越內史侍郎同內史門下平章事柱國崔齊顔状, 東京高位山天龍寺殘破有年, 弟子特爲聖壽天長民國安泰之願, 殿堂廊閣房舍廚庫 已來興構畢, 具石造泥塑佛聖數軀, 開置釋迦萬日道場. 旣爲國修營, 官家差定主人亦可, 然當遞換交代之時, 道場僧衆不得安心. 側觀入田稠足寺院, 如公山地藏寺入田二百結, 毗瑟山道仙寺入田二十結, 西京之四面山寺各田二十結例. 皆勿論有職無職, 須擇戒備才高者, 社中衆望, 蓮次住持焚修, 以爲恒規. 弟子聞風而悅, 我此天龍寺, 亦於社衆之中, 擇選才德雙高大德, 兼爲棟梁, 差主人, 鎭長焚修. 具錄文字, 付在剛司, 自當時主人爲始, 受留守官文通, 示道場諸衆, 各宜知悉. 重熙九年六月日. 具銜如前署."

按重熙乃契丹興宗年號, 本朝靖宗七年庚辰歲也.

4-23.

The Amitābha Buddha Hall at Mujangsa 鍪藏寺彌陁殿

Introduction:

This section is a collection of accounts related to the origins of Mujangsa, which was located in Gyeongju, the founding of the Amitābha Hall, and Mujangsa's topographical situation. Mujangsa was founded by King Wonseong's father to invoke blessings for his paternal uncle. King Soseong's consort Queen Gyehwa donated her possessions for the making of an Amitābha Buddha statue for her deceased husband, who was the grandson of King Wonseong. As with other accounts of the founding of Silla monasteries that emphasize their long karmic affinity with the dharma, this account of the founding of Mujangsa also states that when the monastery was founded, the site was known to be a place where the dharma resided because of an elderly monk's dream that Buddha had given a sermon on the dharma to the people on a hill to the southeast, where there was a stūpa, and that the temple's site was also exceptionally auspicious despite its location in a precipitous valley. An additional story handed down among the local people that differs from the record that the monastery had been founded by King Wonseong's father is added at the end of the account. According to this account the monastery's name Mujangsa (鍪藏寺: 'Helmet Store Monastery') derived from the fact that King Muyeol had hidden weaponry and helmets there after the unification of the Three Kingdoms.

As part of the stela recording the making of Mujangsa's Amitābha statue (Mujangsa Amitabul josang sajeok bi: 鍪藏寺阿彌陀佛造像事蹟碑) has been discovered, it has been possible to verify a part of the inscription quoted in this account. The stela fragment first became known when it was discovered at the site of Mujangsa in Amgok-ri, Naedong-myeon by Hong Yangho (洪良浩), a person well-versed in epigraphy, who in 1760 (the thirty-eighth year of King Yeongjo's reign) was governor of Gyeongju.

Subsequently the renowned epigrapher Gim Jeonghui (金正喜) re-examined the site in 1817 and found two more pieces of the inscription, which were presented in the Qing work, *Anthology of Korean Epigraphy* (*Haedong jinshi yuan*: 海東金石苑). Later, in the Japanese colonial period, the Mujangsa site underwent an archaeological excavation, and the stela's turtle base (*gwibu*: 龜趺), capstone (*isu*: 螭首) and further fragments of the stela inscription were unearthed. The calligraphy of the inscription was done by Gim Yukjin (金陸珍) in the calligraphic style of Wang Xizhi (王羲之), and as the content of this chapter "The Amitābha Buddha Hall at Mujangsa" is the same as the surviving portion of the inscription, it is thought that Iryeon consulted the inscription when he was compiling the *Samguk yusa*. According to the entry for Mujangsa in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, the old stela (*gobi*: 古碑) was still *in situ* so we can conjecture that it remained intact until the early Joseon era. The body of the stūpa has been removed to the National Museum of Korea, but the stela pedestal and a three-story stone stūpa constructed from masonry at the site still remain on the site of Mujangsa today.

Annotated Translation:

Mujangsa[847] is located to the north of Amgok Village,[848] about twenty *li*[849] to

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847 Mujangsa (鍪藏寺) was located in Amgok-dong, Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province. There are two competing stories concerning the founding of this monastery: one claims that it was founded at the time of King Wonseong; another (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 21, Gyeongju-bu, section on Buddhist buildings) that it was founded much earlier and that its name Mujang ('helmet store') derived from the fact that King Muyeol hid the helmets and weaponry used in the unification of the Three Kingdoms in the valley where the monastery was located. At the monastery site today the stone turtle base and capstone of the stela recording the making of Mujangsa's Amitābha statue (Mujangsa Amitabul josang sajeok bi: 鍪藏寺阿彌陀佛造像事蹟碑)—which has been designated as Treasure No. 125—still remain, but the main body of the stela has been removed and is now kept at the National Museum of Korea. The inscription on the Mujangsa stela is in the style of Wang Xizhi (王羲之) and during an archaeological investigation in 1915 three more pieces of the stela were unearthed confirming that the site was the site of Mujangsa. Still

the northeast of the capital.[850] It is the monastery which was established by the father of Great King Wonseong,[851] *daeagan*[852] Hyoyang[853]—posthumously entitled Great King Myeongdeok—in order to posthumously honor his uncle with the title *pajinchan*.[854] It is in a deep valley that is remote and

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extant on the site today are the Mujangsa Three-story Stūpa (Treasure No. 126), which was restored from masonry discovered abandoned in a wood near the monastery site in 1963, the base for a stone lantern (*okgaeseok*: 屋蓋石), and the foundation stones for the Amitābha Buddha Hall.

848 Amgok Village (暗谷村) is present-day Amgok-dong (暗谷洞) in Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province.

849 According to the entry for Mujangsa in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 21, Gyeongju-bu, section on Buddhist buildings), the monastery was located in Amgok Village, thirty *li* northeast of Gyeongju.

850 This is a reference to Gyeongju, the Silla capital.

851 King Wonseong (元聖王 r. 785–798) was the thirty-eighth king of Silla. His family name was Gim and his given name was Gyeongsin (敬信). A twelfth-generation descendent of King Naemul, his father was Hyoyang (孝讓) and his consort (*bi*: 妃) was Lady Sukjeong (淑貞夫人), the daughter of Gakgan Gim Sinsul (金神述). In 780, together with Gim Yangsang, Gim Gyeongsin suppressed the rebellion of Jijeong (志貞) and assassinated King Hyegong. In the same year he supported Gim Yangsang's ascension to the throne as King Seondeok, inaugurating the so-called "late period" (*hadae*: 下代) of the Silla dynasty. When King Seondeok ascended the throne, Gim Gyeongsin acquired "extraordinary rank one" (*sangdaedeung*: 上大等) and after the death of King Seondeok, he emerged victorious from a succession struggle with Gim Juwon (金周元), representing the royal lineage of King Muyeol, and ascended the throne in 785. He established the civil examination in the reading of texts in three grades (*dokseo sampum gwa*: 讀書三品科), and appointed people well-versed in Confucian doctrine as officials. Centering on the king and the crown prince, the members of the royal family monopolized the important posts in government, and thereafter all Silla kings descended from King Wonseong's line.

852 *Daeagan* (大阿干) was the fifth rank in the seventeen-rank system of Silla's hierarchy of officials. It is also called *daeachan* (大阿湌). Only members of the true-bone lineage could be appointed to the rank of *daeachan* and above.

853 Hyoyang (孝讓) was the father of King Wonseong. His wife was Lady Gyeo (繼烏夫人). In 'Wonseong daewang,' "Wonders" (Gii), *Samguk yusa*, he is referred to with the title *daegakgan* (大角干), but in the entry for King Wonseong in the "Silla Annals," *Samguk sagi*, vol. 10, he is referred to with the title *ilgilchan* (一吉粲).

854 *Pajinchan* (波珍湌) was the fourth rank in the seventeen-rank system of Silla's hierarchy of officials. It was also called *haegan* (海干) and *pamigan* (波彌干).

rugged just as if it has been carved out. Because it is located in a secluded spot, one naturally attains a clear mind.[855] It is a divine place in which one can rest the mind and enjoy the Way.

Above the temple there was an ancient Amitābha Buddha Hall. As the king passed away first, Queen Gyehwa[856] the consort of Great King Soseong (昭成)[857] (also called Soseong [昭聖]) was extremely anxious[858] and upset. In deep sorrow she shed bitter tears with a broken heart. She then thought that she should quietly carry out some bright and auspicious task in order to pray for the soul of her deceased husband. She heard that there was a great saint in the West called Amitābha Buddha[859] and that if you devoted yourself with utmost sincerity, he would come and save you. She said "If this is true, how could I be deceived?" and donated six types of ceremonial robes[860] and all the valuables she had collected in the palace treasury.[861] She summoned famous

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855 The term for a "clear mind" is *heobaek* (虛白), which is an abbreviation of the phrase *heosil saengbaek* (虛室生白), which means "an empty room is naturally bright." Likewise, when the mind is empty and clear, it is capable of attaining enlightenment.

856 Queen Gyehwa (桂花王后) was the consort of King Soseong (昭聖王, r. 798–800), the daughter of *daeachan* Sungmyeong (叔明), and the mother of the fortieth king of Silla King Aejang (哀莊王, r. 800–809).

857 Great King Soseong (昭成大王, r. 799–800), the thirty-ninth king of Silla, is also referred to as King Soseong (昭聖王 or 昭成王). His family name was Gim and his given name Junung (俊邕). He was the son of King Wonseong's eldest son Ingyeom (仁謙) and his mother was Queen Seongmok (聖穆太后) of the Gim clan. His consort was Lady Gyehwa (桂花夫人), who was the daughter of Sungmyeong (叔明). As the eldest grandson of King Wonseong, he became the chancellor (*jaesang*) with the rank of *pajinchan* in 790 and in 791 was appointed to the post of chief minister (*sijung*). When his paternal uncle Uiyeong (義英)—who had been invested as the crown prince following his father's investiture as the crown prince—died, he was invested as the crown prince in 795 and ascended to the throne in 799 following the death of King Wonseong. He died in only the second year of his reign in 800.

858 The term for "extremely anxious" is *hwanghwang* (皇皇).

859 For Amitābha, see note 493, above.

860 The term *yugui* (六衣) refers to the six types of ceremonial robes (*yebok*: 禮服) worn by Silla queens.

861 In the Zhou (周) dynasty the *gubu* (九府) were the nine offices responsible for managing the palace treasures. Here it refers to either the office responsible for the management of the palace

craftsmen and had them make a statue[862] of Amitābha Buddha[863] and also statues of guardian deities[864] and attend them.

Some time before there had been an elderly monk at the temple who had dreamed that there was a buddha[865] sitting on the hill to the southeast of a stone stūpa and while gazing towards the west[866] he gave a sermon to a crowd of people. So he thought "This is without doubt a place where the Buddha

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treasures or the storeroom where they were kept.

862 The record of the making of this statue of the Amitābha Buddha can be found on the stela, "Mujangsa Amitabul josang sajeok bi" (鍪藏寺阿彌陀佛造像事蹟碑). This stela was discovered in Amgok-ri (暗谷理), Naedong-myeon (內東面), Gyeongju (慶州) by Hong Yangho (洪良浩) in the thirty-eighth year of King Yeongjo's reign (1760) when he was the governor of Gyeongju (Gyeongju buyun: 慶州府尹). The stela was subsequently lost again but in the seventeenth year of Sunjo's reign (1817) Gim Jeonghui (金正喜) found two fragments of the stela in the Gyeongju region, which were first made public in the appendix of the *Anthology of Korean Epigraphy* (*Haedong jinshi yuan*: 海東金石苑) compiled by the late Qing scholar Liu Chenggan (劉承幹, 1882–1963). Subsequently in the colonial period, during a Japanese survey of historical records, the stone turtle base and capstone as well as a piece of the stela that had not been introduced in the *Anthology of Korean Epigraphy* were discovered and the findings published. Today they are under the care of the National Museum of Gyeongju. The inscription was composed by Gim Yukjin (金陸珍), and the calligraphy was executed in the style of Wang Xizhi (王羲之). Although there are many portions of text missing, it is possible to find passages that are the same as the text here. Through this we can see that this section was compiled by including part of the content of the stela inscription in abridged form.

863 The inscription reads, "(the queen donated) the treasures kept in the palace treasury (*gubu*), summoned famous craftsmen, had each responsible office go to the monastery, and had an Amitābha Buddha statue made" (… 九府之淨財, 召彼名匠, 各有司存就於此寺, 奉造彌陀像 …). The text here generally follows this inscription, but has been abridged.

864 The term for "statues of guardian deities" is *sinjungsang* (神衆像). These guardian deities (*sinjung*: 神衆) protect Buddhism and prevent all manner of calamities. The term *sinjung* is used to refer to the four deva-kings (Skt. *catur-mahā-rājakāyikāḥ*, K. *sacheonwang*: 四天王), the vajra-warriors (Skt. *vajra-pāṇi-balin*, K. *geumgang yeoksa*: 金剛力士) and the eight kinds of beings (Skt. *aṣṭa-gatyaḥ*, K. *palbujung*: 八部衆), but it is not used to refer to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

865 The term *jinin* (眞人), meaning a person who has become enlightened, is used to refer to a buddha.

866 On the basis that Amitābha Buddha resides in the Western Paradise, the fact that the buddha in the dream gives his dharma-talk facing the west seems to imply that this *jinin* is in fact the Buddha Amitābha.

dharma resides," and he kept this thought in his heart and did not tell anybody else.

[This place] was very rugged as though the rock had been hewn out, and the water in the valley flowed very rapidly so the craftsmen even without looking around all said that it was not a good place.[867] But after clearing the ground, they found a flat place which was suitable for a building, as though it had been prepared by a deity. All who saw it were completely shocked, and there was no one who did not praise it [as a good place]. In recent times this Amitābha Hall has fallen into ruin and only the monastery remains.

There is a story handed down by the people that after Taejong[868] had unified the Three Kingdoms, he concealed weapons and helmets in this valley, and so the temple came to be called Mujangsa.[869]

鍪藏寺 彌陀殿

京城之東北二十許里, 暗谷村之北有鍪藏寺. 第三十八元聖大王之考, 大阿干孝讓, 追封明德大王之爲叔父波珍湌追崇所創也. 幽谷逈絕, 類似削成, 所寄冥奧, 自生虛白, 乃息心樂道之靈境也. 寺之上方有彌陀古殿. 乃昭成[一作聖]大王之妃桂花王后, 爲大王先逝, 中宮乃充充焉皇皇焉, 哀戚之至, 泣血棘心. 思所以幽贊明休光啓玄福者, 聞西方有大聖曰彌陀, 至誠歸仰, 則善救來迎, "是眞語

867 This passage has evidently been abridged from the stela inscription which states, "[the cliffs] were precipitous, the water in the ravines flowed fiercely, the rocks were sheer and the land of the mountain worthless, so that the artisans paid no attention, and even said that it was inauspicious" (巉崒, 溪澗激迅, 維石巖巖, 山有朽壤, 匠者不顧 咸謂不祥).

868 Taejong (太宗) refers to Taejong King Muyeol (太宗武烈王, 603–661, r. 654–661), the twenty-ninth king of Silla. His father was the son of King Jinji (r. 576–579) Gim Yongchun (金龍春) and his mother was the daughter of King Jinpyeong (r. 579–632) Lady Cheonmyeong (天明夫人). His consort Queen Munmyeong (文明王后) was the daughter of Gim Seohyeo (金舒玄) and the sister of Gim Yusin (金庾信). She bore King Muyeol many sons including the future King Munmu (r. 661–681) and Gim Inmun (金仁問). King Muyeol's reign marks a transition in Silla society from its "early period" (*sangdae*: 上代) to its "middle period" (*jungdae*: 中代): Baekje was overthrown followed by the defeat of Goguryeo in the reign of King Munmu (r. 661–681), and with the unification of the Three Kingdoms a new age was ushered in. Subsequently King Muyeol's direct descendants succeeded to the throne paving the way for the halcyon years of Silla.

869 For Mujangsa, see note 861, above.

者, 豈欺我哉." 乃捨六衣之盛服, 罄九府之貯財, 召彼名匠, 教造彌陀像一軀, 并造神衆以安之. 先是寺有一老僧, 忽夢眞人坐於石塔東南岡上, 向西爲大衆說法. 意謂 '此地必佛法所住也,' 心秘之而不向人說. 嵓石巉崒, 流澗激迅, 匠者不顧, 咸謂不臧. 及乎辟地, 乃得平坦之地, 可容堂宇, 宛似神基, 見者莫不愕然稱善. 近古來殿則壞已, 而寺獨在. 諺傳太宗統三已後, 藏兵鍪於谷中, 因名之.

4-24.
Baegeomsa's Stone Stūpa and Relics
伯嚴寺石塔舍利

Introduction:

This section provides an account of the historical origins of the five-story stone stūpa at Baegeomsa,[870] which used to be located in the Jinju region, and the forty-two true-body" (*jinsin*: 眞身) *śarīras* enshrined within it. Baegeomsa was founded in the Silla era on the donated site of the "North House Office" (Buktaekcheong: 北宅廳), but it fell into ruins before being repaired again in 906 during Hyogong's reign. The monastery's first abbot was Yangbu (陽孚) Hwasang, a disciple of Doheon, the founder of Baegeomsa and the Huiyangsan Meditation School. In 925 Yangbu's disciple Geungyang (兢讓) became the abbot and stayed at the monastery for ten years, after which Sintak (神卓) from Baegamsu in Namwon became the abbot. In 1065 the abbot Surip (秀立) drew up ten permanent regulations (*sanggyu*: 常規) for the monastery, the first of which entailed the construction of a five-story stone stūpa with *śarīra* enshrined within it, and the creation of a fund (*bo*: 寶) for the supply of offerings each year, as well as the establishment of another fund for offerings to the two founding luminous spirits (*myeongsin*: 明神) of the monastery, Eomheun and Baekheun, together with three other persons including Geunak, and the establishment of a tradition of replacing the sacrificial rice in the wooden bowl before the Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha in the main Buddha hall on the first day of each month. The introductory portion quotes a document composed by a local official in 946, which records the monastery's location, the date of its founding, and the age of its abbot, making

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[870] Baegeom Monastery (Baegeomsa: 伯嚴寺) was located in Baegam-ri, Daeyang-myeon, Hapcheon-gun, South Gyeongsang Province. Today the only surviving relics are the Hapcheon Baegam-ri Stone Lantern (Treasure No. 381) and the Stone Tathāgata Pedestal (Seokjo Yeorae jwasang), which are thought to date to the Silla era.

it an important source for information about the management of monasteries during the early Goryeo period. This is followed by an account based on local stories of how the monastery, which had been founded in late Silla, fell into ruin and was rebuilt, and the abbots who presided over it, as well as informing us of the construction of a five-story stūpa in early Goryeo, in which forty-two *śarīra* were enshrined. This section is also of great significance insofar as it provides us with substantial information about monastic life with a detailed account of the rules enacted independently by each monastery, the creation of monastic religious items, the memorial activities for the founders of monasteries, and the maintenance of monasteries.

Annotated Translation:

On the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month of the third year of the Kaiyun[871] era, *byeongo* (946), an official notice[872] by the village administrator[873] of Imdo

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871 Kaiyun (開運) is an era name during the reign of the Later Jin (後晋) emperor Chudi (出帝) and refers to the years 944 to 946. It coincides with the period from Hyejong's ascension to the throne to the founding year of King Jeongjong's reign.

872 The term for "official notice" is *jucheop* (柱貼), which is thought to have been an official document relating to the census register (*hojeok*: 戶籍). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 4, "Uihae," 'Boyang imok' and vol. 5, "Sinju," 'Myeongnang sinin') Here it is thought to have included such information concerning the situation of the monastery as its founding date, landholdings, slaves, the scale of its buildings and other information related to the monastic community. The *jucheop* document here is a type of official document containing the report of Dean Ganyu (侃遊) on the situation of the monastery to the local administrative official (*daegam*) at Gangju (康州). As such it is only natural that the report should mention the founding date of the monastery, but Ganyu states that he does not know when it was first established. This record shows that even in early Goryeo the state ordered officials responsible for village administration to find out about the situation of their local monasteries. In Goryeo monasteries were included in the system of state administration, and the monastery's situations were regularly assessed by the local administrative officials.

873 The term for "village administrator" is *daegam* (大監), which was an official post in a local administrative office during the Silla period before the establishment of the Paegang Garrison (浿江鎭). The post could be held by officials who had the rank of *saji* up to *jungachan*. In Goryeo

in the Gangju[874] region stated, "Baegeom Seon Monastery is located in Chopal Prefecture (present-day Chogye). The monastery's Dean[875] Ganyu said that he is thirty-nine years old and that he does not know when the monastery was first established."

There is an ancient record, however, that states as follows, "During the former dynasty of Silla, this temple was built on the donated site of the North House Office.[876] Subsequently it fell into disrepair, but in the last *byeongin* year (906, the tenth year of King Hyogong's reign) Yangbu *hwasang*[877] from Samok Valley restored it and after acting as its abbot

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times the title was used for an official responsible for the administration of a village. With the structural reforms of villages (*chollak*: 村落), which were administrative units in counties and prefectures, in the sixth year of King Seongjong's reign (987), the class of village leaders, which had been responsible for village administration until that time, was abolished and the posts of *daegam* (大監) and *jegam* (弟監) were changed to *chonjang* (村長) and *chonjeong* (村正) respectively. In the document from 946 that is quoted here, the term *daegam* refers to an official who was responsible for the administration of a village in the provinces.

874 Gangju (康州) is present-day Jinju (晋州) in South Gyeongsang Province. Originally it was Baekje's Geoyeol Fortress (Geoyeolseong: 居列城 or Geota: 居陁), but it was conquered by King Munmu of Silla and established as a city (*ju*: 州). In the reign of King Sinmun it was renamed Geotaju (居陀州) and was placed under the control of the Jinju Commander (Jinju chonggwan: 晋州摠管) before being renamed Gangju (康州) by King Gyeongdeok. King Hyegong subsequently changed its name to Cheongju (菁州) before King Taejo of Goryeo changed the name back to Gangju.

875 The term for "dean" is *sangjwa* (上座), which was originally the highest position among the Three Principals (see note 830, above), and its incumbent acted as the monastery's representative. Although in late Silla the *sangjwa* represented the monastery, in early Goryeo *sangjwa* does not appear as one of the *samgang* posts. It is thought that this monastic post evolved to become the position of abbot (*wonju*: 院主 or *juji*: 住持, see note 840, above).

876 North House Office (Buktaek cheong: 北宅廳): Buktaek (北宅) is listed as the second of the so-called Thirty-five Golden Houses (Geumiptaek: 金入宅). (*Samguk yusa*, vol. 21, "Wonders" 'Jinhan'). Buktaek cheong is thought to be either a building belonging to the North House or the North House itself.

877 Yangbu *hwasang* (陽孚和尙, ?–917) was the disciple of Jijeung *daesa* (智證大師) Doheon (道憲, 824–882), who was the founder of the Huiyang Mountain School, one of the Nine Mountain Meditation Schools. He was the abbot of Baegeomsa and became the master of Great Mentor

departed this world in the *jeongchuk* year (917, the first year of King Gyeongmyeong's reign). In the *eulyu* year (925, the second year of King Gyeongae's reign)[878] Geungyang Hwasang[879] from Mt. Huiyang[880] came and stayed there for ten years before returning to Mt. Huiyang once again in the *eulmi* year (935, the eighteenth year of Goryeo's King Taejo).[881] At that time [the monk] Sintak Hwasang came to this monastery[882] from Baegamsu in

Jeongjin of Bongamsa.

878 According to Great Mentor Jeongjin's stela Geungyang arrived at Baegeomsa in 927.

879 Geungyang Hwasang (兢讓和尙, 878–956) belonged to the Wang (王) clan, and his ancestral home (*bongwan*: 本貫) was Gongju. His posthumous name was Jeongjin (靜眞) and his "stūpa name" Wono (圓悟). He is also called Baegam Hwasang (白巖和尙). He entered a Buddhist monastery at a young age and became the disciple of Yeohae (如解) of Namhyeolsa (南穴院) and also practiced under Yangbu (陽孚) at Seohyeolsa (西穴院). In 899 (the third year of King Hyogong's reign) he went to Mt. Gu (谷山) where he studied the principles of the true nature of the mind (*jinseong*: 眞性) and practiced meditation (Skt. *samādhi*: K. *sammae*: 三昧). In 924 he returned to Silla and guided monks while staying at Baegamsa (伯巖寺) in Gwangju (廣州) and received the title Great Mentor Bongjong (Bongjong daesa: 奉宗大師) from King Gyeongae. In 951 (the second year of King Gwangjong's reign) he stayed at Sana Meditation Hall (Sana seonwon: 舍那禪院) at the invitation of King Gwangjong from whom he received the posthumous title Great Master Jeunggong (Jeunggong daesa: 證空大師). The "Stela of the Great Master Jeongjin" still remains at Bongamsa.

880 Mt. Huiyang (曦陽山) is the mountain where Bongamsa is located at Wonbuk-ri, Gaeun-eup, Mungyeong, North Gyeongsang Province. Bongamsa belonged to the Huiyang Mountain School, which was one of the Nine Mountain Schools of Seon (Gusan seonmun: 九山禪門).

881 Doheon was active at Allaksa (安樂寺) on Mt. Hyeongye (賢溪山), Yangbu was active at Baegeomsa, and Geungyang was active at Bongamsa. On the Great Mentor Jijeung Stela erected for Geungyang there is a record of the Southern Meditation School lineage (the Sixth Patriarch Huineng [慧能], Nanyue Huairang [南岳懷讓], Jiangxi Daoyi [江西道一], Cangzhou Shenjian [滄州神鑑], Ssanggye Hyeso [雙溪慧昭], Doheon [道憲], and Geungyang [兢讓]) created at Bongamsa that is completely different from the lineage of the Northern Meditation School (Daoxin [道信], Beomnang [法朗], Sinhaeng [信行], Junbeom [遵範], Hyeeun [惠恩], Doheon [道憲], and Yangbu [陽孚]). The lineage before Doheon has thus been changed from the Northern lineage to the Southern lineage. This amendment of the lineage record is due to changes in Seon ideology.

882 The term for "monastery" is *won* (院). In the Goryeo era the usual term for monastery was *sa* (寺) and *won* (院) referred to halls within the monastery, but there were also *won* that were independent monasteries in their own right. Here the use of the term *won* appears to be related to the expression *ipwon* (入院), which was frequently used to refer to a new abbot's entry to a monastery.

Namwon and became the abbot in accordance with the prescribed rules."

Also, in the eleventh month of the founding year of the Xianyong[883] era (1065) the abbot of this temple, the monk Surip [also known as] Great Master Deugomijeong, laid down ten permanent regulations for the temple. The first regulation was to build a new five-story stone stūpa, enshrine forty-two true relics of the Buddha within it, and establish a treasury[884] for the supply of yearly offerings.[885] [The second regulation] was to establish a treasury for offerings to the monks Eomheun and Baekheun, who respected and upheld the Buddha dharma and became the two luminous deities[886] of the temple, and three other persons including [the monk] Geunak (it is said among the people that "Eomheun and Baekheun both donated their houses to build the monastery. In this way the monastery came to be called Baegeom, and they later became its guardian deities), and to replace the rice in the wooden bowl before the Medicine Tathāgata (S. Bhaiṣajyaguru, K. Yaksa Yeorae) in the Main Buddha Hall on the first day of each month."

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883 Xianyong (咸雍) is an era name during the reign of Daozong (道宗) of Liao (遼) and refers to the years 1065 to 1074. It coincides with the nineteenth to twenty-eighth years of King Munjong of Goryeo.

884 The term for "treasury" is *bo* (寶). The *bo* was an organ in a monastery during Silla and Goryeo times which collected the basic funds necessary for the various communal activities of the monastery. The treasury was also responsible for lending out either the money or grain that had been collected in order to earn interest. There was a wide variety of different types of *bo* such as the *jeomchal bo* (占察寶) founded by Dharma Master Wongwang (圓光) in the thirty-fifth year of King Jinpyeong (眞平王) (613) in Silla, the *hakbo* (學寶) established in Goryeo for the purpose of funding scholarships, the *gwanghakbo* (廣學寶) to support monks' studies, the *palgwanbo* (八關寶) to defray the expenses of the Festival of the Eight Vows (Palgwanhoe: 八關會), and the *jewibo* (濟危寶) to provide assistance to the poor. They were mainly established for Buddhist purposes but gradually also expanded into the secular realm.

885 The most centrally important element of a Buddhist monastery is its stūpa, because it is the place where Buddha's *śarīra* are enshrined. It is quite natural, therefore, that the clause establishing a treasury (*bo*: 寶) for continual offerings for the stūpa should be at the head of the list of Surip's monastic regulations.

886 The term for "luminous deity" is *myeongsin* (明神), which refers to a person who becomes a deity that performs the role of a guardian deity (*suhosin*: 守護神).

伯嚴寺石塔舍利

開運三年丙午十月二十九日, 康州界任道大監柱貼云, "伯嚴禪寺坐草八縣[今草溪], 寺僧侃遊上座, 年三十九云, 寺之經始則不知." 但古傳云, "前代新羅時, 北宅廳基捨置玆寺," 中間久廢, 去丙寅年中, 沙木谷陽孚和尙, 改造住持, 丁丑遷化. 乙酉年, 曦陽山兢讓和尙, 來住十年, 又乙未年, 却返曦陽. 時有神卓和尙, 自南原白嵓藪, 來入當院, 如法住持.

又咸雍元年十一月, 當院住持得奧微定大師釋秀立, 定院中常規十條. 新竪五層石塔, 眞身佛舍利四十二粒安邀, 以私財立寶, 追年供養條, 第一. 當寺護法敬僧嚴欣伯欣兩明神, 及近岳等三位前, 立寶供養條[諺傳, 嚴欣伯欣二人, 捨家爲寺, 因名曰伯嚴, 仍爲護法神], 金堂藥師前木鉢, 月朔遞米條等. 已下不錄.

4-25.
Yeongchwisa 靈鷲寺

Introduction:

This section contains the legend of the founding of Yeongchwisa,[887] located in the Ulsan region. According to this legend, in 683 at the beginning of King Sinmun's reign, the prime minister Lord Chungwon was on his way back to the capital after bathing at a hot spring in Dongnae when he saw a hawk chasing a pheasant and followed it. He eventually found the pheasant down a well, bleeding profusely and covering its two chicks with its wing, while the hawk appeared to look on in pity and did not catch them. When Lord Chungwon asked a fortune teller about it, he was told that the place would be a good site to build a monastery. So the king had the local government office, where the event had taken place, moved and ordered the building of Yeongchwisa, which means "Spirit-Hawk Monastery." This legend shows that a government office could be moved and a monastery built on the judgment of the prime minister after memorializing the king. After the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla, monasteries gradually began to spread out from the centre to the regions, and this account is significant in that it provides us with some insights into the establishment of just such a monastery located outside the capital. In an old monastic record quoted in this chapter, King Sinmun is referred to as "the thirty-first monarch, King Sinmun of the true-bone lineage," which provides us with an insight into how the monarchy was perceived in the middle period of Silla.

Annotated Translation:

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[887] Yeongchwisa (靈鷲寺) was located at Yul-ri, Cheongnyang-myeon, Ulju-gun, Ulsan, North Gyeongsang Province. The collapsed masonry of a three-story stone stūpa still remains on the site today.

In an old record[888] handed down in the monastery, there is the following account: "In the second year, *gyemi*, of the Yongchun[889] era during the reign of the thirty-first monarch King Sinmun[890] of the true-bone lineage (*the original text says the founding year [of the Yongchun reign] but this is an error*) the prime minister Lord Chungwon bathed at the hot spring in Jangsan-guk[891] (*namely Dongnae Prefecture which is also called Naesan-guk*) and on his way back to the capital, he arrived at Dongji Field by Guljeong post-station[892] and was taking a rest there when suddenly he saw someone release a hawk in pursuit of a pheasant. The pheasant flew over Mt. Geum and disappeared. Hearing the sound of [the hawk's] bells [Lord Chungwon] went in pursuit and on reaching the well to the north of the local administrative office at Guljeong Prefecture, he found the hawk perched at the top of a

888 In the original text "old record" is *gogi* (古記), which refers to a document containing various information about a monastery focusing on the circumstances of its founding and subsequent history.

889 Yongchun (永淳) is an era name during the reign of the Tang emperor Gaozong (高宗) and refers to the period lasting from the second month of 682 until the twelfth month of 683. Therefore, the second year of the Yongchun era was the *gyemi* (癸未) year, 683.

890 For King Sinmun, see note 708, above.

891 Jangsan-guk (萇山國) a small state, which was also called Naesan-guk (萊山國), is said to have been occupied by Silla and designated Geochilsan-gun (居漆山郡). King Gyeongdeok subsequently renamed it Dongnae (東萊). (*Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, vol. 23, "Gyeongsang-do," 東萊縣) This is also verified in the *Samguk sagi*. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 34, "Jiriji," 'Yangju,' 東萊郡, "本居柒山郡, 景德王改名.") The name can still be found today in Mt. Jang (Jangsan: 萇山), Jangsansa (萇山寺), and Jangsan Primary School in Dongnae-gu, Busan.

892 Guljeong post-station (Guljeong-yeok: 屈井驛): the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (vol. 22, "Ulsan-gun," 'Geonchi yeonhyeok') states that Guljeong-yeok "was originally Gurahwa Village (屈阿火村) in Silla. The same work states that the character *hwa* (火) in many Silla place names replaced the character *bul* (弗), which in turn replaced the character *beol* (伐). Gurahwa Village (屈阿火村), therefore, corresponds with the earlier name Gulbul-hyeon (屈弗縣). The same work also states that Gulhwa-yeok (堀火驛) was located in former Hagok-hyeon (河曲縣). It was first designated as a prefecture (*hyeon*: 縣) by King Pasa (r. 80–112); King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765) renamed it Hagok and made it a prefecture (*yeonghyeon*: 領縣) of Imgwan-gun (臨關郡)" (本新羅屈阿火村, 婆沙王始置縣, 景德王改名河曲, 爲臨關郡領). *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* ("Ulsan-gun," 'Yeogwon').

tree and the pheasant inside the well in water that was completely stained with blood. The pheasant was fluttering its two wings and embracing two chicks, while the hawk appeared to be moved to pity by this sight and made no attempt to catch them. On seeing this, the lord was filled with compassion and consulted a fortuneteller about the land and was told that it was 'a suitable site for building a monastery.' On returning to the capital he reported this to the king. The prefecture's local administrative office was relocated to a different place, and a monastery, called Yeongchwisa was built on the site."

靈鷲寺

寺中古記云,"新羅眞骨第三十一主神文王代, 永淳二年癸未[本文云元年, 誤], 宰相忠元公, 萇山國[卽東萊縣, 亦名萊山國]溫井沐浴, 還城次, 到屈井驛桐旨野駐歇, 忽見一人放鷹而逐雉. 雉飛過金岳, 杳無蹤迹. 聞鈴尋之, 到屈井縣官北井邊, 鷹坐樹上, 雉在井中, 水渾血色. 雉開兩翅, 抱二雛焉, 鷹亦如相惻隱, 而不敢攫也. 公見之惻然有感, 卜問此地, 云"可立寺." 歸京啓於王, 移其縣於他所, 創寺於其地, 名靈鷲寺焉."

4-26.
Yudeoksa 有德寺

Introduction:

This section is about the history of the founding of Yudeoksa. On the basis of a mention of the official title *taedae gakgan* in the text, Yudeoksa would appear to have been founded some time after the eighth year of the reign of King Munmu (668). Although we frequently encounter records of members of the nobility who donated their houses in order to found a monastery, there is no other record of a monastery being named after its founding donor in this way. It is thought that because Choe Yudeok was the ancestor of Choe Eonwi, a representative intellectual of the late Silla/early Goryeo period, a stela was erected in his memory, and his name has been passed down through history. On the basis of the brevity of this chapter, it appears that his memorial stela was no longer extant in Iryeon's time. It is a valuable source insofar as it shows us that a member of the Choe clan could also be conferred with the high rank of *taedae gakgan*.

Annotated Translation:

Tadae gakgan[893] Choe Yudeok of the Silla era donated his own house to make a temple and called it Yudeoksa. It is said that his distant descendant *samhan*

893 *Taedae gakgan* (太大角干) was a special title above the seventeen official ranks of Silla. In the eighth year of King Munmu's reign (668), it was conferred on Gim Yusin in recognition of his service to the nation in the conquest of Goguryeo. (*Samguk sagi*, vol. 38, "Jikgwan ji sang" 'Taedae gakgan').

gongsin[894] Choe Eonwi[895] enshrined a portrait[896] of Choe Yudeok there as well as a stela.

有德寺
新羅大大角干崔有德, 捨私第爲寺, 以有德名之. 遠孫三韓功臣崔彦撝, 掛安眞影, 仍有碑云.

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894 *Samhan gongsin* (三韓功臣) was a title bestowed by King Taejo of Goryeo on meritorious subjects who had participated in the unification of the Three Kingdoms. In 940 the Meritorious Subject Hall (Gongsin dang: 功臣堂) was established in Sinheungsa (新興寺), and the portraits of holders of the title *samhan gongsin* were painted on the eastern and western walls, leading them to be called *samhan byeoksang gongsin* (三韓壁上功臣). It is thought that there were more than 3,000 meritorious subjects in Taejo's time. These people were not just those who had directly participated in the war of unification, but also the local gentry (*hojok*: 豪族) in each region that had cooperated with Taejo. The title of *samhan gongsin* was bestowed on them directly, and they received the privilege of handing it down to their descendants. They were also given various economic benefits such as "merit-reward land" (*yeokbunjeon*: 役分田).

895 Choe Eonwi (崔彦撝, 868–944) was a civil official in Silla and Goryeo. He is also known as Sinji (愼之) and Inyeon (仁渷). In 885 (the eleventh year of King Heongang's reign) he went to Tang China to study and passed the civil examination. After returning to Silla in 909 he became *jipsaseong sirang seoseowon haksa* (執事省侍郎瑞書院學士) and then *byeongbu sirang* (兵部侍郎). When Silla surrendered to Goryeo, he entered the Goryeo government as Taejasabu (太子師傅) and was entrusted with tasks involving literary composition. He eventually achieved the official rank of *daesang wonbongseong daehaksa hallim wollyeong pyeongjangsa* (大相元鳳省大學士翰林院令平章事). Choe Eonwi, Choe Chiwon (崔致遠) and Choe Seungu (崔承祐) are together known as the "Three Choe's of one generation" (*ildae sam* Choe: 一代三崔), and several of Choe Eonwi's memorial inscriptions on stelae for Seon monks are still extant today.

896 The term for "portrait" is *jinyeong* (眞影) and refers to a portrait of either the founder of a school of Buddhism (*josa*: 祖師) or an eminent monk of great virtue (*goseung daedeok*: 高僧大德).

4-27. The Inscription on the Stone Stūpa at Munsusa (Mañjuśrī Monastery) on Mt. Odae 五臺山文殊寺石塔記

Introduction:

This section presents two legends about miracles related to the octagonal nine-story stone stūpa at Munsusa (later renamed Woljeongsa) on Mt. Odae, still extant today. Concerning this simple and unsophisticated stone stūpa, the first account relates how a fisherman was out fishing on the East Sea when the shadow of a pagoda appeared overhead and chased all the fish away so that he was unable to catch any. Unable to control his rage, the fisherman traced the shadow back to the pagoda, which he then damaged with an axe. Although the stūpa now stands on the eastern side of the monastery courtyard, it is said that it originally stood in the centre, but because it failed to perform any miracles its position was moved on the advice of an astrologer. This record is quoted from the stūpa inscription composed by the hermit O Jeongseok (吳廷碩) in 1156. The record in this section, which focuses on the off-centre position of the stūpa and its damaged corners, is thought to have been compiled to enhance its image as a miracle-working stūpa. Iryeon, who should have considered the construction of the stūpa as having taken place in the Goryeo period, viewed it as having been constructed in the Silla period. Furthermore, the statement in the inscription that this kind of miraculous legend demonstrating the majesty of Buddha to all sentient beings should be made widely known clearly shows the significance bestowed on faith in miracle-working at that time.

Annotated Translation:

The stone stūpa that stands on one side of the courtyard was probably

erected by the people of Silla. Although the skill with which it was made was unsophisticated and lacking elegance, it has worked so many miracles that they cannot all be recorded here. Among them I heard of one such incident from several elderly people as follows:

"Long ago someone from Yeongok Prefecture[897] was in a boat fishing in the sea near the shore when he suddenly saw a stūpa following the boat, and when all the creatures in the sea saw the shadow of the stūpa, they all fled in different directions, and because of this the fisherman was unable to catch anything. Unable to overcome his rage, he followed the shadow and finally came to this stūpa, whereupon he swung his axe, hacked at the stūpa and ran away. This is why four corners of this stūpa have now all fallen off."

I was surprised and overwhelmed with regret and considered it strange that the stūpa and had not been placed in the centre [of the courtyard] but slightly toward the east. Thereupon I looked up at a panel, on which were the following words:

"The monk Chehyeon once lived in this temple and suddenly moved [this stūpa] into the middle of the courtyard, but for more than twenty years no miracles occurred. Later an astrologer[898] came to this place looking for an [auspicious] site and lamented, 'The centre of the courtyard is not the right place for this stūpa. Why don't you move it toward the eastern side?' Thereupon many of the monks immediately realized [Chehyeon's mistake] and moved the stūpa back to its old position, which is the place where it stands now. I am not someone who loves mysterious happenings, but as a Buddhist monk how can I remain silent and say nothing when I have witnessed the power of the Buddha's authority and the traces of his benevolence bestowed so swiftly on all creatures. [This record was] written

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897 Yeongok Prefecture (連谷縣) is present-day Yeongok-myeon (連谷面), Gangneung, Gangwon Province. Under Goguryeo it was originally known as Jisan Prefecture (支山縣), but the name was changed to Yeongok-hyeon under King Hyeonjong (r. 1009–1031) (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, vol. 44, "Gangneung daedohobu," 屬縣, 連谷縣).

898 The term for astrologer is *ilgwan* (日官), an official responsible for observing astronomical changes and interpreting their significance.

by Baegunja[899] in the tenth month of the founding year, *byeongja*, of the Zhengfeng[900] era (1156)."

五臺山文殊寺石塔記

庭畔石塔, 蓋新羅人所立也. 制作雖淳朴不巧, 然甚有靈響, 不可勝記. 就中一事, 聞之諸古老云. "昔連谷縣人具船沿海而漁, 忽見一塔隨逐舟楫, 凡水族見其影者, 皆逆散四走, 以故漁人一無所得. 不堪憤恚, 尋影而至, 蓋此塔也. 於是共揮斤斫之而去. 今此搭四隅皆缺者, 以此也."

予驚嘆無已, 然怪其置塔, 稍東而不中. 於是仰見一懸板云, "比丘處玄曾住此院, 輒移置庭心, 則二十餘年間寂無靈應. 及日者求基抵此, 乃嘆曰, '是中庭地, 非安塔之所, 胡不移東乎?' 於是衆僧乃悟, 復移舊處, 今所立者是也. 余非好怪者, 然見其佛之威神, 其急於現迹利物如此, 爲佛子者, 詎可黙而無言耶! 時正豊元年丙子十月 日. 白雲子記."

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899 Baegunja (白雲子) was O Jeongseok (吳廷碩). The precise dates of his birth and death are unknown, but he was older than such civil officials as Yi Illo (李仁老, 1152–1220) and Choe Ja (崔滋, 1186–1260), who were active during the period of military rule in Goryeo. When military rule began, he abandoned his official position and after devoting himself to Buddhism gave himself the name Baegunja (白雲子: "Son of White Cloud") and spent his life wandering through the mountainous countryside under the name Sinjun (神駿: "Divine Pheasant") teaching the young and reciting poetry.

900 Zhengfeng (正豊) refers to the era name Zhonglong (正隆), but *feng* has been used instead of *long* for the second character as the latter appears in the posthumous name (*hwi*: 諱) of the father of Wang Geon (王建), Taejo. Zhonglong is an era name during the reign of King Hailing of Jin (金) and refers to the period from the second month of 1156 to the tenth month of 1161. It coincides with the period from the tenth to the fifteenth year of the reign of King Uijong of Goryeo.

IV

SAMGUK YUSA (EXEGETES)

Compiled by Iryeon
Translated by Sem Vermeersch

5-1.
Wongwang Studies in the West 圓光西學

Introduction:

The chapter on exegetes of the Buddhist doctrine in Iryeon's *Samguk yusa* opens appropriately with Wongwang, the first monk to introduce Chinese Buddhist thought in all its complexity to Silla. The section on Wongwang is by far the biggest of this chapter; it is in fact a composite of at least three earlier sources, two of which are quoted here almost verbatim by Iryeon. These are the "Biography of Wongwang" from Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (*Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, completed ca. 667), and the "Biography of Wongwang" from the now-lost *Sui jeon* (*Tales of Marvels*), which contains much legendary material as well as unique information on his activities in Korea. In addition, parts from the *Samguk sagi* relative to Wongwang, notably the "Five secular precepts" found in the biography of Gwisan, have also been mined. Although Daoxuan (596–667) was a contemporary of Wongwang, his biography is focused on Wongwang's activities in China; therefore, it has been decided not to include it in this translation; instead, additional material from it will be incorporated in the footnotes.

In addition, there is also a biography of Wongwang contained in the *Haedong goseung jeon* (*Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks*), compiled by Gakhun ca. 1215. However, this work contains no substantial information that cannot be found in the other sources; indeed, Iryeon appears to criticize it in his comments on the biography of Boyang (5–2).

One of the key problems concerns Wongwang's dates; following the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* we can reconstruct his dates of birth and death as 532–630, but according to the *Sui jeon* it would be 554–637; further attention to this problem will be given in the footnotes. Among the more certain events in his life would appear to be his journey to China in 589 and his return in 600 (although the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* implies he arrived in China some time before


Panoramic view of Unmunsa, Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbukdo

589); his assistance in the ideological training of people through the "five secular precepts" upon his return; his convening of a Hundred-seat assembly for a Chinese envoy in 613; and his writing of diplomatic correspondence asking for military assistance. Furthermore, we also know that he was associated with a temple on Gaseo peak close to what is now Unmunsa in Cheongdo, and that he introduced the latest texts and practices from China, such as the newly translated *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra*, the *Zhancha jing*, and its divination practices.

Annotated Translation:

Furthermore,[1] there is the following "Biography of dharma master

1 Here Iryeon signals the transition to a new source; what precedes is the biography from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (*T.* 2060, 50:523c1–524b4) – not translated here – which he quotes verbatim. For an English translation of that biography, see Pankaj N. Mohan, "Wŏn'gwang and Chajang in the Formation of Early Silla Buddhism," *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr.

Wongwang" in an old copy of the *Sui jeon* (*Tales of Marvels*)[2] that is in the possession of a retired village head[3] of the Eastern Capital [Gyeongju], Jeonghyo: "The master's secular surname was Seol,[4] and he hailed from the royal capital.[5] At first he became a monk and studied the Buddhadharma. When he was thirty,[6] the thought arose that he should live in tranquility to cultivate the Way. He lived alone in Samgisan,[7] but after four years a bhikṣu came along, and constructed a hermitage[8] not far from where Wongwang was living. He lived there for two years; he was very fierce and liked to practice the art of chanting spells. One night when the master was sitting

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(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 51–64.

2 Although this work has not survived, many fragments from it have been included in other works. For a good introduction to this work, see Frits Vos, "Tales of the Extraordinary: An Inquiry into the Contents, Nature, and Authorship of the *Sui chŏn*," *Korean Studies* 5 (1981): 1–25. See pp. 7–9 for a translation of Wongwang's biography. Vos concludes that the most likely author of this work is Pak Inryang 朴寅亮 (d. 1096) but that at least one alternate edition (*ibon* 異本) by Kim Cheokmyeong 金陟明 (d.u.) circulated.

3 *Anil hojang* 安逸戶長: in 998, King Mokjong decreed that village heads (who belonged to the class of local functionaries known as *hyangni*) could retire at the age of 70, and would then be given this title as well as income land. It is not clear whether Hyojeong had been village head of a locality near Gyeongju or had simply retired there.

4 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060.50.523c1), it was Bak; there is no way to determine which is correct, as Iryeon laments in his conclusion to this biography.

5 I.e. Gyeongju, the capital of Silla. During the Goryeo period, it was also known as the Eastern Capital.

6 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060.50.523c5), he left his home country to study in China at the age of twenty-five. In this account, he had studied Confucian and Daoist works in Silla, and turned to Buddhism only after hearing a lecture at Zhuangyansi near Nanjing. While he may certainly have studied non-Buddhist works, it is much more likely that he was already ordained when leaving for China.

7 Samgisan is located about 10 km north of Gyeongju, in Angang-eup, Wolseong-gun. The temple traditionally associated with this site is Geumgoksa. See Jeong Yeongho, "Wongwang beopsa wa Samgisan Geumgoksa," *Sachong* 17–18 (1973): 195–214.

8 *Nanya* 蘭若: short for *Aranya* 阿蘭若, Skt. *āraṇya*, a place of religious practice, a temple. Since it is a dwelling for one monk only, it seems better to translate it as hermitage.

alone intoning sūtras, a spirit's voice suddenly called his name: 'Excellent! Excellent! When it comes to your practice, master, although there are many practitioners, very few compare to you. Now I see that your neighbor is someone who deviates by cultivating the art of spells, without achieving anything. The noise he produces disturbs others, who silently read. His dwelling obstructs my path, so that every time I pass by, I nearly explode in anger. Master, could you speak to him on my behalf, and persuade him to move? If he remains here for a long time, I'm afraid I might suddenly commit an evil deed.'

The next day the master went to him and said: 'Yesterday night I heard the voice of a spirit, who said that you, bhikṣu, should move to another place; otherwise the retribution will be calamitous.'

The bhikṣu said: 'Now it has gone so far that a practitioner was deceived by a ghost. Master, why do you worry about the words of a fox-spirit?'

That night the spirit came again and asked, 'Please inform me of what happened – what did the bhikṣu reply?'

The master feared the spirit's wrath, and replied: 'After all I couldn't manage to explain it, but if I use strong words, how would he dare not to listen?'

The spirit said: 'I already heard everything. Master, why do you need to make excuses? Just watch in silence what I shall do.'

Then he said goodbye and left. In the night there was a sound like the reverberation of thunder. The next day, he saw that the mountain had collapsed on the bhikṣu's hermitage. The spirit appeared and said: 'Now master you have seen it. What do you think?'

The master said, 'I saw something that filled me with dread.'

The spirit said, 'My age is nearly 3,000 years, and my divine powers are at their peak. This is only a small affair, nothing to be afraid of. But as for the affairs of the future, there is nothing I do not know; as for the affairs of the under-Heaven, there is nothing I cannot achieve. Now when I consider you, master, you are living alone in this place: although your practice is beneficial for yourself, it lacks the merit of benefiting others. If you do not spread your excellent reputation now, you will not be able to reap good results in the

future. Therefore you should obtain the Buddhadharma in China, so as to be able to guide the deluded masses here on the eastern sea coast.'

Wongwang replied, 'Learning the Way in China, this is what I originally wanted to do, but it is a long journey full of danger, and I cannot accomplish it by myself.'

The spirit then gave him detailed instructions on how to travel to China, and following his advice, the master managed to go there. He stayed for eleven years, mastering the whole of the tripitaka, while also learning Confucian teachings.[9]"

東京安逸戶長貞孝家, 在古本殊異傳, 載圓光法師傳曰.
法師俗姓薛氏, 王京人也. 初爲僧學佛法, 年三十歲, 思靜居修道, 獨居三岐山. 後四年有一比丘來, 所居不遠, 別作蘭若, 居二年, 爲人强猛好修呪術. 法師夜獨坐誦經, 忽有神聲呼其名. "善哉善哉, 汝之修行. 凡修者雖衆, 如法者稀有. 今見隣有比丘, 徑修呪術而無所得, 喧聲惱他靜念. 住處礙我行路, 每有去來幾發惡心. 法師爲我語告, 而使移遷. 若久住者, 恐我忽作罪業". 明日法師往而告曰, "吾於昨夜有聽神言, 比丘可移別處, 不然應有餘殃." 比丘對曰, "至行者爲魔所眩, 法師何憂狐鬼之言乎?" 其夜神又來曰, "向我告事, 比丘有何答乎?" 法師恐神瞋怒而對曰, "終未了說, 若强語者, 何敢不聽?" 神曰, "吾已具聞, 法師何須補說? 但可黙然見我所爲." 遂辭而去. 夜中有聲如雷震, 明日視之, 山頹塡比丘

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9 The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* contains a detailed account of his activities in China. According to this work, at the age of twenty-five he travelled to Jinling (modern Nanjing), which was then the capital of the Chen dynasty (557–589). Listening to lectures at the local Zhuangyansi, he petitioned the Chen emperor for permission to ordain. Thereupon he studied many texts, the *Tattvasiddhi śāstra* (*Chengshi lun*, T 1646.32) and *Nirvāṇa sūtra* in particular. Some time later, he travelled to Mt Huqiu near Suzhou and undertook to attain the highest stage of concentration (*samādhi*) as described in the *Āgama sūtras*. After succeeding, he embarked on a successful proselytizing tour, which was cut short by the invasion of Sui troops in their conquest of Chen; facing execution, he miraculously escaped, and now further cemented his reputation in the Sui capital Chang'an (modern Xi'an); after his arrival there in 589, he wrote a eulogy on the newly translated *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra*. The major discordance with Korean sources is the fact that the *Samguk sagi* gives the date of his arrival in China as 589; although the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* gives no date for Wongwang's journey to China, all the events described before his travel to the Sui capital in 589 must have taken at the very least a couple of years.

所在蘭若. 亦來曰, "師見如何?" 法師對曰, "見甚驚懼." 神曰, "我歲幾於三千年, 神術最壯. 此是小事, 何足爲驚. 但復將來之事, 無所不知, 天下之事, 無所不達. 今思, 法師唯居此處, 雖有自利之行, 而無利他之功, 現在不揚高名, 未來不取勝果. 盍採佛法於中國, 導群迷於東海?" 對曰, "學道中國是本所願, 海陸迥阻, 不能自通而已." 神詳誘歸中國所行之計. 法師依其言歸中國, 留十一年, 博通三藏兼學儒術.

In the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong, 600 (according to the *Samguksa*, it is the following year, 601)[10] the master wanted to put his plans into practice and return to the east.[11] Then he returned to his country with the envoys who had been on a tribute mission to China. The master wanted to thank the spirit, and went to the temple on Samgisan where he used to live. At night the spirit came there and called his name, saying 'how was your journey over the seas and land?'

He replied, 'Thanks to your profound grace, spirit, I arrived safely.'

The spirit said, 'Now that I have received the precepts from you, master,[12] it is like making a pledge to save each other over the course of many lives.'

[The master] again requested, 'Would it be possible for me to see your true form?'

The spirit said, 'Master, if you wish to see my form, you should watch the eastern horizon on a calm dawn.'

The next day the master watched this, and saw a big arm piercing the clouds and reaching to the horizon. That night the spirit came again, asking, 'Master, did you see my arm?'

He replied, 'Yes, I saw it, it was very strange and extraordinary'

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10 This interlinear note seems to be referring not to the *Samguk sagi* composed by Gim Busik but to the old "History of the Three Kingdoms" on which Gim Busik based himself. At any rate, in the *Samguk sagi*, the same year is given, namely the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong, the *gyeongsin* year. See *Samguk sagi* 4, *Silla bongi*, "Jinpyeong wang."

11 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* he was summoned back by the king of his country.

12 Although the original woodblock print has *sin* 神 "spirit" rather than *sa* 師 "master," judging from the context, this appears to be a misprint, as "master" is the only logical option.

(*Because of this, [the place] is commonly known as Bijangsan (Long-arm mountain*).[13] The spirit [then] said, 'Even though I have this body, I cannot escape the danger of impermanence. Therefore, on such-and-such a month and day, I shall shed this body on the mountain pass. Master, please come and bid farewell to my soul on the way to external extinction.'

On the agreed date, Wongwang went there and saw an old fox that was as black as lacquer. It was gasping for breath but couldn't breathe. Then suddenly it died.

When the master first returned from China, the ruler and ministers of this country respected him as their master. Often he lectured on the Mahāyāna sūtras. At that time Go[gu]ryeo and Baekje frequently invaded the border cities [of Silla]. The king was greatly worried by this, and wanted to request troops from Sui (*this should be Tang*).[14] He requested the master to draft the petition appealing for military assistance. When the emperor saw it, he personally led 300,000 men to attack Go[gu]ryeo.[15] From this, everyone knew that the master had completely penetrated the Confucian arts.

At the age of eighty-four[16] he entered final nirvāṇa. He was buried west

13 This could correspond to a long mountain ridge stretching from Geumgoksan to Mureungsan.

14 This note is clearly mistaken. The last major Sui offensive against Goguryeo took place in 612, but the first Tang invasion only in 645, after Wongwang's death. Also, the *Samguk sagi* clearly dates this request to 608. See *Samguk sagi* 4, "Silla bongi," Jinpyeong wang. Since Iryeon was very familiar with the *Samguk sagi* and is generally fastidious about details, the notes appear to be those appearing in the original *Sui jeon* rather than added by Iryeon.

15 Besides noting that the Silla king ordered him to write this petition, the *Samguk sagi* also adds Wongwang's response: "Seeking one's own existence and the destruction of others, this is not the conduct of a monk. [But] this poor monk lives on the great king's land, and consumes the great king's water and plants, how can I not follow this order?" However, it is only three years later, in 611, that an envoy was actually sent to Sui, where Emperor Yang agreed to send troops. Five years later, in 613, Wongwang chanted the Humane Kings Sūtra (*Inwanggyeong*, T 245, 246.8) for a visiting Sui envoy during a Hundred Seat assembly at Hwangnyongsa. See *Samguk sagi* 4, "Silla bongi," Jinpyeong wang. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* also notes that important state letters were drafted by Wongwang, but does not mention a petition for military assistance.

16 According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, he died aged 99 in 630. However, the same source claims that this corresponds to the 58th year of Geonbok, a Silla era name, which would correspond to

of Myeonghwal fortress."[17]

> 眞平王二十二年庚申,<三國史云明年辛酉來> 師將理策東還, 乃隨中國朝聘使還國. 法師欲謝神, 至前住三岐山寺, 夜中神亦來. 呼其名曰, "海陸途間 往還如何." 對曰, "蒙神鴻恩 平安到訖." 神曰, "吾亦授戒於神, 仍結生生相濟之約." 又請曰, "神之眞容, 可得見耶?" 神曰, "法師若欲見我形, 平旦可望東天之際." 法師明日望之, 有大臂貫雲 接於天際. 其夜神亦來曰, "法師見我臂耶?" 對曰, "見已甚奇絶異." <因此俗號臂長山.> 神曰, "雖有此身, 不免無常之害. 故吾無月日捨身其嶺, 法師來送長逝之魂." 待約日往看, 有一老狐黑如漆, 但吸吸無息, 俄然而死.
>
> 法師始自中國來, 本朝君臣敬重爲師. 常講大乘經典. 此時, 高麗百濟常侵邊鄙, 王甚患之, 欲請兵於隋<宜作唐>, 請法師作乞兵表. 皇帝見, 以三十萬兵 親征高麗. 自此知法師旁通儒術也. 享年八十四入寂, 葬明活城西.

The biographies section of the *Samguk sagi* furthermore states:[18] "As for the worthy Gwisan, he was a man of the Saryang-bu district.[19] As his friend he had Chuhyang, who came from the same district. The two men said to each other: 'If we expect to roam together with other sires and lords, without first straightening our mind and disciplining our body it will be hard to avoid provoking something disgraceful.' Thus they decided to find a sage and ask him about the Way. At that time they heard that Master Wongwang

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641 – if the Geonbok era had not ended in 631. These are the only dates available for the year he died – combined with the age at death of either 84 or 99, this means his life span was 532~60 – 631~41. Given the fact that he was said to be either 25 (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*) or around 36 (*Sui jeon*) when he went to China, a date of birth after 550 would seem more likely.

17 The quotation from the *Suijeon* biography appears to end here. Myeonghwal sanseong is a fortress just north of Gyeongju. This direction also corresponds roughly to Samgisan, which may therefore have been his last resting place.

18 Gwisan's biography, together with most of the information that follows, can be found in fascicle 45 of the *Samguk sagi*: see Yi Byeong-do, *Samguk sagi* (Euryu munhwasa, 1990), 2: 347. Iryeon has rephrased here and there and left out some phrases.

19 One of the six clans – although the name also seems to correspond to a section of the city – said to have been at the origin of Gyeongju.

had returned from Sui, and was residing at Gaseulgap (*some sources give Gaseo or* Gacheon*; these are all dialect pronunciations. The character* gap [*cape, promontory, mountain*] *is read as* gos *in the vernacular, and therefore some sources give either* Gossa *or Gapsa. About 9,000 paces east of present-day Unmunsa is* Gaseo-hyeon, *also known as* Gaseul-hyeon. *In the northern ward of this district there are the remains of an old temple; this is it*).[20] The two men went to his door, entered and said to him: 'Secular people [like us] act wantonly and are ignorant, we don't know anything. [Therefore] we wish that you would give us a word of advice that can be our admonition for life.'

Wongwang said, 'In Buddhism there are the bodhisattva precepts, ten in particular.[21] But since both of you are officials and sons, I'm afraid they are not suitable to you. Now, [I will give you instead] the five secular precepts, being: 1. serve your ruler with loyalty; 2. serve your parents with filial piety; 3. engage your friends in a spirit of trust; 4. do not retreat in the face of battle; 5. be selective in taking life. You should practice these without neglecting [any of them].'

Gwisan and his friend then asked, 'As for the other ones, I will receive them as you ordered; but what you called 'being selective in taking life,' this one is especially not clear.'

Wongwang said, 'Not killing on the six *poṣadha* days[22] and in the spring

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20 Iryeon is here explaining the Korean gloss on a Chinese character. He seems to be saying that the Chinese character *jia* 岬 is often read as a glossogram, i.e. it is read as the corresponding Korean word of the same meaning. This has to be standardized as *gos* 古尸, but many people use the dialectic variant *gaseo/gaseul/gacheon*; all these seem to have been pronounced very similarly. See Werner Sasse, "*si* as a Phonogram in Early Korean Writing," *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, ed. The Linguistic Society of Korea (Seoul: Hanshin Publishing, 1982), p. 713; although many scholars reconstruct this term as *gol* (as in the modern Korean word meaning 'place'), Sasse argues for the reading *gos*. To make matters more complicated, *Samguk sagi* actually refers to this temple as Gachwisa. Its modern location is not clear, but must be in the eastern part of Cheongdo county.

21 This refers to the ten major precepts; there are also forty-eight minor precepts. They are described in the *Fanwang jing* (*Brahmajāla sūtra*, T 1484.24), one of the most influential books for Mahāyāna precepts in East Asia.

22 Lit. fasting days *jaeil* 齋日; based on an ancient Indian custom which was adopted into Buddhism,

and summer, this is being selective about the time. Not killing domestic animals, such as horses, oxen, chickens and dogs, and not killing small animals, whose meat does not suffice for a single slice of meat, this is being selective about the creatures – its main purpose is simply not to seek many killings. These are the good secular precepts.'

Gwisan and his friend said, 'From now on, in all our dealings with other people we will uphold these, and will not dare to be remiss.'

Later the two men joined the army in battle and distinguished themselves with rare merit for the country.[23]

Also, in the thirtieth year of Geonbok, 613 (this is the thirty-fifth year of King Jinpyeong's reign), the Sui envoy Wang Shiyi came to Hwangnyongsa.[24] A Hundred-seat assembly was arranged, and eminent and virtuous [monks] were invited to expound the [Humane Kings] sūtra;[25] among these, Wongwang occupied the foremost seat.[26]"

又三國史列傳云. 賢士貴山者, 沙梁部人也. 與同里箒項爲友. 二人相謂曰, "我等期, 與士君子遊, 而不先正心持身, 則恐不免於招辱. 盍問道於賢者之側乎." 時聞圓光法師入隋回, 寓止嘉瑟岬<或作加西 又嘉栖 皆方言也. 岬 俗云古尸 故或

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lay believers observed eight precepts, abstained from meat and fasted after noon on the first, eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third and thirtieth day of each month, while monks read their regulations and confessed sins to each other. It was believed that on such days the gods inspected one's behavior.

23 They died in the battle for Ama-seong (Unbong) in 602. *Samguk sagi* 4, 1: 76.

24 Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺: the temple derives its name (temple of the august dragon) from its foundation legend: when King Jinheung wanted to build a palace east of Wolseong fortress in the capital (modern Gyeongju), a yellow dragon emerged, prompting the king to change his plans and build a temple instead. It was completed in 569, and furthermore a large bronze Buddha statue was cast in 574, a main worship hall was added in 584, and its famous nine-story pagoda was constructed in 645. See the *Samguk yusa* ch. 4 "Stūpas and Statues," sections 4–5 to 4–7 for stories related to the temple's early history.

25 *Baekjwa doryang* 百座道場: The hundred-seat assembly is a ritual described in the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (*Humane Kings Sūtra*), in which hundred eminent monks are invited to lecture on the sūtra and thereby ward off calamities.

26 See *Samguk sagi*, *gwon* 4, 1: 77.

云古尸寺 猶言岬寺也. 今雲門寺東九千步許 有加西峴, 或云嘉瑟峴. 峴之北洞有寺基, 是也.>. 二人詣門進告曰, "俗士顓蒙, 無所知識, 願賜一言, 以爲終身之誠." 光曰, "佛教有菩薩戒, 其別有十. 若等爲人臣子, 恐不能堪. 今有世俗五戒, 一曰 事君以忠, 二曰 事親以孝, 三曰 交友有信, 四曰 臨戰無退, 五曰 殺生有擇. 若等行之無忽. 貴山等曰, "他則既受命矣. 所謂殺生有擇, 特未曉也." 光曰 "六齋日春夏月不殺, 是擇時也. 不殺使畜, 謂馬牛雞犬, 不殺細物, 謂肉不足一臠, 是擇物也. 此亦唯其所用, 不求多殺. 此是世俗之善戒也." 貴山等曰, "自今以後, 奉以周旋, 不敢失墜. 後二人從軍事, 皆有奇功於國家.

又建福三十年癸酉<卽眞平王卽位三十五年也> 秋, 隋使王世儀至, 於皇龍寺設百座道場, 請諸高德說經, 光最居上首.

Comments: Since Wonjong [King Beopheung, r. 514–540], by making the dharma flourish, first provided a bridge for salvation, there has not yet been time [to understand] the profundity [of the teaching]. It was thus time to enlighten the deluded by finding recourse in the rules and extinguishing and repenting [sins]. Therefore, Wongwang established an endowment for divination [*Jeomchal bo*][27] in order to reveal the constant law [of karma], at the temple where he lived, Gaseogap. Then there was a bhikkhuni benefactor who donated land for the endowment. These are the hundred *gyeol* of farmland in Dongpyeong-gun of which the old ledgers exist.[28]

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27 The name of the endowment seems inspired by the *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經 (T 839.17), and was therefore likely intended to facilitate the practice advocated by this sūtra, i.e., the repentance of sins followed by a divination of one's karma, with the ultimate aim of purifying one's mind to make it receptive for the Buddhist faith, specifically the taking of the precepts. The scripture seems to have emerged in China between ca. 550 and 590, so that Wongwang may well have been the first to introduce it to Silla. See Whalen Lai, "The *Chan-ch'a ching*: Religion and Magic in Medieval China," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 175–206. The same divination practice is mentioned in the biographies of Jinpyo and Simji – see below.

28 It is not certain where Iryeon has gathered this information; as this is the beginning of his personal comments on the sources, it is strange that he introduces this new information somewhat casually. It is possible that he simply had access to the ledgers he refers to. Dongpyeong district is located within the present-day Busan city limits.

By nature, Wongwang favored emptiness and quietude; when speaking he frequently smiled, and his appearance never showed any trace of anger. When he was already well advanced in age, he rode a carriage into the palace.[29] Among all the accomplished men at that time, none could compare with him in terms of virtue and righteousness; the freshness of his literary style flowed from his complete mastery of all details. He died during the Zhenguan era [627–649], aged more than eighty; his stūpa was placed at Geumgoksa, Samgisan. (*now in the southwestern ward of Angang, which is also to the west of Myeonghwal*).[30]

According to the Chinese biography, he expired at Hwangnyungsa. I am not sure about the location of this temple, but surmise that it may be a mistake for Hwangnyongsa,[31] just as in the case of referring to Bunhwang[sa] as Wangbunsa.[32] Relying on the texts of the Chinese and the Korean biographies quoted above, with his surname being given as Bak and Seol respectively, together with the different versions of his ordination, it is as if there were two different people! I would not presume to judge [which is right and which is wrong] and have therefore decided to keep both as they are. But in that biography, there is no mention of the events

29 These two sentences are derived from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* biography. It should be kept in mind that in the *Samguk yusa*, this section on Wongwang starts with a quotation of the complete biography from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, which, as explained in the introduction to this section, has not been translated here. This "comments" section is therefore intended to compare and evaluate the Chinese and various Korean sources.

30 See note 7 for the location of Samgisan and Geumgoksa. No remains of a funerary stūpa have yet been found.

31 At the beginning of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* biography of Wongwang, Daoxuan writes that Wongwang hailed from "Hwangnyungsa" 皇隆寺, obviously a mistake for Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺. Here Iryeon is very circumspect; rather than saying explicitly it is a mistake, he suggests there may have been such a temple, but is unaware of it.

32 Again, this refers to a mistake by Daoxuan, but this time in the biography of Jajang. For the original reference, see T 2060.50.639c8. This mistake is again pointed out in the biography of Jajang, see below, section 6 in this chapter.

of Jakgap, Imok or Unmunsa.[33] Moreover, my fellow countryman Kim Cheokmyeong committed a grave error by embellishing his biography of Wongwang with hearsay from the streets. He even went as far as conflating the record about the temple founder Boyang of Unmunsa with the biography [of Wongwang].[34] Later, the author of the *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* [Gakhun] repeated this mistake.[35] Therefore the people of our times are very confused about Wongwang. To clarify the distinctions, I have not added or deleted a single character, but copied the texts of both biographies in full.

In the Chen [557–589] and Sui [581–618] eras, few were the Koreans who traversed the seas to search for the dharma; and if some managed to do this, they failed to have any major impact. But after Wongwang, those who followed in his footsteps to study in the west were very numerous. He can truly be called a path-breaker.

The eulogy says:
Traversing the seas, first to penetrate the clouds of Han
How many could come back to diffuse its clear fragrance?
The traces of his ancient exploits in blue hills can still be found
May the events at Geumgok and Gaseo be heard aloud

議曰 原宗興法已來, 津梁始置, 而未遑堂奧, 故宜以歸戒滅懺之法, 開曉愚迷, 故光於所住嘉栖岬, 置占察寶, 以爲恒規. 時有檀越尼, 納田於占察寶, 今東平郡

33 For these, see the next section, Boyang and the Pear Tree.

34 Gim Cheokmyeong is one of the authors of the *Suijeon* (see above, note 2). It will become clear in the following section why Iryeon takes issue with his work. It is likely that the biography of Wongwang from the *Sui jeon* quoted above is therefore not from the version by Gim Cheokmyeong, but by an earlier version authored by Bak Inryang (d. 1096).

35 The *Haedong goseung jeon* 海東高僧傳 (HBJ 1.89b–101c; T 2065.50.1015a22–1023a6) is attributed to the monk Gakhun and was written ca. 1215. This work also contains an extensive biography of Wongwang; unlike Iryeon, Gakhun did not quote his sources separately, but has simply forged them into a new story. We find there the same story of the spirit obviously derived from the *Suijeon*, but according to Iryeon, part of the story is derived from Boyang's biography and is mistakenly placed in Wongwang's biography. See the next section.

之田一百結 是也, 古籍猶存.

光性好虛靜, 言常含笑, 形無慍色. 年臘旣邁, 乘輿入內, 當時群彦, 德義攸屬, 無敢出其右者, 文藻之贍, 一隅所傾. 年八十餘, 卒於貞觀間, 浮圖在三岐山金谷寺.<今安康之西南洞也 亦明活之西也.>

唐傳云, 告寂皇隆寺, 未詳其地, 疑皇龍之訛也. 如芬皇作王芬寺之例也. 據如上唐鄕二傳之文, 但姓氏之朴薛, 出家之東西, 如二人焉, 不敢詳定. 故兩存之. 然彼諸傳記, 皆無鵲岬璃目與雲門之事. 而鄕人金陟明, 謬以街巷之說, 潤文作光師傳. 濫記雲門開山祖寶壤師之事迹, 合爲一傳. 後撰海東僧傳者. 承誤而錄之. 故時人多惑之. 因辨於此, 不加減一字. 載二傳之文詳矣. 陳隋之世, 海東人鮮有航海問道者. 設有, 猶未大振. 及光之後. 繼踵西學者憧憧焉. 光乃啓途矣.

陳隋之世, 海東人鮮有航海問道者, 設有, 猶未大振, 及光之後, 繼踵西學者, 憧憧焉, 光乃啓途矣.

讚曰 航海初穿漢地雲, 幾人來往挹清芬. 昔年蹤迹青山在, 金谷嘉西事可聞.

5-2.
Boyang and the Pear Tree[36] 寶壤梨木

Introduction:

The monk Boyang (fl. 943) is a very obscure figure, whose biography has essentially been salvaged by Iryeon; in fact, the only reason we know this monk existed is because Iryeon asserts he did. To convince us of this, he has gone to extraordinary lengths to find information about him, delving into various local archives to piece together his life story. The only source that he comes up with to actually name him is a kind of cadastral survey of Cheongdo county dated 943; this identifies Boyang as the head monk of Unmunsa at the time. The other documents that Iryeon quotes detail the landholdings of Unmunsa, which apparently include the remnants of older temples in its vicinity, such as those at Gaseul/Gaseo. Then he shifts the narrative to the more legendary account of Boyang's return from China, which he claims had been wrongly included in Wongwang's biography by authors such as Gim Cheokmyeong and Gakhun. In fact, Iryeon claims, Boyang merely restored Wongwang's old temple at Gaseul/Gaseo. Because of his miraculous assistance to the new Goryeo dynasty, its founder, King Taejo, rewarded Boyang by recognizing the landholdings and renaming the temple (actually the merger of various smaller temples) Unmunsa. It is of course possible that Iryeon, who at one point during his career had been abbot of Unmunsa, had detailed knowledge about Boyang and was keen to set the record straight. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that he embellished the story of an obscure monk to add more substance to the historical claims of his own temple.

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36 Note that Pear Tree (*imok* 梨木) is homonymous with Imok 璃目, the son of the dragon who accompanied Boyang on his way back to Korea. Thus when Boyang is forced later in the story to reveal the whereabouts of Imok, he simply points to the Pear Tree (*imok*), which is punished instead of the dragon's son.

Annotated Translation:

The biography of the monk Boyang does not include any information on his natal village or genealogy; only the official records of Cheongdo prefecture[37] carry the following mention of his name:

"Eighth year of the Tianfu period [936–43], 943 (*this is the twenty-sixth year of Taejo's reign*), first month: Cheongdo prefecture survey of boundaries. The inspector[38] Sunyeong and *daenamal*[39] Sumun compiled an official report [which states that] the Seon temple of Unmunsan[40] has longevity [poles] to the south at Ani-jeom,[41] to the east at Gaseo-hyeon[42] (etc.) Chief of its three principal officers is the monk Boyang; the prior is the elder Hyeonhoe; and the verger is the senior monk Hyeonu; the steward for the year is the Seon master Sinwon."[43] (*The above document is from the municipal land ledgers in*

37 This locality still carries the same name; it is located southeast of Daegu in North Gyeongsang province, on the border with South Gyeongsang province.

38 *Isimsa* 里審使: probably an official land surveyor.

39 *Daenaeamal* 大奈末: also *daenama* 大奈麻, the tenth rank in Silla's seventeen-rank office system. As this document dates to after the end of Silla (935), here it may either denote a person who had received this rank during the Silla period, or simply be a general title for a local notable.

40 Lit. the meditation temple at Mt. Unmun; i.e., Unmunsa 雲門寺. Unmunsa is today a flourishing nunnery to the east of Cheongdo-gun.

41 *Jeom* 岾 could mean either a pass, a temple or any other locality. It is likely cognate with *hyeon* (see next footnote). For "longevity poles," see note 45, below.

42 *Hyeon* 峴, probably cognate with *hyeon* 縣, county. What localities Ani-jeom and Gaseo-hyeon now correspond to is not clear.

43 Here we find the names of the temple's four main officers. Though originally there were thought to have been three (hence the name "three principals," *samgang* 三綱), in practice there were many more functions. It is customary in sources of this period to see four officers, though their exact functions vary somewhat. After 975 they disappear from the sources, as the abbot (*juji* 住持) became the centrally appointed figurehead of the monastery. What exactly the difference between chief (*saju*) and prior (*wonju* 院主) was is not clear; the first may have been the effective leader (lit. "owner") of the temple, the second more of a figurehead, similar to the abbot. The verger (here *jeongjwa* 貞座 rather than the standard *jeonjwa* 典座, lit. "one who arranges the seats") was in charge of dividing the various daily duties, while the steward for the year (*jikse* 直歲) was in charge of assets, mainly

Cheongdo Prefecture).

Furthermore, in the third year of Kaiyun [946],[44] an official document for the Longevity Poles[45] at the Seon temple of Unmunsan states the following: "There are eleven Longevity Poles: [to the south] at Ani-jeom, [to the east] at Gaseo-hyeon and Mu-hyeon, to the west at Bungmae-hyeon [one source says Myeonji-chon], to the north at Jeojok-myeon."

Also, in the *gyeongin* year [1230] the Jinyang estate[46] gave written instructions to the inspecting commissioners of the five circuits[47] to establish for the first time detailed reports[48] on the Seon and Gyo temples of each circuit. When the time came to investigate and compile the report, they sent as commissioner the recorder (jangseogi) of the Eastern Capital [i.e.,

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the rent of landholdings. Besides these functions, it is also interesting to note that all four monks are identified with different titles, such as elder (*jangno* 長老), senior monk (*sangjwa* 上座, the first seat, usually reserved for the most senior monk, i.e. who has been ordained the longest), and Seon master. These are likely a reflection of their religious – rather than administrative – positions.

44 The original text has the cyclical year *byeongjin*, which corresponds to 956; this is likely a mistake for *byeongo*, which corresponds to 946, the third year of Kaiyun.

45 *Jangsaeng-pyo* 長生標; literally "Longevity Poles," probably border markers for the monastic land. Cf. the *changsheng ku* 長生庫 ("longevity stores") in China, granaries established by monasteries to reap dividends on capital. The name could therefore be interpreted as "inexhaustible" (another name for such storehouses was "inexhaustible treasuries" (Ch. *Wujin zang* 無盡藏), as they "eternally produce" interest. A surviving Longevity Pole from the Goryeo period can still be found near Tongdosa.

46 Jinyang-bu 晉陽府: an office established by the military ruler Choe I (also Choe U, d. 1249) in 1205. As a fief established in the Jinju area, it was both a stipend village (*sigeup*) and a part of the Choe military government.

47 *Odo anchalsa* 五道按察使: inspecting commissioners were entrusted by the king with powers to evaluate local officials (military and civilian), suppress rebellions, inspect the state of agriculture and organize relief efforts in times of distress. The five circuits are the main regional subdivisions of the Goryeo kingdom, the precursors of the "eight provinces" that still form the backbone of the current administrative division of the country.

48 *Hyeongji* 形止: a term used for a detailed account of a situation, as in *hyeongji gi* 形止記, the report containing such an account.

Gyeongju] Yi Seon. His investigation record contains a *bibogi*[49] from the old archives of the county, dated in the ninth month of the sixth year of the Zhengfeng era (*this is an era name of the Jin dynasty, corresponding for our dynasty to the sixteenth year of* Uijong),[50] [that records] "in accordance with information from an old person in the household of former vice-head of Cheongdogun, *eomo buwi*[51] Yi Chikjeong; records of vulgar transmissions; statements by the retired supreme headman Gim Yangsin; the retired headman Min Yuk; the headman and official without post Yun Eung, the former hostage[52] Jingi, and others; and the supreme headman of the time, Yongseong. At this time the supreme prefect [under whose jurisdiction Cheongdo belongs] is Yi Saro; headman Yangsin is 89 years of age, and the others all more than seventy, [except] Yongseong, who is more than sixty (*and so on; the rest I have not followed*).

釋寶壤傳, 不載鄉井氏族.

謹按清道郡司籍載, "天福八年癸酉<太祖卽位第二十六年也> 正月日, 清道郡界

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49 Literally a "Record of Assistance and Completion;" this refers to the political and geomantic assistance that temples were thought to provide. This marks the first occurrence of the term *bibo*, usually understood as "remedying a geomantically deficient site," in Korean history.

50 In the Goryeo system of counting the reign years, which includes the year of enthronement, the sixteenth year of Uijong would correspond to 1161; in the system adopted by the Joseon dynasty, it would correspond to 1162; thus the correct date is 1161. There is in fact no Zhengfeng 正豊 reign title for the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), so this should likely be Zhenglong 正隆 (1156–1161); probably because of a taboo over the character *long* (K. *yung*), the personal name of Taejo Wang Geon's father, it was replaced by *feng* in the document. However, in other instances, notably the spelling of Hwangnyongsa as Hwangnyungsa (see above, and also further in this biography), Iryeon does not seem to observe this taboo, so that it may be an instance of the selective application of the taboo rules towards a state that was deemed inferior – when used in a Tang source, for example, it did not pose a problem for Iryeon.

51 *Eomo buwi* 禦侮副尉: In an attempt to integrate local functionaries (*hyangni*) into the central administration, they were given military rank titles; this corresponds to the 25th of 29 such ranks, or junior level eight.

52 *giin* 其人: a representative of a locality who resided in the capital; usually sons of *hyangni,* who performed services for the central administration but were primarily used as a kind of collateral to ensure the cooperation of local elites with the center.

里審使順英大乃末水文等柱貼公文, 雲門山禪院長生, 南阿尼岾, 東嘉西峴<云云>, 同藪三剛典主人寶壤和尙, 院主玄會長老, 貞座玄兩上座, 直歲信元禪師." <右公文 清道郡都田帳傳准.> 又開運三年丙午, 雲門山禪院長生標塔公文一道, "長生十一, 阿尼岾 · 嘉西峴 · 畝峴, 西北買峴<一作面知村.>, 北猪足門等." 又庚寅年 晋陽府貼. "五道按察使, 各道禪敎寺院始創年月形止, 審檢成籍時, 差使員東京掌書記李僐, 審檢記載, 正豊六年辛巳<大金年號, 本朝 毅宗卽位十六年也.> 九月 郡中古籍裨補記准, 清道郡前副戶長禦侮副尉李則禎戶在古人消息, 及諺傳記載, 致仕上戶長金亮辛 · 致仕戶長旻育 · 戶長同正尹應 · 前其人珍奇等, 與時上戶長用成等言語, 時太守李思老, 戶長亮辛年八十九, 餘輩皆七十已上, 用成年六十已上."<云云次不准>

Since the Silla period, among the temples in this district, below Jakgap there are [many] medium and small temples. In the confusion attending the demise of the Three Han, the five gap [temples] of Dae Jakgap, So Jakgap, Sobogap, Cheonmungap, and Gaseogap were all destroyed. The [remaining] pillars of the five temples were then all merged into Dae Jakgap.'"[53]

The patriarch Jisik (*who is called Boyang above*),[54] was on his way back from China where he received transmission in the dharma when the dragon of the Western Sea invited him to his palace to read scriptures. The dragon bestowed one gold brocade *kaṣāya*, and also presented him with his son Imok to follow and serve him. The dragon instructed him, "At this time the Three Kingdoms [Unified Silla, Later Baekje, Later Goguryeo] are in turmoil [because] there is as yet no ruler who has sought refuge in Buddhism. If you return with my son to your country and build a temple at Jakgap and reside there, you will be able to avoid the bandits; and in perhaps even less

53 I assume that the quote from the *Bibogi* ends here; but perhaps the account of Boyang that follows is also based on information from this record. It is not clear why Iryeon quotes so extensively from these documents; having been active in the region, he seems to be keen to establish the credentials of this place, especially the exact contributions of Wongwang and Boyang.

54 With this comment, Iryeon reveals that he regards Jisik 知識 as another name for Boyang. However, this is a rather strange name for a monk; as one edition (*ja*) has *chijik* 知職, perhaps it should read "The patriarch, having fulfilled his duty, was on his way back …"

than a few years, a wise dharma-protecting ruler will emerge to pacify the Three Kingdoms." After the dragon had finished speaking, [Boyang] bade farewell and returned. When he came to this neighborhood, suddenly an old monk appeared, calling himself Wongwang and holding a seal box.[55] He gave it [to Boyang] and disappeared (*since Wongwang had entered China at the end of the Chen dynasty, and returned east during the Kaihuang period* (*581-600*), *after which he resided at Gaseogap, and expired at Hwangnyungsa – if we count from then till the Qingtai period* (*934-935*), *it will be at least 300 years! Lamenting the fact that all the gap-temples had fallen in ruins, and rejoicing in their imminent restoration by Boyang, he therefore addressed himself to Boyang*).[56] Thereupon Master [Bo]yang, preparing to restore the ruined temples, climbed the northern pass to survey the site. In the courtyard stood a five-storey yellow stūpa, but when he came down to look for it, no trace could be found. Retracing his footsteps and looking down again, [he now perceived] a flock of magpies pecking at the earth. Then he remembered what the sea dragon had said about the "magpie pass" (Jakgap) and started to dig around. Effectively, [the earth was full of] countless remaining bricks [from a former temple construction]. He gathered them and piled them up, and when the stūpa was completed, no bricks remained, so he knew that they were the remains of an ancient temple. When he had finished the construction of the temple, he resided there. Because of these events, the temple was called Jakgapsa (Magpie-pass temple).

> 羅代已來, 當郡寺院, 鵲岬已下中小寺院, 三韓亂亡間, 大鵲岬·小鵲岬·所寶岬·天門岬·嘉西岬等五岬 皆亡壞, 五岬柱, 合在大鵲岬.
> 祖師知識<上文云寶壤> 大國傳法來還, 次西海中, 龍邀入宮中念經, 施金羅袈裟一領, 兼施一子璃目, 爲侍奉而追之. 囑曰, "于時三國擾動, 未有歸依佛法之君主, 若與吾子歸本國, 鵲岬創寺而居, 可以避賊. 抑亦不數年內, 必有護法賢君出, 定三國矣." 言訖, 相別而來還. 及至玆洞, 忽有老僧, 自稱圓光, 抱印櫃而出,

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[55] *Ingwe* 印櫃: perhaps a box containing the abbot's seal?

[56] In other words, though he had passed away three centuries ago, Wongwang made himself apparent to Boyang to legitimize his taking charge of Wongwang's ancient temple.

授之而沒.<按圓光 以陳末入中國, 開皇間東還, 住嘉西岬, 而沒於皇隆, 計至清泰之初, 無慮三百年矣. 今悲嘆諸岬皆廢, 而喜見壤來而將興, 故告之爾.> 於是壤師將興廢寺, 而登北嶺望之, 庭有五層黃塔. 下來尋之則無跡, 再陟望之, 有群鵲啄地. 乃思海龍鵲岬之言, 尋掘之, 果有遺塼無數. 聚而蘊崇之, 塔成而無遺塼, 知是前代伽藍墟也. 畢創寺而住焉, 因名鵲岬寺.

Soon after Taejo unified the Three Kingdoms, and when he heard that the master had established the cloister and was living there, he merged the lands of the five *gap*-temples into 500 *gyeol* and donated this to the temple. In the fourth year of Qingtai, (937),[57] he bestowed the official plaque that renamed the temple Unmun seonsa in honor of the numinous umbrage[58] of the *kaṣāya* [donated by the dragon].

Imok resided in the small pond on the side of the temple, and secretly furthered the spread of the dharma. Suddenly one year a great drought occurred, scorching the plants in the fields. [Bo]yang urged Imok to produce rain, until the whole area declared that [it had rained] enough. The Emperor of Heaven wanted to punish this transgression of duties.[59] Imok reported this emergency to the master, who hid him under his bed. Suddenly a heavenly messenger appeared in the courtyard, requesting that Imok be delivered. The master pointed at the Pear Tree[60] in front of the courtyard; [the messenger] struck it with lightning and ascended to heaven. The Pear Tree withered, but then the dragon [Imok] touched it and immediately it sprouted forth again (*one source says that the master chanted a spell and it revived*). In recent years the tree has fallen to the ground. Someone made door bolts [out of the wood] and placed them in the good dharma hall and the eating hall; they

57 This reign period of the Later Tang (923–936) had actually ended in 935.

58 *Unmun* means "cloud gate."

59 Lit. *buljik* 不職; could this be the reason why Boyang was also called 知職, the one who knew his duty?

60 Pear Tree (*imok* 梨木) is homonymous with Imok; thus Boyang fooled the messenger without having to lie.

carry inscriptions on the handles.

> 未幾太祖統一三國, 聞師至此創院而居, 乃合五岬田束五百結納寺. 以清泰四年丁酉, 賜額曰雲門禪寺, 以奉袈裟之靈蔭. 璃目常在寺側小潭, 陰騭法化. 忽一年亢旱, 田蔬焦槁. 壤勑璃目行雨, 一境告足. 天帝將誅不識, 璃目告急於師, 師藏於床下. 俄有天使到庭, 請出璃目, 師指庭前梨木, 乃震之而上天. 梨木萎摧, 龍撫之卽蘇.<云師呪之而生> 其木近年倒地, 有人作楗椎, 安置善法堂及食堂, 其椎柄有銘.

When the master first returned from Tang China, he resided at Bongseongsa in Chuhwa.[61] Then it so happened that Taejo went to subjugate the east, and arrived at the border of Cheongdo. The mountain brigands were all gathered in Dog fortress (established on a steep elevation facing a river – to vilify it nowadays in vulgar parlance the name has been changed to Dog fortress).[62] Haughtily they refused to conform. Taejo then went to the mountain, and asked the master for a convenient way of controlling them. The master answered, 'The dog is an animal that rules at night but not at day, that guards its front but not its back. Thus you should attack it during the day and from the north." Taejo followed this advice, and the bandits were effectively vanquished. Taejo praised this divine intervention, and granted annual grain rents from the neighboring counties for a total of fifty *seok* to ensure that the incense [for rituals] was lit. For this reason the temple enshrines the portrait of the two sages [Taejo and Boyang] and was named Bongseongsa [the temple where the sages are enshrined].[63] Later he moved to Jakgap and constructed a place to spend his last days there."

The master's "*Account of Conduct*" has not been included in any of the old

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61 Chuhwa: modern Miryang (South Gyeongsang province), the prefecture to the south of Cheongdo.

62 About seven *ri* east of the administrative center of Cheongdo district.

63 This temple, ostensibly located in Miryang, should not be confused with the temple of the same name in the Silla capital Gyeongju. No other information seems available on the Bongseongsa in Miryang.

biographies. According to oral traditions, he was a half-brother of Master Biheo 備虛 from Seokgul [temple][64] (another source has Biheo 毗盧). Bongseongsa, Seokgul and Unmun temples are peaks connected like [the teeth of] a comb, and the monks travelled around among these three temples.

Later people changed the [title of this record to] *Silla* [*Su*]*i jeon*, and went too far by recording the facts about magpie stūpa and Imok in the biography of Wongwang, while linking the events at Dog fortress with the biography of Biheo. What errors! Then the author of the *Haedong seungjeon*[65] used [these accounts] to embellish his prose. This meant that there was no biography of Boyang, so that later people had doubts [about his existence], how egregious is that!

> 初師入唐廻, 先止于推火之奉聖寺. 適太祖東征至清道境, 山賊嘯聚于犬城<有山岑臨水峭立, 今俗惡其名, 改云犬城.>, 驕傲不格. 太祖至于山下, 問師以易制之述, 師答曰, "夫犬之爲物, 司夜而不司晝, 守前而忘其後, 宜以晝擊其北." 太祖從之, 果敗降. 太祖嘉乃神謀, 歲給近縣租五十碩, 以供香火. 是以寺安二聖眞容, 因名奉聖寺. 後遷至鵲岬, 而大創終焉.
>
> 師之行狀, 古傳不載. 諺云, "與石崛備虛師<一作毗盧> 爲昆弟, 奉聖·石崛·雲門三寺, 連峯櫛比, 交相往還爾". 後人改作新羅異傳, 濫記鵲塔璃目之事于圓光傳中, 系犬城事於毗虛傳, 旣謬矣. 又作海東僧傳者, 從而潤文, 使寶壤無傳, 而疑誤後人, 誣妄幾何.

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64 Seokgul: the stone cave, i.e. Seokguram temple, on Mt. Toham southeast of Gyeongju.

65 I.e. the *Haedong goseung jeon*, authored by the monk Gakhun ca. 1215.

5-3.

Yangji Sets his Staff to Work 良志使錫

Introduction:

This is the biography of Yangji, the most famous artist of the Silla period. As described in the biography, he made the sixteen-foot Buddha statue, the statues of the Heavenly Kings, and the tiles for a brick pagoda at Yeongmyosa, the guardian deities for the stūpa at Sacheonwangsa, and the Buddha triad and Vajra-warrior statues at Beomninsa. He was a multi-talented artist, who modelled Buddha images in bricks for a pagoda, and whose calligraphy was good enough to adorn the name boards of Yeongmyosa and Beomninsa. Living during a time of cultural proliferation, increased sophistication of Buddhist thought, and rapid advances in the number of believers, he set a new standard for Buddhist art. However, rather than his artistic ability, the title of the biography emphasizes his supernatural talents: he is said to have made his staff seek alms from people's houses. Probably Iryeon starts with this story to emphasize that this supernatural ability also extended to his artworks. Yangji is also mentioned in chapter 4 of the *Samguk yusa* (stūpas and statues), under the section "The sixteen-foot statue of Yeongmyosa," but the present biography is more detailed.

Annotated Translation:

Nothing is known about Seok Yangji's ancestry or hometown. All we know is that he was active during the reign of Queen Seondeok (632–646).[66] A

[66] No other biographical details are available; however, since Sacheonwangsa was founded in 679, he must have been active well beyond the reign of Queen Seondeok. Art-historical evidence also suggests that works attributed to him date to the reigns of Munmu (661–681) and Sinmun (681–691). Excavations at the Jangseok temple mentioned in this biography also confirm this later dating of his


Statue of guardian deity found at the Sacheonwangsa temple site (Gyeongju National Museum)

cotton bag hung at the head of his monk's staff.[67] The staff could fly by itself to a donor's house, where it would shake and make a noise; the family then knew they had to contribute toward the expenses for rituals. When the bag was full, the staff flew back. Therefore his temple was called Seokjangsa, or Staff-temple.[68] The marvels that he produced were all as unfathomable as this.

Apart from this, he also mastered various crafts, in which his skills were without parallel. He was also very adept with brush and stylus. Among his sculptures are the sixteen-foot Buddha triad at Yeongmyo[sa],[69] as well as

activities: none of the objects found there date to before 668.

67 *Seokjang* 錫杖: a monk's staff (Skt. *khakkhara*), a long metal staff with six metal rings suspended from a finial at the top.

68 Located in Seokjang-dong, Gyeongju. In 1940 a stela known as the "oath inscription of the *imsin* year" (*Imsin seogiseok* 壬申誓記石) was found there. The site was excavated in 1985; nothing remains above ground at the temple today.

69 Gyeongju temple, said to have been one of the seven temple sites dating to the time of the previous Buddha. Founded during the reign of Queen Seondeok; its location is a matter of

Heavenly kings and tiles of halls and stūpas at the same temple; the eight guardian deities[70] in the lower part of the stūpa at Sacheonwangsa;[71] and the main Buddha triad and left and right vajra warriors[72] at Beomnimsa.[73] He also wrote the calligraphy for the name boards of Yeongmyosa and Beomnimsa. He also once made a small stūpa with carved bricks, at the same time making three thousand Buddhas.[74] He placed the stūpa with the 3,000 Buddhas in the temple to express his respect. As for making the sixteen-foot image for Yeongmyosa, he himself entered samādhi so as to obtain a correct image to reflect [in the sculpture], and then set about modelling it. Therefore all the city's gentlemen and ladies vied with each other in bringing clay. A dirge went:

They are coming, coming, coming,

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debate. The temple was used for memorial services to the Silla royals, and was a seat for monastic administration: a bureau of secular overseers was installed here (*Seongjeon sawon* 成典寺院).

70 *Palbu sinjang* 八部神將: an assembly of eight different deities from Indian mythology who act as guardians to the dharma.

71 Founded in 679, located on Nangsan, in Baeban-dong, Gyeongju. According to a legend recounted also in the *Samguk yusa*, it was founded under the instructions of Myeongnang to ward off a Tang invasion (See *Samguk yusa*, chapter 2, King Munho). Like Yeongmyosa, it was also used as a seat for monastic administration. The four heavenly kings (*Caturmahārājika-deva*) are the protectors of the four directions. Fragments of all four have been found at the site, and reconstructed by Kang Woo-bang (*Misul charyo*, 25: 1–46); they are thought to have been set in the walls of the two wooden pagodas (four in each, hence the reference to "eight guardian deities" here), now no longer extant (see Roger Goepper and Roderick Whitfield, *Treasures from Korea*, London: The British Museum, 1984, cat.124.)

72 金剛神, also 金剛力士 *geumgang ryeoksa*; refers to a pair of fierce guardian deities (*vajra-pāṇi-balin*) usually placed at the entrance of temples; they are characterized by their muscular appearance, and usually one is depicted with open mouth and the other with closed mouth. This may represent the uttering of the two magical syllables 'aum" and "hūṃ," or conversion to the faith and its defense.

73 Beomnimsa 法林寺 "temple of the dharma forest:" nothing further is known about its history and location.

74 To have been made in such numbers, the bricks are likely to have been made from a mould or moulds, not carved.The resulting decoration on the bricks was likely a Buddha image; hence the "three thousand Buddhas" refers to the images on the bricks.

Coming, oh how plentiful their sorrows!
Oh how plentiful their sorrows,
Thus they are coming to cultivate merit[75]

To this day the local people still sing this song when pounding [rice or earth], and it all started with this. The cost of finishing the images ran to 23,700 *seok* of grain (according to one source this is the tax allocated for the re-gilding of the images).

The commentary says:
The master is truly someone of accomplished talent and replete with virtue, but also someone with great magnanimity lurking behind technical skills.

The eulogy says:
The ceremony completed, the staff stands idle before the hall
Silently cloaked in the incense of the mallard brazier on the altar.
The reading of the sūtras completed, nothing more to do
In leisure he sculpted his perfect countenance, contemplated with folded hands

釋良志, 未詳祖考鄉邑. 唯現迹於善德王朝. 錫杖頭掛一布帒, 錫自飛至檀越家, 振拂而鳴. 戶知之納齋費, 帒滿則飛還. 故名其所住, 曰錫杖寺. 其神異莫測, 皆類此. 旁通雜藝, 神妙絕比. 又善筆札. 靈廟丈六三尊 天王像 幷殿塔之瓦, 天王寺塔下八部神將, 法林寺主佛三尊 左右金剛神等, 皆所塑也. 書靈廟 法林二寺額. 又嘗彫磚造一小塔, 竝造三千佛. 安其塔置於寺中, 致敬焉. 其塑靈廟之丈六也, 自入定, 以正受所對, 爲揉式. 故傾城士女爭運泥土. 風謠云, "來如 來如 來如 來如哀反多羅 哀反多矣徒良 功德修叱如良來如" 至今土人舂相役作, 皆用之, 蓋始于此. 像成之費, 入穀二萬三千七百碩.<或云改金時租> 議曰, 師可謂才全德充, 而以大方隱於末技者也.

讚曰 齋罷堂前錫杖閑, 靜裝爐鴨自焚檀. 殘經讀了無餘事, 聊塑圓容合掌看.

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75 This dirge is written in the same style as the *hyangga*, Korean poems written down with Chinese character puns; thus it is replete with characters used as phonograms, i.e. for their phonetic value only.

5-4.

The Masters who Sought Refuge in India 歸竺諸師

Introduction:

This section gathers the biographies of Korean monks who travelled to India in search of the law, but all the information is derived from Yijing's *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* (*Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Great Tang Empire who Went in Search of the Law in the Western Regions*).[76] However, Iryeon has summarized and paraphrased the information on Korean monks rather than quoting Yijing verbatim. In fact, Iryeon only gives the biography of Āryavarman, the other monks are mentioned by name only, without any biographical information. The *Haedong goseung jeon*, composed almost seventy years before *Samguk yusa*, not only copies all the information from Yijing's work, but even further embellishes it with additional material, probably fictitious. The contrast in treatment of the material on monks who traveled to the Indian subcontinent, reveals that Iryeon was interested more in conveying the hardship experienced by these monks rather than in recovering the details of their biographies.

Annotated Translation:

According to the *Biographies of Eminent Monks who went in Search of the Law*, contained in the *gwang* case [of the Tripitaka][77] Āryavarman (阿離那)

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[76] *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, T 2066.51.1a–12b, compiled by Yijing 義淨 between 689 and 691. Among the 56 monks whose biographies are given in this work, 8 were from the Korean peninsula. For a translation of this work, see Édouard Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894).

[77] Abbreviated title of the *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T 2066.51.1a–12b, see previous note. "The

(also Arinayavarman 阿離耶跋摩)[78] hailed from Silla. From the beginning he yearned for the true doctrine. Early in life he entered China, and then considered diligently [retracing] the sacred footsteps.[79] Plucking up his courage and honing his zeal, during the Zhengguan period (627–649) he left Chang'an and reached India.[80] He resided at the Nālandā temple,[81] and perused many parts of the Vinaya and śāstra sections of the Tripitaka, and copied them onto palm leaves.[82] He was troubled by homesickness, but his hopes were not realized, and suddenly he died in the temple,[83] aged more than seventy.

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gwang case" is a reference to the classification system of the Buddhist scriptures, *gwang* 廣 being the 467th character in the *Thousand Character Classic* (K. *Cheonja mun* 千字文).

78 Iryeon gives the alternative characters because both readings can be found in Yijing's work. This name has conventionally been interpreted as a transliteration of the Indian name Āryavarman. This was most likely the name he had been given in India: his original name seems to have been lost. Of the nine Korean monks mentioned, only for Hyeontae are both his original and his Indian names given (see below). A biography is also devoted to him in *Haedong goseung jeon*, but it is clear that the biographer (Gakhun) did not have any additional information. See Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks: The Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 89–98.

79 初希正教 早入中華 思勤聖蹤; compare Yijing's 追求正教 親禮聖蹤 "in pursuit of the true doctrine, he personally went on a pilgrimage to the sites where the holy ones had once trod" (T 2066.51.2b20); it is not clear whether Iryeon is (mis)quoting from memory or deliberately paraphrasing, but he sounds more stilted than the original.

80 Here identified as the "five Heavenly [countries]" 五天[竺].

81 Founded in the fifth century, it was India's most famous Buddhist university. It is located southwest of Patna in Bihar, near Rājagṛha, the ancient kingdom of the state of Magadha.

82 This is an addition by Iryeon: no mention is made of palm leaves in Yijing's biography.

83 Lit. *musang* 無常 "became subject to impermanence."

Following him there were Hyeeop,[84] Hyeontae, Gubon,[85] Hyeongak,[86] Hyeryun,[87] Hyeonyu,[88] as well as two anonymous monks. All devoted themselves wholly to the dharma, and died in India. Some perished on the way, some survived and lived in the monasteries there. In the end none managed to return to Silla and Tang. Only Hyeontae against the odds returned to Tang, but we do not know where he died.[89] The Indians referred to our country East of the Sea as Kukkuta yeseolla. Kukkuta means rooster, and yesseolla precious.[90] According to a tradition in their country, "their country venerates rooster spirits and singles them out for respect. Therefore they wear plumes as decoration."[91]

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84 According to Yijing, he went to India during the Zhenguan era and died there at the age of more than sixty under the bodhi tree (佛齒木樹下). Yijing claims to have seen his writings in Chinese, and that copies of his Indian works were kept at Nālandā. T 2066.51.2b26–c1.

85 Nothing further is known about him; Yijing lists him in a table of contents, but his biography has not been transmitted in any text of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks Who Went in Search of the Law.*

86 Travelled together with the Chinese monk Xuanzhao during the Zhengguan era. Apparently died soon after arrival. T 2066.51.2c7–9.

87 His Indian name was Prajñāvarman (般若跋摩; translated as Huijia 慧甲). According to Yijing, he too travelled together with Xuanzhao and ended up as abbot of a temple in Northeast India. T 2066.51.5a15–24.

88 Travelled to India as a disciple of Sengzhe. He is identified as someone from Goryeo [i.e., Goguryeo], but Yijing is not very precise when talking about the geo-politics of the Korean peninsula (see below). See T 2066.51.c16–17.

89 See T 2066.51.2c2–6: his Indian name is given as Saposhenro 薩婆愼若提婆, Sarvasrnadipa [?], translated as Yiqiezhitian 一切智天, "whose knowledge is all-encompassing like Heaven."

90 *Kukkuta* indeed refers to a cock, based on the onomatopeic *kukkut* (Monier-Williams); the reference is to the legend of the origin of the Silla kingdom, see section 4, footnotes 292 and 815. *Yeseolla* perhaps corresponds to the golden box in which the ancestor of the Gim clan was found.

91 Yijing provides this explanation as a gloss for Jigui 鷄貴, Āryavarman's country of origin. Iryeon has copied it almost verbatim, replacing only "[country] east of the sea" for "Goryeo." He seems to suggest a connection between the rooster legend and the ancient Korean custom of wearing feathers in the headdress. Yijing refers to Āryavarman as a Silla person; at his time, Silla had of course vanquished Goguryeo, which is perhaps the reason why he refers to all the Korean monks as "Silla people." Internal evidence such as this suggests however that some were Goguryeo monks. Most

The eulogy says:
India lies at the edge of Heaven, across myriad mountain ranges
How pitiable the traveller, who [exerts] his energy scaling them.
How many times the moon has seen off a lonely sail,
Yet not one cloud has followed the mast to return?

廣函求法高僧傳云, 釋阿離那<一作耶> 跋摩<一作磨> 新羅人也. 初希正教, 早入中華. 思覲聖蹤, 勇銳彌增, 以貞觀年中, 離長安, 到五天. 住那蘭陁寺, 多閱律論, 抄寫貝莢. 痛矣歸心, 所期不遂, 忽於寺中無常, 齡七十餘.

繼此有惠業·玄泰·求本·玄恪·惠輪·玄遊, 復有二亡名法師等. 皆忘身順法, 觀化中天, 而或夭於中途, 或生存住彼寺者, 竟未有能復雞貴與唐室者. 唯玄泰師, 克返歸唐, 亦莫知所終.

天竺人呼海東云 矩矩吒䃜說羅, 矩矩吒 言雞也, 䃜說羅 言貴也. 彼土相傳云, 其國敬雞神而取尊, 故戴翎羽而表飾也.

讚曰 天竺天遙萬疊山, 可憐遊士力登攀. 幾回月送孤帆去, 未見雲隨一杖還.

modern scholars take this as a reference to Silla, because it was known as Gyerim or "rooster grove." See T 2066.51.2cb23–25.

5-5.
Hyesuk and Hyegong Identify with the Realm of the Senses 二惠同塵

Introduction:

As the title indicates, the two monks Hyesuk and Hyegong were deeply involved with the ordinary, dust-filled world – both in the sense of the world of ordinary beings, and in the sense of embracing the sensory experiences of all the sense organs.[92] Although Wonhyo is better known than them for spreading the dharma to ordinary people and for transcending normal monastic and social conventions, in fact Hyesuk and Hyegong preceded him in this; indeed Hyegong is here represented as a senior to Wonhyo. The biographies clearly indicate that both came from ordinary backgrounds. After serving as a *hwarang*, Hyesuk did not hesitate to rebuke the unprincipled behavior of the *gukseon* (*chief hwarang*), someone from the higher echelons of society. Hyegong for his part is said to have been the son of the servant in the household of an aristocrat.

Though replete with miraculous actions and outrageous behavior, in every case it is eventually revealed that not all is what it seemed: for example, while Hyesuk appeared to have shared meat with the *gukseon* Gucham, it later turns out that the meat has not been touched. These episodes also offer a very interesting glimpse of attempts at instilling Buddhist teachings at a time (first half of seventh century) when the monks still appear subordinate to the indigenous *hwarang* tradition.

Annotated Translation:

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92 The Chinese word for dust *chen* 塵, which is used in the title, is also a translation of the Sanskrit term *guṇa,* meaning sense-organ.

Seok Hyesuk[93] unobtrusively served with the followers of the *hwarang* Hose,[94] but when Hose's name was struck off the Yellow scrolls,[95] the master also retired to Jeokseon-chon (*nowadays there is a* Jeokgok-chon *in* Angang-hyeon)[96] where he resided for more than twenty years.

Then the *gukseon*[97] lord Gucham[98] frequently went hunting in the outskirts [of Gyeongju]. One day Hyesuk came out to meet him on the road, and grabbing the reins of his horse said: "this foolish monk would like to join you. Can you grant permission?" The lord allowed him, and they galloped along to their hearts' content, without restraint rolling up their sleeves, they vied to be first. The lord was pleased, and when they had a rest asked Hyesuk to sit down. They roasted and boiled [the game they had shot] and offered it to each other. Hyesuk also sank his teeth into the meat without the least sign of unease. Then Hyesuk stepped up to the lord and said, "Now I have something which is even more succulent than this. May I offer it to you?" The lord said "yes," and Hyesuk then made someone cut off [a piece of] his thigh, and offered it on a plate; his clothes were dripping with blood. The lord was aghast and said: "How can this be justified?"

Hyesuk replied, "At first I thought that you, lord, were a humane person, whose feelings of mutual respect extended to all beings. That is why I

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93 According to his biography in the *Haedong goseung jeon*, Seok Hyesuk wanted to travel to China with the monk Anham in 600 AD, but was prevented from going. See Peter Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 83. He is also mentioned as one of the ten Silla sages enshrined at Heungnyunsa. See "The Ten Sages of the Golden Hall in Geumnyunsa in the Eastern Capital," in part 3, *gwon* 3, of *Samguk yusa*, "Propagating the Dharma."

94 Evidently active during the reign of King Jinpyeong (579–632). His name also appears in a stela from the Ulsan area (*Cheonjeon-ri seoseok* 川前里書石), but no further information can be found. See *Yeokju Hanguk godae geumseongmun*, 2: 172.

95 *Hwanggwon* 黃卷: a register with the names of the *hwarang*.

96 Perhaps corresponding to modern Jeokhwa-kok in Angang, near Gyeongju; the precise location of this village is however not known.

97 *Gukseon* 國仙 "national immortal," title given to a leader of a/the *hwarang* troupe.

98 Only appears in this source.

followed you. Now I discovered that what you actually like is to indulge in your passion for killing. All you do is harm others to sustain yourself. How can this be the conduct of a humane person or gentleman?[99] This is not something I want to follow."

Having thus spoken, he lifted his robes and left. The lord was startled, and noticed that on the plates he had eaten from, the fresh slices of meat had not disappeared.

He thought this very strange, and on his return reported it to the court. When King Jinpyeong (r. 579–632) heard about this, he sent an envoy to summon [Hyesuk] for a meeting. Hyesuk conjured up a [vision of] a woman lying in a bed and [of himself] sleeping there. The envoy was disgusted and returned; having gone seven or eight *ri*, he met the master on the road, and asked where he had come from. He replied, "From the house of a benefactor in the city, where I held a seven-day mass [for the deceased]. Now that it is finished I am on my way back." The envoy reported his words to the throne; someone was dispatched to the house of the benefactor to verify this, and it was found to be true.

Not long after this, Hyesuk suddenly died. The villagers put him on a bier and buried him to the east of Ear Pass.[100] (one source says "Whetstone Pass").[101] One of the villagers came from west of the pass, and met Hyesuk on the way. Asking him where he was going, Hyesuk replied "I have lived here for a long time. Now I want to travel to other places." Facing each other, they bowed and parted. Having walked about half a ri, he stepped on a cloud and disappeared. When the villager arrived to the east of the pass, he saw that the funeral party had not yet dispersed. He told everything about his encounter, and when they opened the tumulus to see, all they found was

99 *Inin kunja* 仁人君子: despite the Confucian terminology, "humaneness" is here interpreted in a Buddhist sense, as the injunction against taking life.

100 Ihyeon 耳峴 (Ear Pass): probably 馬耳峴 (Horse's Ear Pass), in the western part of Angang.

101 In another edition of SGYS this becomes "Brush Pass".

one straw shoe.[102] Today there is a temple north of Angang which is called Hyesuk[sa]. This is where he used to live. There is also a stūpa there.

釋惠宿 沉光於好世郎徒. 郎旣讓名黃卷, 師亦隱居赤善村<今安康縣有赤谷村> 二十餘年. 時國仙瞿 旵公, 嘗往其郊, 縱獵一日. 宿出於道左, 攬轡而請, 曰 "庸僧亦願隨從, 可乎?" 公許之. 於是縱橫馳突, 裸袒相先, 公旣悅. 及休勞坐, 數炮烹相餉, 宿亦與啖囓, 略無忤色. 旣而進於前曰, "今有美鮮於此, 益薦之何?" 公曰, "善." 宿屛人割其股, 寘盤以薦, 衣血淋漓. 公愕然曰, "何至此耶?" 宿曰, "始吾謂公仁人也, 能恕己通物也, 故從之爾. 今察公所好, 唯殺戮之耽篤, 害彼自養而已. 豈仁人君子之所爲? 非吾徒也." 遂拂衣而行. 公大慚, 視其所食, 盤中鮮胾不滅. 公甚異之, 歸奏於朝. 眞平王聞之, 遣使徵迎. 宿示臥婦床而寢, 中使陋焉, 返行七八里, 逢師於途. 問其所從來, 曰 "城中檀越家, 赴七日齋, 席罷而來矣." 中使以其語, 達於上. 又遣人, 檢檀越家, 其事亦實. 未幾宿忽死, 村人轝葬於耳峴<一作硎峴> 東. 其村人有自峴西來者, 逢宿於途中, 問其何往. 曰 "久居此地, 欲遊他方爾." 相揖而別, 行半許里, 躡雲而逝. 其人至峴東, 見葬者未散, 具說其由, 開塚視之, 唯芒鞋一隻而已. 今安康縣之北, 有寺名惠宿, 乃其所居云, 亦有浮圖焉.

Seok Hyegong was the son of a female servant in the household of Lord Cheonjin.[103] When he was a boy he was called Ujo (this is dialect).[104] The lord once was afflicted by a tumor and was on the brink of death. Those coming to pay their final respects filled the street. Ujo was then seven years old. He asked his mother, "What is going on in the house to attract so many guests?" His mother replied, "Our master has contracted a very serious illness and is about to die. How come you don't know this?" Ujo said "I can help him"

His mother was perplexed by these words and reported them to the lord,

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[102] This motif is derived from famous biographies such as those of Bodhidharma and Laozi, of whom also only one shoe was found in their grave.

[103] Otherwise unknown.

[104] Rather than a transliteration of a native Korean word, non-standard Chinese seems to be implied here. The characters could be translated as "helper of the distressed," which is perhaps what is intended here.

who had the boy called. When he came to the lord's bed, he did not speak a word, but in an instant the tumor burst open. The lord attributed this to chance and did not feel as if something uncanny had happened.

When he grew up, he raised a hawk for the lord, which greatly pleased him. Soon the lord's younger brother obtained a government post and had to leave for the provinces. He asked for the lord's choicest hawk and took it with him to the official residence. One evening the lord suddenly wished for his hawk, and resolved to send Ujo to fetch it the next morning. But Ujo already knew this, and at the crack of dawn presented it to him. The lord was greatly surprised by this, and only then realized the truth about how he had previously been saved from the tumor; these were all out of the ordinary. He then said [to Ujo], "I did not realize that a great sage had been entrusted to my house. I have insulted him with my reckless words and uncivilized behavior. How can I clear my sins? From now on, I wish that you become my instructor so that you can guide me." Then he prostrated.

His supernatural exploits thus manifested, [Ujo] then left household life and became a monk, changing his name to Hyegong. He usually stayed in a small temple, and frequently acted wildly in an inebriated state, dancing and singing in the streets with a woven basket on his back; he was therefore called the basket-carrying monk, and the temple where he lived was called Bugaesa, which means basket in our local parlance.[105] He always went into the temple well, and did not emerge from it for months on end. Therefore the well was given the name of the monk, [Hyegong-well]. Every time he emerged, there was a divine lad in azure clothes who first gushed out. Therefore the temple's monks knew when it was time to wait on him. When he did emerge, his clothes were not wet.

In his later years he moved to Hangsasa (*now Oeosa in Yeongil-hyeon*; *according to a saying, "outstanding people* [*as numerous*] *as sand grains from the*

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[105] *Bugwe* 負蕢, his name in Chinese characters, sounds almost identical to *bugae* 夫蓋, which according to Iryeon is a Korean word meaning "wicker basket." Clearly, by "vernacular," Iryeon does not only mean a "native Korean word" but also a local adaptation of a Chinese loanword. Jeju dialect still has the word *buge* 부게 for a kind of straw basket.

Ganges" [*have emerged here*], *hence the name of the area is Hangsa-dong*).[106] At the time Wonhyo was composing his commentaries on the sūtras. He always went to consult the master on passages where he doubted the meaning, but sometimes they would tease each other. One day the two gentlemen walked along a stream and caught fish and shrimps and ate them. [Wonhyo] then defecated on a stone, and the master pointed and said jokingly "you excreted my fish!" For this reason [Hyegong's] temple was called Oeosa [the temple of my fish]. Some people say that these were Wonhyo's words, but this is a fabrication. The locals usually refer to the stream [where this happened] mistakenly as Moui-cheon.[107]

Once Gucham, while roaming in the mountains, saw that the master had fallen down a mountain path and died. His corpse was bloated and the putrid flesh was crawling with maggots. He sighed and lamented for a long term before turning his horse back to the city. There he saw the master, very drunk, singing and dancing in the market. Another time he made a rope by twisting straw, and then went to Yeongmyosa, tying it so that it encircled the golden hall as well as surrounding buildings and the corridors to the south gate. Then he called one of the temple overseers, and said, "This rope should be removed after three days." The temple overseer was nonplussed, but followed his advice. Effectively, after three days Queen Seondeok drove into the temple. The demon Ji was consumed by fire in his heart, and it leapt out and burnt the stūpa.[108] Only the parts [of the monastery] that had been

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[106] Oeosa still exists; it is located in Yeongil-gun, northeast of Gyeongju. The locality nearby is still called Hangsa-ri. Hangsa is an abbreviation of *Hangha sa* 恒河沙, "sand grains from the Ganges," a popular Buddhist metaphor for something incalculably vast.

[107] Moui 芼矣: According to an entry on the localities in Yangju in *Samguk sagi* 34, Gigye county in Uichang used to be called Mohye 芼兮 county, which appears to be a variant of Moui; hence the stream must have been in this county. Iryeon therefore appears to be saying that this story did not take place at the Moui stream, but rather at a brook near Oeosa.

[108] Jigwi 志鬼 was, according to legend, a post station worker who was infatuated with the queen. After he died he turned into a demon, and once followed Queen Seondeok into the temple. While the queen held a service, he fell asleep, but on her way out the queen left a bracelet on his breast. Waking up, he was so delighted to see this that the happiness set his heart ablaze and sparked the

cordoned off by the rope escaped.

Once the patriarch of the Divine Seal school, Myeongnang,[109] constructed a new temple, Geumgangsa.[110] When it was time for the completion ceremony, all the eminent monks and notables[111] gathered, only the master did not show up. Myeongnang lit the incense and prayed sincerely and shortly after the master showed up. Just at that time it started to rain heavily, but his robes and trousers did not get wet, and his feet were not stained by mud. He said to Myeongnang, "I am deeply ashamed and unworthy of your summons, and therefore came in this way."

His supernatural traces were many, and when his time was up, he floated in the void to announce his demise. Nobody knows how many *śarīra* [he produced]. Once, when he saw the *Zhao lun*, he said "this is what I composed in a previous life." Thus we know that he was a reincarnation of Sengzhao.[112]

The eulogy says:
Hunting on the grassy plains, then lying down to rest
Drunken singing of crazy songs, then sleeping in a well
One shoe floating in the void, whither does it go?

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fire. One version of this story is recorded in Gwon Munhae's *Daedong unbu gunok* 大東韻府群玉 (*gwon* 20), quoting from Choe Chiwon's *Sui jeon*. However, in this story Hyegong is not mentioned. There are also similarities with the story of Shubojia 術波伽 in fascicle 14 of the *Dazhidulun*.

109 According to the "Divine seal of Myeongnang" 明朗神印 in chapter 6 of *Samguk yusa*, Myeongnang went to Tang China in 632 but returned after only three years. On the way back he was called into the palace of the Dragon king, where he received secret spells and a donation of gold. Upon his return he used the gold to build Geumgwangsa 金光寺 in Gyeongju. In 670 and 671 he put his knowledge of divine spells to use in repelling a Tang invasion army.

110 Geumgangsa 金剛寺: probably refers to Geumgwangsa (see previous note)

111 Lit. Dragons and Elephants.

112 The *Zhao lun* is the title of a collection of treatises written by Sengzhao (374–414). Despite his adherence to the Taoist and indigenous Chinese categories in explaining Buddhism, his work also marks the first serious engagement with Nagārjunas Madhyamika system. For a translation, see Walter Liebenthal, *Chao Lun. The Treatises of Seng-chao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1968).

A pair of precious lotuses blooming in the fire [of defilements]

釋惠空 天眞公之家傭嫗之子, 小名憂助,<盖方言也> 公嘗患瘡, 濱於死而候慰塡街. 憂助年七歲, 謂其母曰, "家有何事, 賓客之多也." 母曰, "家公發惡疾, 將死矣. 爾何不知?" 助曰, "吾能右之." 母異其言, 告於公. 公使喚來. 至坐床下, 無一語, 須臾瘡潰. 公謂偶爾, 不甚異之. 旣壯, 爲公養鷹, 甚愜公意. 初公之弟, 有得官赴外者, 請公之選鷹, 歸治所. 一夕公忽憶其鷹, 明晨擬遣助取之. 助已先知之, 俄頃取鷹, 昧爽獻之. 公大驚悟, 方知昔日救瘡之事, 皆叵測也. 謂曰, "僕不知至聖之托吾家, 狂言非禮汚辱之, 厥罪何雪? 而後乃今願爲導師, 導我也." 遂下拜.

靈異旣著, 遂出家爲僧, 易名惠空. 常住一小寺, 每猖狂大醉, 負簣歌舞於街巷, 號負簣和尙, 所居寺因名夫蓋寺. 乃簣之鄉言也. 每入寺之井中, 數月不出, 因以師名名其井. 每出有碧衣神童先湧, 故寺僧以此爲候. 旣出 衣裳不濕. 晩年移止恒沙寺.<今迎日縣吾魚寺. 諺云, "恒沙人出世 故名恒沙洞."> 時元曉撰諸經疏, 每就師質疑, 或相調戲. 一日二公沿溪, 掇魚蝦而啖之, 放便於石上. 公指之戱曰, "汝屎吾魚." 故因名吾魚寺. 或人以此爲曉師之語, 濫也. 鄉俗訛呼其溪曰 芼矣川. 瞿昆公嘗遊山, 見公死僵於山路中, 其屍膖脹, 爛生虫蛆. 悲嘆久之, 及廻轡入城, 見公大醉歌舞於市中. 又一日將草索綯, 入靈廟寺, 圍結於金堂與左右經樓及南門廊廡, 告剛司, "此索須三日後取之". 剛司異焉而從之. 果三日, 善德王駕幸入寺, 志鬼心火, 出燒其塔, 唯結索處獲免.

又神印祖師明朗, 新創金剛寺, 設落成會, 龍象畢集, 唯師不赴. 朗卽焚香虔禱, 小選公至. 時方大雨, 衣袴不濕, 足不沾泥. 謂明朗曰, "辱召懃懃 故茲来矣." 靈迹頗多. 及終, 浮空告寂, 舍利莫知其數. 嘗見肇論曰, "是吾昔所撰也." 乃知僧肇之後有也.

讚曰, 草原縱獵床頭臥, 酒肆狂歌井底眠. 隻履浮空何處去, 一雙珍重火中蓮.

5-6.

Jajang Establishes the Vinaya 慈藏定律

Introduction:



Sumano pagoda of Jeongamsa, Taebaeksan

This is the biography of Jajang, who provided Silla Buddhism in the Late Three Kingdoms period with its organizational framework and ensured the wide dissemination of the Vinaya and several doctrinal teachings. Although he was born into an elite *jingol* (true bone) family, he had no interest in wealth or a career, but practiced austerities in a quiet place until he received permission from the ruler to become monk. He travelled to China to learn more about Buddhism, and first went to Wutaishan, where he encountered Mañjuśrī in a vision and received instructions from him. Next he went to Zhongnanshan near the capital Chang'an [modern Xi'an] where he also practiced as a recluse. On his return to Silla, he brought with him both scriptures and ritual paraphernalia, and resided at Bunhwangsa and Hwangnyongsa, where he lectured on Mahāyāna commentaries and the bodhisattva precepts. To bring order into the monastic congregation, the court appointed him grand overseer, entrusting him with the implementation of the Vinaya, which Jajang diligently put into practice. He also instituted a nationwide system of monastic oversight, and made sure that even provincial temples were inspected, and followed certain standards in their rituals. Iryeon adds an extensive note to explain the administrative system put in place under Jajang. Jajang's attention to Buddhist precepts also extended to the laity, and he is credited with converting the majority of the population to Buddhism. He established Tongdosa, where an ordination platform was installed, as well as many other temples. However, in this account, he meets

an ignominious fate when he fails to recognize Mañjuśrī in an old beggar.

Iryeon relies heavily on the biography compiled by Jajang's contemporary Daoxuan in his *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, except for the latter part of his life, which is not covered by Daoxuan.[113] Two Korean sources are also worth mentioning: a record recovered from underneath the Hwangnyongsa pagoda (*Hwangnyongsa gucheung moktap chalju bongi* 皇龍寺九層木塔刹柱本記, 872) mentions Jajang, and slightly after *Samguk yusa* was compiled, in 1307, Min Ji (1248–1326) authored the *Odaesan Woljeongsa sajeok* 五臺山月精寺事蹟, which also contains interesting information on Jajang.

Annotated Translation:

Daedeok[114] Jajang was from the Gim clan, belonging to the *Jingol* from Jinhan;[115] he was a son of the *Sopan* (*noble title of the third rank*)[116] Murim.[117]

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113 See T 2060.50.639a8–640a8. Iryeon has substantially edited this source text: on one hand he condensed it, leaving out or altering some of the information, but he also inserts material from other sources, which are not acknowledged. There is also a very similar biography in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhuli* 法苑珠林 (660), T 2122.53.779b26–c19. See also his biography in *Xinxiu ke fen liu xueseng zhuan*, XZJ 77, 1522: 96a21–c12.

114 *Daedeok* 大德: Honorary title for a monk: great virtue, a translation of the Sanskrit term *bhadanta*. According to Choe Chiwon's *Silla Gayasan Haeinsa Seonan juwon byeokgi* 伽倻山海印寺善安住院壁記 (*Dongmunseon* 64), Queen Seondeok used this term for a monastic office given to monks over fifty for a period of seven years. However, since it was probably Queen Seondeok who instructed Jajang to create monastic offices, we would expect that the function of *daedeok* was also created under him, but since no mention of such function is made, we cannot simply accept's Choe Chiwon's assertion. In Goryeo, *daedeok* was the name of the first rank in the monastic bureaucracy. The term is not mentioned in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* biography.

115 Jinhan: One of the so-called "Three Han states," generally thought to be the precursors of the Three Kingdoms; Jinhan would thus correspond to Silla. *Jingol* (true bone) is the second highest rank in the Silla bone-rank system, below the royal *Seonggol* (hallowed bone) rank.

116 *Sopan* 蘇判: likely a variant of *chapchan*, the third rank in the Silla bureaucracy. See Yi Byeongdo, *Samguk sagi*, v. 1, p. 112.

117 Murim 茂林 is written as 武林 in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*; within *Samguk yusa* his name is also spelled

His father rose in office thanks to his honesty and diligence, but as he had no descendants, he sought refuge in the Three Jewels, and made a statue of the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara,[118] hoping to beget a son. He vowed [before the statue] “If a son is born, I will relinquish him so he can become a bridge and ferry for the dharma sea.” His mother suddenly dreamt of a star falling into her bosom, and as a result conceived. Then he was born on the same day as the World-honored one.[119] His given name was Seonjong.[120] His sublime mind was clear and sharp, and he was immersed in books every day, untainted by worldly pursuits. He lost both parents when still young, and grew disgusted of the transient world of pleasure. He rejected his wife and children, and donated his estates to Wollyeongsa.[121] Alone he stayed in a dark and dangerous place, without trying to avoid wolves and tigers, he practiced the contemplation of dry bones.[122] When he felt a little tired, he built a small hut, with thorny plants all around. Naked he sat in the middle,

as Horim 虎林 (chapter 1, miracles, Queen Jindeok). Rather than a misspelling, Iryeon likely used alternative characters to avoid a Goryeo taboo on the personal name of King Hyejong (Mu 武). Gim Murim was obviously one of the most influential statesmen of his time; in chapter 1 of *Samguk yusa*, under the strange events for the reign of Jindeok (647–654), it is said that he joined the conclave of leading statesmen, including Gim Yusin.

118 Cheonbu Gwaneum 千部觀音: could also mean literally “one thousand statues of Avalokiteśvara,” since it is doubtful whether belief in the transformed bodies of this deity was already widespread at the time.

119 That is, the eighth of the fourth month, as is clarified in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.

120 Seonjongnang 善宗郎: Seonjong was also the name of Gungye as a monk: “a lad of good family.” The suffix –*nang* was often added in Silla to the names of sons of the nobility.

121 Wollyeongsa 元寧寺: otherwise unknown, presumably in Gyeongju. The name of the temple is not mentioned in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.

122 *gogolgwan* 枯骨觀, or *baekgolgwan* 白骨觀: According to the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, this is one of the four bases of mindfulness (*sanyeomcheo* 四念處) the Buddha taught Kaśyapa, namely that one’s body is defiled, feelings are painful, the mind is constantly changing, and that objects (dharmas) lack inherent existence. It was considered an important preliminary exercise before contemplating the four noble truths and the twelve chains of existence. Contemplating the bones is also the eighth stage in the nine contemplations of the decomposing body. Such practices are attested in northern China during the fifth and sixth centuries.

and as soon as he moved he would be pricked. Then he also tied his head to a beam so as to ward off torpor.

At that time there was a vacancy on the highest state council. As a member of a powerful family he had an obligation to join the deliberations [as to who should fill the vacancy].[123] But after repeated summons [Jajang] did not go. The king then decreed, "If he does not come, he should be executed."[124] Jajang heard this and said, "I would rather keep the precepts for one day and die; I do not wish to break the precepts [even if I] live to be a hundred." After being appraised of these words, the king allowed him to become a monk.[125]

Then he retreated deep among a forest of boulders, but he had [no] grain to relieve his hunger. Then strange birds appeared, carrying fruits in their beaks which they offered to him, placing them in his hands to eat. Suddenly he dreamt of heavenly beings[126] bestowing the five precepts on him, and only after this did he leave the valley. The men and women from the local villages then strove to receive the precepts from him.

大德慈藏金氏, 本辰韓眞骨蘇判<三級爵名> 茂林之子. 其父歷官清要, 絶無後胤, 乃歸心三寶, 造于千部觀音, 希生一息. 祝曰, "若生男子, 捨作法海津梁." 母忽夢星墜入懷, 因有娠. 及誕, 與釋尊同日, 名善宗郎. 神志澄睿, 文思日贍, 而無染世趣. 早喪二親, 轉厭塵譁, 捐妻息, 捨田園爲元寧寺. 獨處幽險, 不避狼虎, 修枯骨觀, 微或倦弊. 乃作小室, 周障荊棘, 裸坐其中, 動輒箴刺, 頭懸在梁, 以祛昏瞑. 適台輔有闕, 門閥當議, 累徵不赴. 王乃勅曰, "不就斬之." 藏聞之曰, "吾寧一日持戒而死, 不願百年破戒而生." 事聞, 上許令出家. 乃深隱岩叢, 糧粒不恤. 時

[123] The name of the state council is given as Taebo 臺輔; according to Daoxuan, he was offered the position of state councilor 宰相, not invited for any deliberations. Iryeon was likely more familiar with the Silla political process, although it is also possible he had access to Silla court annals that mentioned this affair.

[124] Likely Queen Seondeok (r. 632–647).

[125] According to a document quoted in Min Ji's *Odaesan Woljeongsa sajeok*, Jajang was 25 when he was summoned to court.

[126] According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* they were giants who had descended from Trayastriṃśāḥ heaven.

有異禽, 含菓來供, 就手以喰. 俄夢天人, 來授五戒, 方始出谷, 鄉邑士女, 爭來受戒.

Jajang lamented the fact that he had been born in a border region, and aspired to [assist in] the great transformation in the west. In the third year of Inpyeong, 636 (*this is the tenth year of Zhenguan*),[127] together with Seungsil and more than ten others, he went west to the Tang empire.[128]

He went to Qingliangshan,[129] which housed a statue of the great saint Mañjuśrī. According to a tradition from that country, it was Śakra Devānām Indra who led artisans down [from Trayastriṁśāḥ heaven] to carve the statue. Jajang prayed in front of the statue for a secret revelation; in a dream the statue touched his crane and bestowed a Sanskrit *gāthā*. When he woke, he did not understand it. But in the morning a strange monk came and explained it (*this has already been mentioned in the section on Hwangnyongsa stūpa*).[130] He also said: "even if you study 10,000 [rolls] of doctrine, nothing surpasses this." He provided Jajang with a *kaṣāya* and *śarīra* and disappeared. (*Jajang first hid*

127 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060.50.639b13), he set out in the twelfth year of Zhenguan, i.e. 638. Iryeon likely follows *Samguk sagi* (Silla bongi 5) in claiming that he set out in 636. The cyclical year he provides (*byeongsin*) as well as his interlinear note specifying Zhenguan ten, all correspond to 636; likewise, the third year of Inpyeong (an era name which falls within Queen Seondeok's reign, 634–646), would also correspond with this year. However, a record inscription of Hwangnyongsa dated 872 and recovered in 1964, clearly states that Jajang left in the seventh year of Seondeok's reign, the twelfth year of Zhenguan, the fifth year of Inpyeong, cyclical year *musul* – this leaves little doubt that the correct date is 638. *Hwangnyongsa gucheung moktap chalju bongi*, in Kim Yeongtae, *Samguk Silla sidae Bulgyo geumseongmun gojeung* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), 180.

128 The next paragraph is the first pericope Iryeon inserts in Daoxuan's narrative.

129 Lit. Mount "Clear and Bright" another name for Wutaishan in Shanxi province. According to the chapter "on the Bodhisattva's abode" in the *Huayan jing*, Qingliang-shan is located in the northeast and is the abode of Mañjuśrī.

130 See chapter 4 of *Samguk yusa*, "The Nine-story Stūpa at Hwangnyongsa." However, although the revelation by Mañjuśrī is mentioned here, it is a factual statement regarding the role of Buddhism in Jajang's home country. The actual formula is found in the same chapter, "The Fifty Thousand Incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae," and appears to be a variant of the famous Buddhist Creed.

them; *this is why the Tang biographies do not record this*). Jajang realized that these had been planted by the sage for his instruction, descended from the northern terrace[131] and went to Taihe lake.[132]

He entered the capital [Chang'an, modern Xi'an]. Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649) dispatched an envoy to take care of him, and installed him in the Shengguang detached cloister.[133] He received the favor of the emperor who bestowed many gifts on him, but Jajang resented this luxurious embrace, and petitioned to enter a precipice east of Yunjisi on Mt Zhongnan.[134] He constructed a hut attached to the cliff, and lived there for three years. People and spirits received the precepts, and divine responses occurred daily – it would be too bothersome to record all of them.[135] Then he entered the capital again. Again he was honored with an imperial letter of solace, and was bestowed with 200 bolts of silk towards his clothing and other expenses.

藏自嘆邊生, 西希大化. 以仁平三年丙申歲<卽貞觀十年也> 受勅, 與門人僧實等十餘輩, 西入唐. 謁淸凉山, 山有曼殊大聖塑相. 彼國相傳云, "帝釋天將工來彫也." 藏於像前 禱祈冥感, 夢像摩頂授梵偈, 覺而未解. 及旦有異僧來釋云<已出皇龍塔篇>. 又曰, "雖學萬教, 未有過此文." 以袈裟舍利等, 付之而滅<藏公初匿之, 故唐僧傳不載>. 藏知已夢聖莂, 乃下北臺, 抵太和池. 入京師, 太宗勅使慰撫, 安置勝光別院, 寵賜頻厚. 藏嫌其繁, 擁啓表, 入終南雲際寺之東崿, 架嵓爲室, 居三年. 人神受戒, 靈應日錯, 辭煩不載. 旣而再入京, 又蒙勅慰, 賜絹二百匹,

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131 Wutaishan literally means "five terrace mountain," named after the five flat peaks that form it. The northern terrace is the highest.

132 The next paragraph resumes the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* story line.

133 Shengguang bieyuan 勝光別院: detached cloister of Shengguangsi in Chang'an. Shengguangsi was first founded by Emperor Wen of Sui for his fourth son; the monk Tanqian (542–607) resided here and studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*; this tradition continued into the Tang dynasty. Stories about Jajang's conversion of a thief, and about restoring the sight of a blind man, which follow this sentence in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, have been omitted by Iryeon.

134 Zhongnanshan is a mountain range 40 km. south of Chang'an. Eminent monks such as Zhiyan, Daoxuan, and Zongmi all resided here. Yunjisi, a temple where Daoxuan also once practiced, is located on Zhongnanshan.

135 Again, Iryeon leaves out a story about Jajang's encounters with spirits.

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In the seventeenth year of Zhenguan, 643, Queen Seondeok of this country sent a petition to request his return, and the emperor [Taizong] granted this request; he was invited to the palace, and the emperor bestowed one set of silk [for clothing] and 500 *duan* of colored [silk],[136] while the crown prince also bestowed 200 *duan*. There were many other honors heaped on him.[137] Since sūtras and images in his country were inadequate, Jajang also begged to be granted a set of the Tripitaka, as well as banners, pendants and flower-decorated parasols,[138] so that blessings could be obtained; these were all granted. When he arrived [back in Silla], the whole country greeted him with joy, and he was ordered to take up residence in Bunhwangsa (*the Tang biography says Wangbun*).[139] He was given attendants to look after his every need.[140]

One summer he was invited to the palace to lecture on the Mahāyāna commentaries,[141] and at Hwangnyongsa he lectured on a bodhisattva-precepts scripture.[142] For seven days and seven nights a sweet rain descended

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136 A *duan* 段 is described as half a bolt (*pi* 匹). *Xu gaoseng zhuan* has "bestowed one piece of 500 *duan*" (T 2060.50.639c1), which sounds contradictory because it uses two different measures for silk; thus Iryeon has interpreted this as a separate gift of one piece of silk and 500 *duan* of colored fabric.

137 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, these were a special banquet, and the ordination of eight monks. (T 2060.50.639c2–3)

138 All these items were interpreted as adornments to the Buddha, expressing the grace of his merit. Probably they were used in Buddhist ritual. "Exquisite images" has been omitted by Iryeon.

139 Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺 was constructed by Queen Seondeok in 634; its stūpa can still be seen in Gyeongju. Daoxuan either made a mistake when writing it as Wangbunsa 王芬寺, or more likely he deemed it inappropriate to use the term *huang*, reserved for an emperor.

140 "The king also built special cloisters, and had ten monks ordained to serve him constantly and loyally." (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060.50.639c9)

141 Specifically, the *She dacheng lun* 攝大乘論 (*Mahāyānasamgraha śāstra*), according to *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060.50.639c10)

142 Although there are various books on the bodhisattva precepts, the most widely used book in East

from heaven, and dark clouds and mist enveloped the hall where he lectured. The fourfold congregation [monks, nuns, male and female lay believers] all experienced this miracle.

Then the court deliberated as follows: "Since Buddhism came to the east, it has been hundreds or thousands of years.[143] As for how it is upheld and practiced, there are still deficiencies in its norms and rules. If there is no sound administration, there is no way to purify [the order]." Then Jajang was appointed as Supreme National Overseer (*daeguktong*), while all the regulations concerning monks and nuns were entrusted to the Monastic Overseer (*seungtong*). (*During the Tianbao period* (*550-559*) *of* Northern Qi (*550-577*), *the country established ten overseers* [tong]. *But an official petitioned that it should be* [more] *clearly differentiated, so Emperor* [*Wen*]*xuan* (*r. 550-559*) *made dharma master Fashang supreme overseer* (*daetong*, *Ch. datong*), *while the others were made ordinary overseers.*[144] *During the Liang* (*502-557*) *and Chen* (*557-589*) *dynasties there were* national overseers (*guktong*, Ch. *guotong*),[145]

Asia was the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Scripture of Brahmā's net, T 1484.24).

[143] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* has simply 100 years, which is approximately correct. T 2060.50.639c15. Perhaps Iryeon here wants to emphasize that his country has vestiges of previous Buddhas, as is evident in other places in the *Samguk yusa*.

[144] On Fashang (495–580) see *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, (T 2060.50.485c). Iryeon's information on Northern Qi Buddhism seems to have been drawn from this source. See also Kamata Shigeo, *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi*, tr. Guan Shijian (Gaoxiong: Foguangshan chuban, 1990), vol. 3, p. 416. For a period of forty years, spanning the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi dynasties, he acted as *datong* 大統 or supreme leader of the Buddhist church. He was also preceptor to and favorite of Emperor Wenxuan of Northern Qi. According to his biography, the ten overseers were established in 551; Fashang, their head, was given the office of *datong*, and the remaining nine overseers were called *tongtong* 通統 "ordinary overseers."

[145] The Liang and Chen dynasties are both "southern" dynasties during the period of North-South division between 316 and 589. The office of *guotong* and the following offices, however, originate in the "northern" dynasties, notably the Northern Wei (386–534). The first central office to organize a Buddhist bureaucracy was instituted under Yao Xing of the Later Qin (384–417). In the Huangshi era (396–397), Emperor Daowu of Northern Wei instituted the post of *daorentong* 道人統, "overseer of people of the way," appointing the monk Faguo, whose practice of the precepts was exemplary as the first *daorentong*. Later, under the monk Tanyao, the title was changed to *shamentong* 沙門統; thus

provincial overseers (*jutong*, *Ch. zhoutong*), *national commanders* (*gukdo*, *Ch. guodu*), *provincial commanders* (*judo*, *Ch.* zhoudu), *monk commanders* (*seungdo*, *Ch. sengdu*), *rectifiers of monks* (*seungjeong*, *Ch.* sengzheng), *metropolitan deacons* (duyuna, *Ch.* douweina) *and others.*[146] *All belonged to the* Department of Illuminating Mysteries (Johyeon jo, *Ch.* Zhaoxuan cao), *the name of an office that is in charge of monks and nuns.*[147] *At the beginning of the Tang dynasty, the ten bhadanta* [*system*][148] *flourished. In the eleventh year of* Jinheung, *550, Dharma master* Anzang *was made* grand secretary (*daeseoseong*),[149] *a post accorded to one person only, while the post of minor secretary* (*soseoseong*)[150] *was*

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there were many different titles, though most used the concept of "overseeing" (*tong* 統).

146 *Doyuna*, Ch. *Duweina* 都維乃 (usually spelled 都維那): a monastic office first created under the Northern Wei. In 452, Emperor Wencheng organized a central bureau for monks called the 'Bureau to oversee blessings' (Jianfucao 監福曹), headed by the *daorentong* and seconded by the *Duweina*. *Weina* is generally thought to be the Chinese equivalent of the *karma-dāna*, the "distributor of tasks," or less literally "deacon," the second in the monastic hierarchy, who was in charge of overseeing everyone's practical duties. The "metropolitan" (because based in the capital) deacon could be seen to play the same role, but on a nationwide level.

147 In 460 the name of the Jianfucao was changed to Zhaoxuan cao 照玄曹 (also called Zhaoxuan si 照玄寺), headed by *datong* and staffed by one *tong* and three *duweina* as well as civil officials. This office oversaw local offices as well as the provincial and regional overseers (*zhoutong*, *juntong*, *xiantong*). The northern dynasties all adopted systems similar to this one, but in the southern dynasties titles such as *sengzheng* were used. During the Tang and Sui this office was put under the direction of the Honglusi, which managed foreign affairs, and referred to as Chongxuan shu 崇玄署. Thus Iryeon's information is misleading, as he puts the description of the northern system under the "Liang and Chen" (southern) dynasties; the chronology is muddled too.

148 In 620, Emperor Gaozu of Tang installed ten monastic officials at Cibei-si; they were referred to as *Shi dade* 十大德 ("Ten [monks] of great virtue;" *dade* is also the equivalent of the Indian term *bhadanta*) and were in charge of affairs related to the sangha.

149 Not much more is known about this post, except that Anzang (about whom nothing further is recorded) was the first to occupy it, and that in 669 Sinhye and in 817 Jinno were appointed to it. It was apparently a position under the state overseer and the metropolitan deacon. According the *Samguk sagi* (fasc. 40, "military offices"), in the first year of Queen Jindeok (647), an additional *daseoseong* post was created.

150 This post is mentioned only here; it would probably correspond to the fourth place in the central Buddhist hierarchy. According to *Samguk sagi* (fasc. 40, "military offices"), in 787 King Wonseong

given to two persons. The year after, [*in 551*], *the Go*[*gu*]*ryeo dharma master Hyeryang was made* national overseer,[151] *a post also referred to as* temple head (saju).[152] *Boryang was made* grand metropolitan deacon (daedoyuna),[153] *a post accorded to one person only, while there were also nine provincial overseers and eighteen provincial overseers* (guntong). *When it comes to establishing the single office of grand* national overseer *for Jajang, this was an extraordinary appointment; it was like making Burye hwarang* Daegakgan[154] *or Gim Yusin* Taedaegakgan.[155] *Later, in the first year of King Wonseong* (*785*), *a* [*central*] Sangha office *was also established, and was named* Directorate to Govern the Dharma (Jeongbeop jeon).[156] *It was staffed by one* grand chaplain

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appointed two monks to the post of *Sonyeon seoseong* 少年書省, likely the same as *Soseoseong*, so that it was possibly only established at that time.

151 On Hyeryang, see the biography of Geochilbu, *Samguk sagi* 44. According to this account, Geochilbu, a Silla nobleman, became monk and travelled to Goguryeo, where he met Hyeryang and received his instruction. Later, he became a general, and during an invasion in Goguryeo territory he met Hyeryang again and took him back to Silla. However, in this biography he is made *seungtong* 僧統 rather than *guktong*.

152 Probably because the *guktong* was simultaneously head of one of the large Gyeongju temples sponsored by the king, such as Hwangnyongsa or Heungnyunsa. The temple where the *guktong* was seated was therefore also the "head temple" of Silla.

153 The same as the metropolitan deacon created by the Northern Wei, and the number two in the monastic hierarchy. On Boryang, nothing further is known.

154 Buryerang 夫禮郎: leader of the *hwarang* (*gukseon*) under King Hyoso (r. 692–702). He also appears in "The flute to calm a thousand waves" in chapter 2 of *Samguk yusa*, where his name is written as Sillyerang 失禮郎, probably a scribal error. In chapter 3, he appears in the account of Baengnyulsa, where he and Daehyeon are honored for their role in the recovery of the divine lute and flute, two of Silla's state treasures, with the titles of *daegakgan* 大角干 and *daedaegakgan* 大大角干 respectively.

155 Gim Yusin (d. 673), a twelfth-generation descendant of King Suro, was one of the key figures in the unification wars and the politics of Silla at the time. He received the title of taedaegakgan 太大角干 after the submission of Goguryeo in 668.

156 The original print seems to have Gaebeop jeon 改法典, though most scholars read *jeong* 政 for *gae* 改. This information seems derived from *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 40, where we find a description of this office at the end of a section on the military bureaucracy. It is there also referred to as Jeonggwan 政官.

(*daesa*)[157] *and two* scribes (sa).[158] *Monks of talent and* [impeccable] *conduct were selected for these posts; if there was a reason to do so, they were replaced, but there was no fixed time-limit. Therefore nowadays the followers of the purple robes are also what sets apart the Vinaya temples.*[159] *According to the native biography,*[160] *when Jajang entered Tang, Emperor Taizong welcomed him in the Wuqian hall*[161] *and invited him to lecture on the Avataṃsaka* [sūtra]. *A sweet dew descended from heaven, and he was appointed* state preceptor (*guksa*, *Ch. guoshi*). [*However,*] *such statements are all fabrications. Neither the Tang biography nor the national history*[162] *has any record of this*].

貞觀十七年癸卯, 本國善德王上表乞還. 詔許引入宮, 賜絹一領雜綵五百端, 東宮亦賜二百端, 又多禮貺. 藏以本朝經像未充, 乞齎藏經一部, 洎諸幡幢花蓋, 堪爲福利者, 皆載之. 旣至, 洎擧國欣迎, 命住芬皇寺<唐傳作王芬> 給侍稠渥. 一夏請至宮中, 講大乘論. 又於皇龍寺, 演菩薩戒本, 七日七夜, 天降甘澍, 雲霧暗靄, 覆所講堂, 四衆咸服其異.

朝廷議曰, "佛敎東漸, 雖百千齡, 其於住持修奉, 軌儀闕如也. 非夫綱理, 無以肅淸." 啓勅藏爲大國統, 凡僧尼一切規猷, 緫委僧統主之.<按北齊天保中 國置十統, 有司奏宜甄異之. 於是宣帝, 以法上法師爲大統, 餘爲通統. 又梁陳之間, 有國統州統國都州都僧都僧正都維乃等名, 緫屬昭玄曹, 曹卽領僧尼官名. 唐初又有十大德之盛. 新羅眞興王十一年庚午, 以安藏法師爲大書省一人, 又有小書省二人. 明年辛未, 以高麗惠亮法師爲國統, 亦云寺主, 寶良法師爲大都維那一人, 及州統九人, 郡統十八人等. 至藏, 更置大國統一人, 蓋非常職也. 亦有夫禮郎爲大角干, 金庾信太大角干. 後至元聖大王元年, 又置僧官, 名政法典, 以大舍一人史

157 *Daesa* 大舍: in Silla's bureaucracy, the 12th of 17 ranks; it could also refer to an office, for someone in charge of administrative affairs.

158 A low-ranking official in charge of clerical matters, and also assistant to ranks 12 to 17. In other words, these were civil officials rather than monks.

159 The "purple robes" refers to offices bestowed by the ruler; purple robes were a mark of distinction. This was likely considered to be the speciality of Vinaya monks.

160 *Hyangjeon* 鄕傳: it is not certain which account this refers to.

161 Wuqian dian 武乾殿: most likely the name of a hall in the Tang imperial palace.

162 *Guksa* 國史: this could refer either to the *Samguk sagi* or one of the earlier histories of Silla.

二人爲司. 揀僧中有才行者爲之, 有故卽替, 無定年限. 故今紫衣之徒, 亦律寺之別也. 鄕傳云, 藏入唐, 太宗迎至武乾殿, 請講華嚴, 天降甘露, 開爲國師云者, 妄矣. 唐傳與國史皆無文.>

Jajang cherished this golden opportunity, and valiantly and with a sense of urge he set about to reach the whole [congregation]. He made sure that monks and nuns and all among the five orders[163] lived up to the old teachings [of the Hīnayāna vinaya] and recited the precepts every fortnight, with tests [on knowledge of the vinaya] administered in winter and spring. To ascertain who observed and who violated [the precepts] he established posts to oversee observance. He also sent out inspectors to outlying temples to admonish and train those monks who were lacking [in standards], and to decorate sūtras and images. [All this] was done on a regular basis. Thus in one generation the protection of the dharma became as advanced as this! It was like Confucius' return to Lu from Wei, after which the music was rectified and the odes made elegant, so that each obtained his rightful place.[164]

At this time, eight or nine out of ten households observed the [lay] precepts and worshipped the Buddha.[165] Those who tonsured and requested ordination increased day by day. Then he established Tongdosa and constructed an ordination platform[166] to ordain those who came from the four [quarters] (*this ordination platform has already been discussed above*).[167] He

163 I.e. male novices, monks, female novices, nuns and lay followers.

164 See chapter nine of the *Analects*: "The Master said, 'It was after my return from Wei to Lu that the music was put right, with the *ya* and the *sung* [sections of the *Odes*] being assigned their proper places.'" See D. C. Lau tr., *Confucius: The Analects* (Penguin books 1979), 98.

165 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, nine out of ten. The following sentences on the ordination platform were added by Iryeon.

166 Tongdosa is located at the foot of Yeongchwisan in Yangsan, South Gyeongsang province. Here Jajang stored the relics, *kasaya* and tripitaka he had brought back from China in 646. The temple is still famous for its ordination platform, which in its present form however does not date from Jajang's time.

167 See "A Chronological account of the transmission of Buddhist relics," in Chapter 4 of *Samguk*

also rebuilt Wollyeongsa in his hometown, which used to be his residence. During the ceremony of completion, he lectured on the ten-thousand *gāthās* of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*,[168] causing fifty-two women to manifest their bodies to attest to [his power] and listen.[169] He ordered his disciples to plant the same number of trees [fifty-two] as testimony of this strange event, and they were therefore called trees of knowledge.

Once, because the official dress of his country was different from China, he raised the issue at a court deliberation. After voting [lit. drawing lots], his proposal was approved. Thus in the third year of Queen Jindeok (649) for the first time [the Silla court] wore the clothing and headdress of the Chinese court. The year after, (in 650), the correct calendar was also received, and for the first time the [Chinese] reign title of Yonghui [650–655] was adopted. After this, every time there was an [imperial] court audience [in China], [Silla] was placed at the top of the line of Barbarian [envoys]. This was due to Jajang's efforts.

藏値斯嘉會, 勇激弘通, 令僧尼五部, 各增奮學, 半月說戒, 冬春總試, 令知持犯, 置員管維持之. 又遣巡使, 歷檢外寺, 誡礪僧失, 嚴飾經像爲恒式. 一代護法, 於斯盛矣. 如夫子自衛返魯樂正, 雅頌各得其宜. 當此之際, 國中之人, 受戒奉佛, 十室八九, 祝髮請度, 歲月增至. 乃創通度寺, 築戒壇, 以度四來<戒壇事已出上>. 又改營生緣里第元寧寺, 設落成會, 講雜花萬偈, 感五十二女現身證聽. 使門人植樹如其數, 以旌厥異, 因號知識樹. 嘗以邦國服章不同諸夏, 擧議於朝, 簽允曰 "臧." 乃以眞德王三年己酉, 始服中朝衣冠, 明年庚戌, 又奉正朔, 始行永徽號. 自後每有朝覲, 列在上蕃, 藏之功也.

In his later years he took leave of the capital, and built for himself

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yusa.

168 Here identified as the "Varied Flowers," 雜花.

169 Fifty-two is the number of stages in the bodhisattva path; it could also refer to the fifty-two groups of living beings who gathered at the nirvana of the Buddha (DDB), or fifty-two of the fifty-three wise friends the boy Sudhana encountered in his famous pilgrimage described in the *Gandavyuha sūtra* (part of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*).

Sudasa[170] in Gangneung prefecture (*now called Myeongju*)[171] and took up residence there. Again he dreamt of the strange monk, whose appearance he had witnessed on the northern terrace [of Wutaishan], who came to announce to him: "tomorrow I will see you at the big pine bank." Frightened, he got up, and went to the pine bank early. Effectively he experienced Mañjuśrī's advent. He asked him about the essentials of the dharma, and the deity replied: "Look out again for me at the creeping and coiling place" and then disappeared. (*till this day the pine bank has not produced any thorn bushes; and animals like hawks and falcons do not reside there*).[172] Jajang went to Taebaeksan to look for him, and saw a giant serpent coiled up under a tree. He said to his servant, "This is the so-called creeping and coiling place." Then he constructed Seongnam-won (*now* Jeongamsa)[173] to wait for the saint's descent.

Once an old householder, whose robe was in tatters, came along. He carried a wicker basket, which contained a dead dog, and said to the servant: "I have come because I would like to see Jajang." The servant said, "ever since I served here to clean and swipe, I never met anyone who violated my master's taboo name. Who are you to speak such crazy words?" The householder said "just go and tell your master." Then he went in to tell him; also not realizing it, Jajang said "That must be some crazy person." The servant went out to drive him away, but the householder said "Go back! Go back! How could those who still have the delusion of selfhood be able to see me?" Then he overturned the basket and shook it; the dog transformed into a precious lion's throne. He ascended it, sat down, and went forth in a blaze of light. When

170 Sudasa 水多寺: also mentioned in "The five classes of saintly hosts of Woljeong Monastery on Mt. Odae," in chapter 4 of *Samguk yusa*, where a monk from Sudasa, Yuyeon, came to Woljeongsa to expand the temple. Otherwise there are no further records of this temple.

171 Now again known as Gangneung.

172 These may be considered the lingering effects of the deity's appearance.

173 Jeongamsa 淨巖寺: this temple still exists, near Jeongseon in Gangwon province. It has a seven-storey pagoda from the Goryeo period and it is believed that the Buddha's true body relics are stored in the grounds of this temple.

Jajang heard this, he finally gathered his composure, and went in pursuit of the light. He climbed up the southern pass, but it was already dark and could not reach him. Then he fell down and died.[174] He was cremated and his ashes were buried in the stone cave.

The temples and stūpas constructed by Jajang altogether numbered more than ten. At the construction of each one, marvelous omens occurred. Therefore the offerings by householders[175] [were so munificent as to] fill a market, and in less than a day they were finished. Jajang's ritual implements and clothing, as well as the pillow [in the form of a] wooden duck and the robes of the Buddha offered by the dragon of Taihe lake[176] were all stored in Tongdosa. Also, in Heonyang county (now Eonyang)[177] there is Abyusa,[178] where the wooden duck-pillow once miraculously appeared; hence the temple's name [temple where the mallard played].

Then there is also Wonseung. Originally when Jajang went to study in the west, he came back with him to Korea, to assist in spreading the Vinaya. [etc.][179]

The eulogy says:

Once he turned to Qingliang, and returned upon waking from his dream

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174 According to the biography of Jajang in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin*, Jajang died after falling ill in the Yonghui era (650–655). T 2122.53.779c. The story is rather disconcerting, since it implies that Jajang was not fully awakened. Note the similarity with the story of the Hwaeom patriarch Dushun's disciple, who failed to recognize that his master was Mañjuśrī. See CC Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 232–3 (from *Huayan yicheng shixuangmen*,T 1868.45.512–513)

175 The term used here is *posae* 蒲塞, an abbreviated form of *iposae* 伊蒲塞 "*upasaka*," a lay follower of Buddhism.

176 This dragon is mentioned in the "Fifty thousand incarnated Buddhas of Mt. Odae," in chapter 4 of *Samguk yusa*.

177 Now part of Ulsan.

178 Abyusa 鴨遊寺: otherwise unknown.

179 According to *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, he had come to China before Jajang, arriving in 627.

At once the the complete and correct Vinaya[180] was spread
Making monk and lay ashamed of their clothes
The Eastern country's dress is now cut to the Chinese model

暮年謝辭京輦, 於江陵郡<今冥州也> 創水多寺居焉. 復夢異僧, 狀北臺所見. 來告曰,"明日見汝於大松汀." 驚悸而起, 早行至松汀. 果感文殊來格, 諮詢法要, 乃曰,"重期於太伯葛蟠地." 遂隱不現<松汀至今不生荊刺, 亦不棲鷹鸇之類云.> 藏往太伯山尋之, 見巨蟒蟠結樹下, 謂侍者曰,"此所謂葛蟠地." 乃創石南院<今淨岩寺>, 以候聖降. 粤有老居士, 方袍纜縷, 荷葛簣, 盛死狗兒, 來謂侍者曰,"欲見慈藏來爾." 門者曰,"自奉巾箒, 未見忤犯吾師諱者. 汝何人斯, 爾狂言乎?" 居士曰,"但告汝師." 遂入告, 藏不之覺曰,"殆狂者耶." 門人出詬逐之. 居士曰,"歸歟! 歸歟! 有我相者, 焉得見我." 乃倒簣拂之, 狗變爲師子寶座, 陞坐放光而去. 藏聞之, 方具威儀, 尋光而趨登南嶺, 已杳然不及, 遂殞身而卒. 茶毘安骨於石穴中.

凡藏之締構寺塔, 十有餘所, 每一興造必有異祥. 故蒲塞供塡市, 不日而成. 藏之道具布襪, 幷大和龍所獻木鴨枕, 與釋尊田衣等, 合在通度寺. 又巘陽縣<今彦陽> 有鴨遊寺, 枕鴨嘗於此現異, 故名之.

又有釋圓勝者, 先藏西學, 而同還桑梓, 助弘律部云.

讚曰 曾向清凉夢破廻, 七篇三聚一時開. 欲令緇素衣慚愧, 東國衣冠上國裁.

[180] *Chilpyeon samchwi* 七篇三聚: refers to the seven subdivisions of the Vinaya and the three pure precepts for bodhisattvas.

5-7.
Wonhyo the Unbridled 元曉不羈

Introduction:

This is the biography of Wonhyo, who is considered the foremost Buddhist thinker of the Silla period. For the compilation of this biography, Iryeon consulted the *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* Wonhyo's *Account of Conduct* (*haengjang*), and a local biography, as well as oral legends and other documents. But as Iryeon states, "The story of his journey, and of the many traces of his wide proselytizing, can be found in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and his *Account of Conduct*, so they will not be repeated here. However, there are a few interesting events transmitted in the villages [that I will include here]." Thus for the most important aspects of his life, his practice and teaching, Iryeon simply refers the reader to these other sources. Moreover, he makes no use of two stela inscriptions, the *Seodang hwasang bi* (preserved in part) from Silla and the *Hwajeong guksa bi* (not preserved) from Goryeo. Thus, the purpose of this section was not to sketch the whole biography, but rather to provide a few comments and additional stories.

Wonhyo was born in what is now Gyeongsan, outside the Silla metropolis Gyeongju, and after studying with various masters he set out with Uisang for China, but turned back en route after realizing there was nothing further for him to learn in China. He wrote many "Doctrinal Essentials," assessing the meaning of the most important Buddhist texts imported to Silla. For sūtras or *śāstras* he considered particularly important, he also wrote commentaries, and also presented his synthetic overview of all these texts and his unique strategy for finding common ground between them in his *Simmun hwajaeng non* (*Ten aspects of the Reconciliation of disputes*). Among his many essays and commentaries, two in particular stand out: his commentary on the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* (*Daeseung gisillon so*) and his exposition of the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* (*Geumgang sammaegyeong non*). Both of these texts contain a systematic analysis of the concept of "one mind" (*ilsim*), and



Bunhwangsa, Gyeongju

constitute the pinnacle of Silla Buddhist philosophy. Together with such doctrinal achievements, Wonhyo also played a leading role in spreading the Buddhist teachings by bringing them directly to the people. After his marriage to the princess of the Yoseok palace, he left the order, and as a result of this was probably not able to cultivate successors. However, his works spread far and wide, and through them his thought influenced many later monks not only in Korea but also in China and Japan.

Annotated Translation:

The sage teacher Wonhyo's secular surname was Seol. His grandfather was Lord Ingpi, who was also known as Lord Jeokdae.[181] At present, there is a shrine dedicated to Lord Ingpi next to the Jeokdae pond. His father was

181 Otherwise unknown. "Ingpi" is likely a transcription of a native term; "Jeokdae" means "red and big."

Damnal Naemal.[182] He first showed the signs of his [imminent] birth in the south of Amnyang prefecture (*this is now* Jangsan *prefecture*),[183] north of Bulji village, under the *śāla* trees[184] in Chestnut valley. The village is called "Bulji" [Buddha place] or "Balji" [producing wisdom] (*in the vernacular it is called Buldeung-eul village*).[185]

As for the *śāla* trees, legend has it that the master's house was originally in the southwestern part of this valley. When her pregnancy had reached the stage where her belly resembled a full moon, his mother happened to pass through the valley underneath the chestnut trees, when suddenly she had to give birth. It was so urgent that she could not return home, so she tied her husband's clothes to the tree and lay down to give birth there. This is why the tree was called a *śāla* tree; its fruits were out of the ordinary, and to this day they are called *śāla* chestnuts.[186]

According to an ancient tradition, once there was a temple abbot who gave each temple slave just two chestnuts for their evening meal, so the slaves brought a case against him with the authorities. An official clerk found

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182 Otherwise unknown. "Naemal," more commonly spelled "namal 奈末" or "nama 奈麻" is a title corresponding with the 11th rank in Silla's 17-tier bureaucracy. This also means that Wonhyo probably belonged to the head-rank five status group, which was allowed this rank.

183 Originally a small state known as Amnyang soguk 押梁小國 or Apdok soguk 押督小國, it was incorporated as a Silla prefecture (*gun* 郡) by King Jima (r. 112–134), and renamed Jangsan 章山 by King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765). See *Samguk sagi* 34, 2: 184. It was renamed Gyeongsan 慶山 by King Chungseon (r. 1308–1313) of Goryeo, which is also the current name. It is located in North Gyeongsang province, just to the east of Daegu.

184 Also *sāla* or *sāl*, the *Shorea robusta*, a tall forest tree that flowers in April/May, common in Northern India and Nepal. It is said that when the Buddha entered nirvāṇa, a pair of these trees stood on each side of his bed. Also, according to some accounts his mother held on to a flowering *śāla* branch when giving birth; hence it here serves to associate Wonhyo's birth with that of the Buddha.

185 *Deung-eul* may correspond to the modern word *deongeori*, "lump, mass," so it is simply a native translation of the Chinese character *chi*, land.

186 In other words, Wonhyo was born under a chestnut tree; but to establish parallels with the Buddha's birth, which in some versions took place under a *śāla* tree, the chestnut is promoted as the equivalent of this famous tree from a distant country.

this strange, and confiscating the chestnuts for inspection found that one chestnut filled an entire bowl. Thus he ruled that rather than [giving more], henceforth [only] one chestnut should be given [for the slaves' evening meal]. For this reason the place is known as Chestnut valley. After the master left household life he donated his house to turn it into a temple, calling it Chogae [initial awakening] [temple]. Next to the tree he established a temple called *śāla* [temple].

According to the master's "*Account of Conduct*" (*haengjang*),[187] he was a "man from the capital," [but] this is derived from his grandfather's [origins]. According to the *Tang Biographies of Monks*,[188] he was originally from lower Sangju. This is based on the fact that in the second year of Linde (665), King Munmu (r. 661–681) divided the territory [of Silla] into upper and lower provinces[189] and also established Samnyang province;[190] the lower province corresponds to present-day Changnyeong prefecture.[191] Amnyang prefecture was originally a dependent county in the lower province. The upper province is present-day Sangju 尙州, which is also sometimes given as Sangju 湘州.[192]

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187 The *haengjang* 行狀 (Ch: *xingzhuang*) was a final report on a person's activities compiled shortly after his death by his relatives, or, in the case of monks, by his disciples. Perhaps the information on his father and grandfather is also derived from this document, although it is doubtful whether an original document survived till Iryeon's time.

188 *Dangseungjeon* 唐僧傳: Tang here presumably stands for China, as Iryeon was surely aware that Wonhyo's biography could be found in the Song compilation of eminent monks compiled by Zanning; the "Tang Biographies" usually refers to Daoxuan's compilation of 667, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060.50).

189 This administrative reorganization is also described in *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 34, under Yangju. It basically amounted to a reorganization of Silla's prefectures in two groups, a northern ("upper") and a southern ("lower") group, probably to prepare for the eventual re-division of the country after unification in nine provinces (*ju*) in 685.

190 Present-day Yangsan, in South Gyeongsang province.

191 In South Gyeongsang province.

192 Iryeon seems to be at pains to avoid saying that the *Song gaoseng zhuan* is mistaken, in that Wonhyo was not from Sangju but from Amnyang (Gyeongsan-gun), and that Zanning moreover miswrote Sangju 尙州 as Sangju 湘州. Perhaps Zanning unconsciously used the wrong *sang*

Bulji village is now part of Jain county, which was separated from Amnyang [prefecture].[193]

After the master was born, his childhood name was Seodang ("Promised banner"), while his home was called Sindang ("New banner"). (dang [*banner*] *is commonly called* mo [*hair*]).[194] At first, his mother dreamt of a falling star entering her bosom, and because of this became pregnant. When she was about to give birth, five-colored clouds covered the earth.[195] This was the thirty-ninth year of King Jinpyeong's reign, or the thirteenth year of Daye, 617.

When he was born, he was extraordinarily precocious. In his studies, he did not follow [one particular] master. The details of his travels, as well as the wide renown he gained for his exploits are all related in the Chinese biography and his *Account of Conduct*. These cannot all be quoted here. Yet the native biography [of Wonhyo][196] records one or two alternative events [that are quoted here].

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character because it is also the second character in Uisang's 義湘 name; his biography comes before Wonhyo's in the same fascicle. In other cases, however, Iryeon does point out mistakes in Chinese biographies, albeit in a very oblique way, as in the case of Daoxuan's writing Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 as Hwangnyungsa 皇隆寺; see HBJ 6.342c3 (in a comment to the biography of Wongwang).

193 Jain county (*hyeon*) is now a district (*myeon*) of Gyeongsan. The exact location of Bulji village is not known.

194 Banner (K: *dang* 幢, Ch: *chuang*), a ritual accessory often used in Buddhist rituals. It could also refer to an ornamental pillar, a kind of Buddhist votive shrine. Iryeon's gloss is not clear; perhaps he refers to the feathers decorating the banner (*mo* can refer to any kind of bodily covering), but it seems also possible that this is a glossogram, i.e. the native pronunciation of the Chinese character. See Akiko Shimono, "Depictions of *Foding zunshen tuoluoni jing* and *Dhāraṇī* Pillars in Tang China" in Y. Pak and R. Whitfield, ed., *Esoteric Buddhist Tradition in East Asia: Text, Ritual and Image,* forthcoming.However, the word *tang* is not only used in a Buddhist context, but also sometimes stands for a tribal or military unit, similar to the Manchu "banners."

195 This is a trope of an immaculate conception that can be found in most biographies of monks. It also serves to replicate the legend of Śākyamuni, whose mother conceived after dreaming of a white elephant.

196 *Hyangjeon* 鄉傳: another Silla work, possibly the *Sui jeon* 殊異傳 ("*Tales of Marvels*"), which is no longer extant; it could also refer to more than one work.

聖師元曉, 俗姓薛氏. 祖仍皮公, 亦云赤大公. 今赤大淵側, 有仍皮公廟. 父談捺乃末. 初示生于押梁郡南<今章山郡> 佛地村北 栗谷 裟羅樹下. 村名佛地, 或作發智村<俚云弗等乙村>. 裟羅樹者, 諺云, "師之家本住此谷西南, 母旣娠而月滿, 適過此谷栗樹下, 忽分産. 而倉皇不能歸家, 且以夫衣掛樹, 而寢處其中, 因號樹曰裟羅樹." 其樹之實, 亦異於常, 至今稱裟羅栗. 古傳, "昔有主寺者, 給寺奴一人, 一夕饌栗二枚, 奴訟于官. 官吏怪之, 取栗檢之, 一枚盈一鉢, 乃反自判給一枚. 故因名栗谷." 師旣出家, 捨其宅爲寺, 名初開, 樹之旁置寺曰裟羅.

師之行狀云, "是京師人", 從祖考也. 唐僧傳云, "本下湘州之人". 按麟德二年間, 文武王割上州下州之地, 置插良州. 則下州, 乃今之昌寧郡也. 押梁郡本下州之屬縣. 上州則今尙州, 亦作湘州也. 佛地村今屬慈仁縣, 則乃押梁之所分開也.

師生小名誓幢, 第名新幢<幢者俗云毛也>. 初母夢流星入懷, 因而有娠. 及將産, 有五色雲覆地. 眞平王三十九年 大業十三年丁丑歲也. 生而穎異, 學不從師. 其遊方始末, 弘通茂跡, 具載唐傳與行狀, 不可具載. 唯鄕傳所記, 有一二段異事.

Once upon a time the master behaved as if he was crazy, singing the following ditty in the streets: "Who will lend me a handle-less axe, so that I can cut away the pillar supporting Heaven?" Nobody understood what he meant, but when it came to the ears of King Taejong,[197] he said, "This master is probably shouting like this because he wants to obtain a bride of noble rank to sire a sage-child. If the country has a great sage, there can be no benefit greater than this."[198] At that time in the Yoseok palace[199] (*now it is a school*) there was a widowed princess.[200] The king ordered a clerk to

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197 I.e. King Muyeol (r. 654–661), whose personal name was Gim Chunchu. He laid the foundation for Silla's unification of the Three Kingdoms.

198 There are two interesting parallels to this story: one is the story of King Yao Xing of Later Qin who forced the eminent monk Kumārajīva (344–413) to father a son so as to produce a great sage; and the other is the story how the Baekje commoner Seodong employed a song to entice a Silla princess.

199 Yoseok palace 瑤石宮 "Precious jade palace;" located west of Wolseong fortress in Gyeongju. According to the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, fasc. 21, it was just south of the Gyeongju *hyanggyo* (county school).

200 Possibly King Muyeol's daughter.

look for Wonhyo and lure him into the palace. The clerk received the order and set off to look for him. Wonhyo had already come down from Namsan and was crossing the bridge over the *Mun stream* (*the Sa [sandy] stream is commonly called the Sae [new] stream, or also the Mun [mosquito] stream;*[201] *the bridge is also called the Yu [elm] bridge*).[202] When the clerk met him, he feigned [an accident so that] he fell into the stream, and his robes and trousers were wet. The clerk then led the master into the palace and took off his clothes to dry them so that he had to stay the night. [As a result] the princess got pregnant, and gave birth to Seol Chong. Seol Chong turned out to be bright and clever,[203] and quickly gained a broad command of all the classics and histories; he is thus counted as one of the ten sages of Silla.[204] Using the local [Silla] dialect he made it possible to communicate both Chinese and foreign customs and things, and also used them as glosses to explain the Six Classics and literary works.[205] To this day in Korea, the art of explaining the classics in this way has been transmitted unbroken.

Having thus broken the precepts to sire Seol Chong, from then on he changed to secular clothes, and styled himself "layman small-name."[206] By chance he acquired a big gourd that was used by entertainers for singing

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201 All these names refer to the Nam stream (South stream), so called because it flows south of the Wolseong palace. The second name, Yeoncheon 年川 should probably be read as Saecheon; the Korean gloss for the Chinese character *yeon* 年 is *hae* "sun, year, of the new year;" in the last sense, by extension it can also be read as *sae* "new." The *sa* in Sacheon, here translated as sandy stream, may therefore also be simply a transcription of the same native word *sae*.

202 The bridge probably corresponds to a place later called Woljeong 月精 (moon essence) bridge; remains of it have recently been discovered.

203 As indicated by his name: *chong* 聰 means "clever, bright."

204 The other sages are believed to have included amongst others such well-known figures as Gim Daemun (fl. 8th century), Choe Chiwon (b. 857), and Choe Seungu (fl. 890).

205 This refers of course to the famous *idu* 吏讀 (clerical reading) system in which Chinese characters are used as phonograms to transcribe Korean sounds.

206 *Soseong geosa* 小姓居士: literally "layman with the small surname." This usually refers to someone of low social status; here it could mean "secular surname," in contrast to the Buddha's surname (*Seok* 釋) that monks take on ordination.

and dancing. Its appearance was grotesque, but because of its shape he made it into a dharma instrument. Because it says in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* that "someone who is without obstructions will escape the fate of birth and death through a single path,"[207] he devised the name Muae [No Obstruction].

Again he made songs to spread into the world, and with these songs he went to all the villages and hamlets, [where by] singing and dancing he converted [people] with his hymns and returned. He made sure that even the poorest homestead[208] and those who were [as ignorant and misbehaved as] monkeys all knew the Buddha's names and could all chant the invocation "namas."[209] The conversion Wonhyo achieved was great indeed!

師嘗一日風顚唱街云, "誰許沒柯斧, 我斫支天柱." 人皆未喩, 時太宗聞之曰, "此師殆欲得貴婦, 產賢子之謂也. 國有大賢, 利莫大焉." 時瑤石宮<今學院是也> 有寡公主, 勑宮吏覓曉引入. 宮吏奉勑將求之, 已自南山, 來過蚊川橋<沙川. 俗云年川, 又蚊川. 又橋名楡橋也> 遇之. 佯墮水中, 濕衣袴, 吏引師於宮, 緇衣曬晾, 因留宿焉. 公主果有娠, 生薛聰. 聰生而睿敏, 博通經史, 新羅十賢中一也. 以方音, 通會華夷方俗物名, 訓解六經文學, 至今海東業明經者, 傳受不絶.
曉旣失戒生聰, 已後易俗服, 自號小姓居士. 偶得優人舞弄大瓠, 其狀瑰奇. 因其形製爲道具, 以華嚴經 "一切無碍人, 一道出生死," 命名曰 "無㝵", 仍作歌流于世. 嘗持此, 千村萬落, 且歌且舞, 化詠而歸, 使桑樞瓮牖玃猴之輩, 皆識佛陀之號, 咸作南無之稱, 曉之化大矣哉.

As for his place of birth being called "Buddha-land," his temple "Initial Awakening," and his own name "Break of Dawn" – these all refer to the incipient illumination of the Buddha sun.[210] "Wonhyo" is also a regional dialect form: in his time all the people called him by this native name. It

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[207] This can be found in the 60 fasc. translation of the *Hwaeom Gyeong*, translated by Buddhabhadra between 418 and 420. See T 278.9.429b, in chapter six of "the bodhisattva [Samantabhadra] clarifies the allegations."

[208] Lit. "homes with mulberry door frames and windows made of jars." From ch. 28 of *Zhuangzi*.

[209] Nammu 南無, Sanskrit *namas*: to honor, to seek refuge in.

[210] Buril 佛日: a common epithet for monks, symbolizing the radiance of enlightenment.

means "first dawn."[211]

Once he resided at Bunhwangsa,[212] where he was compiling a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. When he came to the fourth chapter, the "chapter on the ten transfers [of merit],"[213] he finally laid down his brush. Also, once because of a dispute he divided his body among a hundred pine trees, and therefore all thought that he was at the first stage of the [bodhisattva] path.[214] Yet because of the entreaties of the sea dragon, he received an edict on the road, and composed the commentary to the *Vajrasamādhi sūtra*.[215] He placed his brush and ink stone on the horns of an ox, and for this was also called "Horn rider."[216] This was for the purpose of manifesting the subtle meanings of original and actualized enlightenment. When dharma master Daean came along to collate the papers and glue them together, it was the

211 This explanation is puzzling, as Wonhyo 元曉 "first light" is clearly not a rendering of a native Korean word. Perhaps by "dialect" (*bang-eon* 方言) Iryeon here means a non-standard sinitic form.

212 A temple founded in 634 by Queen Seondeok in the capital of Silla, Gyeongju. It is adjacent to the other great Gyeongju temple, Hwangnyongsa, which is to its south. The lower storeys of Bunhwangsa's pagoda, which probably dates to Wonhyo's time, still remain; it has been designated National Treasure no. 30.

213 Some also argue that this sentence should read "When he came to the fourteenth [fascicle] 'on the ten transferences,'..," because in the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the chapter on the ten transferences starts from fascicle fourteen. However, since the transferences are the fourth of the five practices of the bodhisattva as outlined in the *Huayan jing*, the present translation seems justifiable. Unfortunately since only fragments of the actual commentary survive, it is impossible to determine which interpretation is correct.

214 Choji 初地 is also the name of a bodhisattva who appears in the 22nd chapter of the 60-fascicle *Huayan jing*. Upon ordination, he would "be able to transform his body into one hundred [bodies], each of which would in turn be able to manifest 100 bodhisattvas and which would all be related." T 278.9.547b.

215 This commentary, the *Geumgang sammae gyeong*, is extant in full. It has been translated by Robert E. Buswell Jr. in *Cultivating Original Enlightenment: Wonhyo's Exposition of the Vajrasamādhi sūtra* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

216 This should not be taken literally; rather, *gakseung* "hornrider" 角乘 is simply a pun on *gakseung* "enlightenment vehicle" 覺乘; the two horns between which he places his commentary thus symbolize original enlightenment (*bongak* 本覺) and actualized enlightenment (*sigak* 始覺).

action of someone who was perfectly in tune with [Wonhyo's mind].[217]

After Wonhyo had entered into quiescence, Seol Chong ground the remaining bones and sculpted them into a likeness of Wonhyo. He enshrined [the statue] in Bunhwangsa to express his eternal respect and affection. Once, when he paid his respects at the side of the statue, it suddenly turned to look at him. To this day it is still turning back. Next to Hyeolsa,[218] where Wonhyo used to live, one can still see the ruins of Seol Chong's house [etc.]

The eulogy says:
At first Horn-rider opened the *Vajrasamādhi* scrolls
In the end Dancing Gourd fluttered in the wind of a myriad streets.
Under the bright moon in the Yoseok palace, the spring dream vanished
Behind closed doors of Bunhwangsa, his likeness looks back in emptiness

其生緣之村名佛地, 寺名初開, 自稱元曉者, 皆初輝佛日之意也. 元曉亦是方言也, 當時人皆以鄉言稱之始旦也. 曾住芬皇寺, 纂華嚴疏, 至第四十廻向品, 終乃絶筆. 又嘗因訟, 分軀於百松, 故皆謂位階初地矣. 亦因海龍之誘, 承詔於路上, 撰三昧經疏, 置筆硯於牛之兩角上, 因謂之角乘, 亦表本始二覺之微旨也. 大安法師排來而粘紙, 亦知音唱和也. 旣入寂, 聰碎遺骸, 塑眞容, 安芬皇寺, 以表敬慕終天之志. 聰時旁禮, 像忽廻顧, 至今猶顧矣. 曉嘗所居穴寺旁, 有聰家之墟云.

讚曰 角乘初開三昧軸, 舞壺終掛萬街風. 月明瑤石春眠去, 門掩芬皇顧影空.

[217] One clearly gets the impression that this biography is written for an audience of insiders already well acquainted with the other biographies; this paragraph is essentially a summary of Wonhyo's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.

[218] According to the *Seodang hwasang bi*, this is the temple where Wonhyo died.

5-8.
Uisang Transmits the Teachings[219] 義湘傳教

Introduction:

In contrast to the biography of Wonhyo, the life story of Uisang, the founder of the Hwaeom tradition in Silla, is a more conventional, fairly comprehensive overview of Uisang's life and career. Uisang (625–702) gave further impetus to doctrinal studies and through his efforts in disseminating Hwaeom teachings he was not merely a transmitter, but also one who helped shape its fundamental ideas and imagery. Besides laying the foundations of the Hwaeom school in Korea, he helped to popularize Buddhism by introducing beliefs and practices related to Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha.

As in previous biographies, Iryeon departs from a main source text, in this case Choe Chiwon's *Buseok[sa] jonja jeon* 浮石寺尊者傳 (*Biography of the venerable master from Buseoksa*), now lost, supplementing it with other materials. It comprises the following elements: family, going forth, travel to Tang China, Zhiyan's premonition of his arrival, his study of Hwaeom and return to Silla, the founding of Buseoksa, correspondence with Fazang, the ten Hwaeom temples, his major works, his ten disciples, the activities of his disciples, and extraordinary events. However, important details such as his dates of birth and death are not discussed, which means that the biography cannot be said to be complete. By contrast, Uisang's biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* has the following elements: family, going forth, the story of what happened to Wonhyo during their journey to Tang China, his encounter with Shanmiao in Dengzhou, study with Zhiyan, further entanglement with Shanmiao upon his return, founding of Buseoksa and Shanmiao, refusal of the king's donation, his disciples, his way of life, the

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[219] Source text used: Iryeon, *Samguk yusa* 4, "Exegetes," HBJ 6.348b20–349b22. "Teachings" here refers to the doctrinal teachings (*gyo*), more specifically those of the Hwaeom school, as opposed to the practice-oriented meditation school (*seon*).

training of his disciples, works by his disciples, and nirvāṇa. Although the general structure is similar, there are important differences. While keeping the *Buseok[sa] jonja jeon* and the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* biographies in mind, Iryeon is primarily concerned with providing elements that are not present in those biographies. When he was writing, Choe Chiwon's version was the standard reference for Uisang's biography, but Iryeon probably wrote his version to focus more on Uisang's contribution in gaining acceptance for Hwaeom doctrine in Silla and building the Hwaeom school.

Important information about Uisang's dates can also be found in chapter 4 of *Samguk yusa*, in a quote from the Buseoksa stela added by Iryeon's disciple Mugeuk at the end of "A chronological account of the transmission of Buddhist relics."

Annotated Translation:

Dharma master Uisang's father was called Hansin, of the Gim clan.[220] Aged twenty-nine he took the tonsure[221] in Hwangboksa[222] in the capital. Not long after this, he went far to the western borders to witness the transforming influence [of Buddhism in China]. Together with Wonhyo he crossed the border into Liaodong, but the border guards rounded them up on suspicion of spying, and they were imprisoned for several weeks; in the end they barely

220 According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography of Uisang, his surname was Bak (T 2061.50.729a4).

221 This would be unusually late. According to a passage of a stela for Uisang (*Buseok[sa] bonbi* 浮石本碑) quoted in the "History of the transmission of *śarīra*" in *Samguk yusa*, Uisang was born in the eighth year of Wude (625) and left household life "at the age when wearing the hair in knots" i.e. when still a child; this seems more realistic. HBJ 6.327b2–3.

222 Hwangboksa 皇福寺: located in modern Gyeongju (N Gyeongsang province), the site of the ancient Silla capital. Now only the stūpa, designated National Treasure 37, and some other masonry remain. Judging from the temple's name ("Imperial Blessings temple"), it must have been a court-sponsored temple, but we have no information regarding its origins. Not only was Uisang ordained here, he also resided here for a long time, as evidenced by the story of the circumambulation of the stūpa, which follows later in this section.



Buseoksa, Yeongju, Gyeongsangbukdo

managed to evade [execution] and returned (*these events are in the main biography by Duke Choe,*[223] *and also in Wonhyo's Account of Conduct*).[224]

At the beginning of the Yonghui era (650–655),[225] it so happened that a

223 Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (857-after 908) is one of the most famous intellectuals in Korean history, and the first to leave behind a substantial oeuvre of texts, which he wrote in an elegant and sophisticated literary Chinese. He wrote several stela inscriptions and other biographic texts of monks, but his biography of Uisang has not been preserved. It is, however, cited by other works, confirming that it existed at least till the end of the Goryeo period: Uicheon (1055–1101) lists the *Buseok[sa] jonja jeon* 浮石尊者傳 by Choe Chiwon in his *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (HBJ 4.682c13); Gakhun (fl. 1215) refers to the "Biography of Uisang" (義湘傳) in the Biography of Anham in his *Haedong goseung jeon* (HBJ 6.99c8–9; T 2065.50.1021c20); and in Chewon's (fl. 1328) *Baekhwa doryang barwonmun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解 mention is made of Choe Chiwon's "main biography" (HBJ 6570c13–14). The description of their journey to China in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography translated below is somewhat different (there Wonhyo and Uisang travel by ship rather than overland) and more detailed.

224 This "*Account of Conduct*" is also mentioned in Wonhyo's biography in the *Samguk yusa* (HBJ 6.348a7), but has not been transmitted.

225 According to the *Buseok[sa] bonbi*, 650 is the year of his first, failed attempt to reach China together with Wonhyo. His second, successful attempt took place in 661, according to this source.

Chinese embassy ship was returning west, and boarding it he entered China. At first he stayed in Yangzhou, where the local commander, Liu Zhiren,[226] invited him to stay in the official governing complex [yamen] and provided him with abundant meals. Then he went to Zhixiang si[227] on Zhongnan shan to visit Zhiyan.[228]

The evening before [Uisang's arrival] Zhiyan had a dream about a large tree growing in the country east of the sea. Its branches and leaves spread far and wide, until they covered the Divine prefecture.[229] In the tree was a phoenix nest, and when he climbed the tree he saw it contained a precious maṇi pearl,[230] its brightness illuminating even distant regions. When he woke up, he was greatly intrigued. Sprinkling and sweeping [the temple courtyard], he waited. When Uisang arrived, he greeted him with great ceremony, and said to him in a relaxed manner "the dream I had yesterday was a sign of your coming to be my disciple." Then he allowed him to enter his room, and explained the hidden mysteries and subtle purport of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Zhiyan was pleased to find a kindred spirit.[231] [Uisang] strove to establish

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This chronology appears to be more realistic. HBJ 6.327b3–6. According to *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he travelled to China in 669 (T 2061.50.729a17)

226 Otherwise unknown. According to *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he went begging, and came to the house of Shanmiao, who would later transform into a dragon and protect him.

227 Temple located about 30 km. south of the city of Xi'an, Sha'anxi province. It has recently been rebuilt.

228 Zhiyan (602–668): second patriarch of the Huayan school. According to Wonhyo's biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Uisang had intended to study with the Yogācāra monk Xuanzang (602?–664) at Cien monastery. T 2061.50.730a11–12.

229 Metaphor for China; originates with Zou Yan of the Warring States period, who called China "Red county, Divine prefecture" (赤縣神州). Sima Qian, *Shiji* 74.

230 *Maṇi* pearl: one of the seven treasures (*chilbo* 七寶) of Buddhism, symbol of the Buddha and his teaching. Also translated as "wish granting" (*yeoui*, Ch. *ruyi* 如意) pearl.

231 *Yeongjil* (Ch. *yingzhi*): literally, the substance of Ying, a place in China. After a story found in the Xu Wugui, chapter 24 of *Zhuangzi*: a man of Ying put a very thin layer of clay on his nose, and asked a mason to remove it with one fell swoop. The mason did this without hurting him; neither of them flinched. Later, a nobleman heard this and asked the mason to do the same on him, but he replied,

new interpretations, it can be called "plumbing the depths [of meaning] and uncovering what was hidden;" it was a case of the indigo and madder losing their original colors.[232]

Then the seungsang Gim Heumsun[233] (*according to one source it is Gim Inmun*),[234] [Gim] Yangdo[235] and others from his country of origin were captured on entry to Tang, and Emperor Gaozong (649–683) was about to launch a major expedition to subjugate the east. Heumsun and the others secretly dispatched Uisang to inform and preempt this invasion.[236] In the first year of Xianxiang, 670,[237] he returned to his country, and informed the court of what he had heard. The court then ordered Myeongnang, bhadanta[238] of

"I have lost my substance." The "substance" refers to the man of Ying whose nose escaped unharmed; hence, the story illustrates the perfect understanding between two people.

232 A reference to the "Encouraging Learning" chapter of the *Xunzi*: blue color is extracted from the indigo plant and red from the madder plant, but the extracted colors surpass the original plant in the depth of their color; in other words, the disciple has surpassed his master.

233 Gim Heumsun, also Heumchun: younger brother of Gim Yusin. In 660, together with Gim Yusin, he led 50,000 troops to help the Tang army subjugate Baekje. In 668 he did the same for Goguryeo, now joined by Gim Inmun. In 669 he was sent to Tang as an envoy. *Samguk sagi* 6. *Seungsang* can be translated as prime minister, chief councilor.

234 Gim Inmun (629–694): second son of King Muyeol (r. 654–661), younger brother of King Munmu (r. 661–680). See *Samguk sagi* 44 for his biography. He spent the last period of his life in Tang China, trying to mend the relations between Tang and Silla. *Samguk sagi* 6.

235 Gim Yangdo (d. 670) also fought in the unification wars together with Gim Yusin and Gim Inmun. In 669 he was granted the office rank of *pajinchan* (fourth rank), and sent to China as an envoy together with *gakgan* (the highest office rank) Gim Heumsun. However, although Gim Heumsun returned in 670, Gim Yangdo was further detained and died the same year. *Samguk sagi* 6.

236 In the second fascicle of *Samguk yusa*, in the section "Munho [Munmu] wang Beommin," it is said that Gim Inmun instructed Uisang to return and inform the court. HBJ 6.288a8–9.

237 In the section "History of the Transmission of *śarīra*" in *Samguk yusa*, the *Buseok[sa] bonbi* is quoted, which gives the year he returned as "the second year of Xianxiang [671)." HBJ 6.327b6. However, since the cyclical year (*gyeongo*) is quoted here, and since 670 is also the year Gim Heumsun returned, 670 is the more reliable date.

238 Lit. "most virtuous," a term of respect for the Buddha or monk; in Goryeo also used as a monastic rank.

the Divine Seal school,[239] to set up a temporary esoteric shrine to pray for this [problem to be resolved]. The country was thereby saved.

法師義湘, 考曰韓信, 金氏. 年二十九, 依京師皇福寺落髮. 未幾西圖觀化, 遂與元曉, 道出遼東, 邊戍邏之爲諜者, 囚閉者累旬, 僅免而還.<事在崔侯本傳 及曉師行狀等>

永徽初會唐使舡有西還者, 寓載入中國. 初止揚州, 州將劉至仁請留衙內, 供養豊贍. 尋往終南山至相寺, 謁智儼. 儼前夕夢, 一大樹生海東, 枝葉溥布, 来蔭神州, 上有鳳巢, 登視之, 有一摩尼寶珠, 光明屬遠. 覺而驚累, 洒掃而待. 湘乃至. 殊禮迎際, 從容謂曰, "吾昨者之夢, 子来投我之兆," 許爲入室. 雜花妙旨, 剖析幽微, 儼喜逢郢質, 克發新致, 可謂鉤深累隱, 藍茜沮本色. 旣而本國承相金欽純<一作仁問> 良圖等, 往囚於唐, 高宗將大擧東征, 欽純等密遣湘, 誘而先之. 以咸亨元年庚午還國, 聞事於朝, 命神印大德明朗, 假設密壇法禳之, 國乃免.

In the first year of Yifeng [676], Uisang returned to Taebaeksan, and constructed Buseoksa by royal order.[240] He widely spread the great vehicle, and produced many wondrous responses.

Then the disciple of [Zhiyan] at [Mt.] Zhongnan, Xianshou,[241] composed the *Souxuan shu*,[242] and sent a copy to Uisang's place, together with a letter

239 Myeongnang, who was a nephew of Jajang (his mother was Jajang's younger sister), travelled to China in 632, where he studied esoteric Buddhism; returning three years later he founded the Divine Seal school (Sininjong). His biography can be found in chapter 6 (fasc. 5) of *Samguk yusa*, "The Divine Seal of Myeongnang." HBJ 6.356b24–357a10. The story of how he used esoteric spells and rituals to destroy the enemy fleet can be found in fascicle 2 of *Samguk yusa*, "King Munmu, Beommin." HBJ 6.288a10–a24.

240 Buseoksa (floating rock temple): located in Yeongju, in the northern part of N Gyeongsang province. This fact is also mentioned in *Samguk sagi*, *Silla bongi*, 16th year of King Munmu.

241 Xianshou was an honorific name given to the monk Fazang (643–712) by Empress Wu Zetian. Although venerated as the third patriarch of the Huayan school, he was in fact the one who gave the school its identity. It is therefore also often called the Xianshou school.

242 *Souxuan shu* 搜玄疏: this most likely refers to Fazang's *Huayanjing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 (T 1733.35), a work in twenty *juan*. "Souxuan" and "tanxuan" have the same meaning of "investigating the hidden [meaning]." Zhiyan wrote a commentary in five *juan* entitled *Huayanjing souxuan ji* (T

entreating him as follows:[243]

> Fazang, from Chongfusi in the Western Capital [Chang'an],[244] sends this letter to the servant[245] of the dharma master of the Huayan [school] in the [kingdom of] Silla, in the country east of the sea. Ever since we parted more than twenty years ago, my longing for you has been sincere, so how could you be far from my thoughts! But separated by ten-thousand leagues of misty clouds, and a thousand layers of mountain and sea, I resent the fact that this body of mine will never again come face to face with you. Harboring such feelings of longing, how can they be expressed in words! Because of our common roots in a previous life, we have produced this common karma, which is now retributed by our joint immersion in the great sūtra; we were privileged to receive this instruction in the profound classic by our former master.[246]
>
> I respectfully learned that after your return to your country, you started to lecture on the *Avataṃsaka*, thus disseminating the *dharmadhātu*; with non-obstructed dependent origination, and manifold layers of the net of Indra, you newly built a Buddha country,[247] the benefit of which is truly

1731.35), so either this may have been a now lost commentary on his master's work, or Iryeon may have simply confused the works. As explained below, towards the end of the letter, Fazang saw his work as a further elucidation of what his master, Zhiyan, had written, hence the former explanation is more likely.

243 A copy of this letter was also included in Uicheon's *Wonjong mullyu*, HBJ 4.635c5–636a13. See also Antonino Forte, *A Jewel in Indra's Net: The Letter Sent by Fazang in China to Uisang in Korea* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2000), for further background on this document.

244 Chongfusi was a temple located in the Tang capital Chang'an (now Xi'an). In 670 Empress Wu Zetian converted her former residence into a temple, naming it Taiyuansi. In 689 it was renamed Chongfusi. The Silla monks Woncheuk (613–696), Seungjang (fl. 710), and Seungjeon all stayed in this temple.

245 I.e. Seungjeon, see below.

246 I.e., Zhiyan.

247 Perhaps a pun on Silla as a Buddhist country: after all, the name Silla 新羅 literally means "new net," a spelling which was fixed in 503, when Buddhism started to gain influence. *Samguk sagi*, Silla

vast, and this increases my joy by bounds. Through this we know that after the Buddha became extinguished, the one who made the Buddha sun shine brightly, set in motion the wheel of dharma again, and made the dharma abide for a long time, was only you, dharma master. I, Fazang, have tried to make some headway but without success. I have circled around without getting the whole picture. When I respectfully try to internalize this scripture, I bring shame to our former master. As I have been instructed to uphold it, however, I cannot let go of it. I hope that on the basis of this endeavor, I can create good causality for the future.

However, since the monk's [i.e. Zhiyan] compositions are rich in meaning while sparse in words, they are very difficult for later people to penetrate. Therefore, to document the subtle words and excellent meaning of the monk, I have forced myself to complete these notes on the meaning. Recently, since dharma master Seungjeon[248] has copied it, after returning to his home country, it can be transmitted to that country. I beg your honor to scrupulously separate right from wrong, to fortuitously manifest words of warning and instruction. I humbly wish that in the many lives to come, we may shed this body and receive another one that has the same marks as Roshana,[249] and thus hear and receive the inexhaustibly sublime dharma, and practice the immeasurable vows of Samantabhadra.[250] If one morning all the remaining bad karma collapses and sinks away, I humbly hope that your honor does not completely leave behind what happened previously, but that in all the paths [of reincarnation] you may show the correct path. If we have messengers available, let us occasionally enquire about the other's wellbeing. Here I conclude (*this text is contained in the Dae mullyu*).[251]

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bongi 4, fourth year of King Jijeung.

248 See below.

249 Nosana 盧舍那: Vairocana, the Buddha who preaches the *Avataṃsaka sūtra.*

250 Bohyeon wonhaeng 普賢願行 is a chapter in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra.*

251 I.e. the *Wonjong mullyu,* by Uicheon. Both versions are nearly identical, but the *Wonjong mullyu*

儀鳳元年, 湘歸太伯山, 奉朝旨創浮石寺, 敷敞大乘, 靈感頗著. 終南門人賢首, 撰搜玄疏, 送副本於湘處, 幷奉書懃懇. 曰 "西京崇福寺僧法藏, 致書於海東新羅華嚴法師侍者. 一從分別二十餘年, 傾望之誠, 豈離心首. 加以烟雲萬里, 海陸千重, 恨此一身, 不復再面, 抱懷戀戀, 夫何可言. 故由夙世同因, 今生同業, 得於此報, 俱沐大經, 特蒙先師授玆奧典. 仰承上人歸鄕之後, 開演華嚴, 宣揚法界無旱緣起, 重重帝網, 新新佛國, 利益弘廣, 喜躍增深. 是知如来滅後, 光輝佛日, 再轉法輪, 令法久住者, 其唯法師矣. 藏進趣無成, 周旋寡況. 仰念玆典, 愧荷先師, 隨分受持, 不能捨離, 希憑此業, 用結来因. 但以和尙章疏, 義豊文簡, 致令後人, 多難趣入. 是以錄和尙微言妙旨, 勒成義記, 近因勝詮法師, 抄寫還鄕, 傳之彼土, 請上人詳檢臧否, 幸示箴誨. 伏願當當来世, 捨身受身, 相與同於盧舍那, 聽受如此無盡妙法, 修行如此無量普賢願行. 儻餘惡業, 一朝顚墜, 伏希上人, 不遺宿昔, 在諸趣中, 示以正道. 人信之次, 時訪存沒. 不具."<文載大文類>

Uisang then ordered [the construction of] ten temples[252] to disseminate the doctrine: Buseoksa on Taebaeksan, Vimara[sa] in Wonju,[253] Haein[sa] on Gaya[san],[254] Okcheon[sa] on Biseul[san],[255] Beomeosa on Geumjeong

version includes some additional details; for example, at the end it adds the phrase "[written by] the monk Fazang, on the 28th day of the first month." It also has a short appendix detailing the various texts Seungjeon copied, and Fazang's acknowledgment of the receipt of gold sent by Uisang. HBJ 4.636a4–13.

252 It is very unlikely that Uisang actually instigated the building of ten temples. They are most likely Hwaeom temples that were later founded by his disciples or monks associated with the Hwaeom school. Another source, Choe Chiwon's biography of Fazang, gives a complete list of temples, which actually number more than ten. HPC 3.775c20–22.

253 I.e. Vimalakirti temple. This temple is not included in Choe Chiwon's list. See Kim Seongchan, "*Samguk yusa* Wonju Bimarasa wichi gi," [Chungcheong daehak bangmulgwan] *bangmulgwan ji* 7 (1998): 23–40. Probably located on Songnisan in North Chungcheong province, at that time under the jurisdiction of Wonju.

254 In Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang province.

255 Biseulsan (Vishnu mountain) is located south of Daegu. In 1261 Iryeon rebuilt the temple and restored its original name, Okcheonsa (it had been renamed Burilsa 佛日寺). It was rebuilt in 1631 by monk Joyeong 祖英, and again in 1805 by Uiyeol 義烈, who gave it its present name, Yongcheonsa 湧泉寺.

[san],[256] Hwaeomsa on Nam-ak,[257] and others.[258]

He also composed the book on the *Dharmadhātu* chart, which was printed together with a concise essay.[259] It completely covers the essentials of the one vehicle [teaching], and can serve as a thousand-year precious mirror [of the teaching], about which people vie in extolling its praise. Apart from that he did not write any books – from ancient times, one slice of meat sufficed to flavor a whole cauldron [of broth]. The chart was completed in the first year of Zongzhang, 668, the same year Zhiyan expired. It was like Confucius' putting down the brush [after writing the passage on] the capture of the unicorn![260]

A popular legend has it that Uisang is an appearance of Gold-mountain canopy Tathāgata.[261]

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256 On Geumjeongsan, near Busan.

257 Near Gurye, South Jeolla province. There are many accounts of its origins. Though traditionally its foundation was attributed to Uisang, in 1979 a copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* dated to the reign of King Gyeongdeok (742–765) came to light; according to its colophon, the temple was founded by the monk Yeongi from Hwangnyongsa. Nam-ak, literally "South Peak": the Silla Hwaeom school is later said to have split into a Northern Peak (=Taebaeksan, Buseoksa) and a Southern Peak school. It is also one of Silla's five holy peaks, and corresponds with modern Jirisan.

258 Choe Chiwon lists five additional temples; following the sequence in which they appear in his note, they are 1. Mirisa on the Southern Peak, Gongsan (modern Palgongsan; the temple's exact location is unknown); 5. Bowonsa on Gaya cape in Ungju (modern Gongju, S. Chungcheong province.); 6. Gapsa on Mt. Gyeryong (near modern Daejeon); 9. Guksinsa on Mt. Mu near Jeonju; 10. Cheongdamsa on Mt. Bua in Hanju (modern Seoul; its site is recently thought to have been identified during excavations for the so-called Eunpyeong New Town). Also, following no. 4, Haeinsa, he also adds Bogwangsa. As mentioned above, Vimalakirti temple is not included in Choe's list.

259 This is the famous *Hwaeom ilseung beopgye do* (*Dharmadhātu chart of the Avataṃsaka ekayāna*), T 1887A.45.711a1–716a20. It is very unlikely to have been printed in Uisang's time, so Iryeon probably refers to a later edition, with Uisang's auto commentary and perhaps another commentary as well.

260 This refers to the last entry in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, according to which Duke Ai of Lu caught a unicorn in the spring of 477 B.C. Confucius is said to have laid down the brush after writing this passage. In other words, after finishing a masterpiece, nothing more needs to be said.

261 金山寶蓋[如來]: an epithet for the Buddha which appears, amongst others, in the *Jin guangming jing* [*Sūtra of Golden Light*], G 40.640c2–3; T 663.16.345c1–2. "Gold mountain" is often used in

Among his disciples the ten foremost are the bhadantas Ojin,[262] Jitong,[263] Pyohun,[264] Jinjeong,[265] Jinjang, Doyung, Yangwon,[266] Sangwon,[267] Neungin,

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Buddhist scriptures as a metaphor for the Buddha's body, while the canopy is a decoration hung above the Buddha's seat. The epithet also occurs in the *Beomeosa changgeon sajeok*, where Uisang is called the "seventh reincarnation of the Gold-mountain canopy Tathāgata."

262 The only other reference to Ojin occurs in Gyunyeo's *Seok Hwaeom jigwi jang wontong cho*, HBJ 4.120a19–20: when the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in eighty fascicles was first introduced to Silla, Ojin sent a letter to the Tang monk Ziyuan asking about the number of chapters.

263 Jitong (b. 655), born a slave, wanted to enter the monkhood under Nangji of Yeongchwisan (near Yangsan, S Gyeongsang). On his way there he met an incarnation of Samantabhadra who bestowed the precepts on him; even though he eventually became Nangji's disciple, Nangji respected him as superior. While living on the east side of Yeongchwisan, Wonhyo happened to be living in Bangosa on the east side; Wonhyo frequently went to visit Jitong and composed the *Chojang gwanmun* and the *Ansin sasin non* for him. See "Nangji rides the clouds, the Samantabhadra tree," *Samguk yusa* 5, HBJ 6.363b1–c10. He also went to seek instruction from Uisang, and made a record of his ninety-day lecture on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* in Chudong hamlet on Mt Sobaek, the *Chudong gi*, which has not been transmitted. Chudong, literally "awl hamlet" was a village or district on Sobaeksan, where the sermon was held for the soul of Jinjeong's mother. Parts of it are thought to have been worked into later commentaries on Uisang's *Ilseung beopgyedo*. See Kim Sanghyeon, "Chudong gi wa geu ibon Hwaeomgyeong mundap," *Hanguk hakbo* 84 (1996).

264 Pyohun was like Uisang one of the ten saints of Silla enshrined in the Heungnyun temple. "The ten saints of the golden hall of Heungnyunsa in the Eastern Capital," *Samguk yusa* 3, HBJ 6.318b–10–13. He learned the *Dharmadhātu* chart from Uisang at Hwangboksa and after his master's death also resided in that temple (see *Beopgyedo gi chongsurok* 1, T 1887B.45). Around 750, Gim Daeseong invited Pyohun to become abbot of Seokbulsa, the sister temple of Bulguksa, where Sillim became abbot. "Daeseong is filial to two generations of parents," *Samguk yusa* 5, HBJ 6.367b24–368b5. However, given that Pyohun is said to have listened to Uisang's lectures at least fifty years before (Uisang died in 702) at Hwangboksa, this is unlikely to have been the same person. Also, a Pyohun, together with Neungin and Sillim, is said to have established Pyohunsa on Mt Geumgang, of which temple he became the first abbot.

265 A section in the chapter on filial piety in *Samguk yusa* is dedicated to Jinjeong. Originally a soldier, when not on duty he labored to support his widowed mother. When he heard that Uisang was lecturing on Taebaeksan, he became a monk under him. To allow his mother to enter heaven, Uisang held the famous ninety-day lecture at Chudong, later recorded by Jitong. After it had ended, his mother appeared in a dream to tell him she had been reborn in heaven. "Master Jinjeong, praised for his filial piety and good deeds," *Samguk yusa* 5, HBJ 6.367a10–b23.

266 Gyunyeo's *Seok Hwaeom jigwi jang Wontong cho* (HBJ 4.81c1–159b24) quotes Yangwon several times; it appears that he made annotations to Uisang's *Dharmadhātu* chart.

267 Though spelled with different characters, his name is cited in many works, where he is

and Uijeok,[268] all outstanding saints, all of whom have a biography.[269]

[O]jin once resided in Goramsa on Hagasan.[270] Every night he stretched out his arm and lighted the lamps in the [abbot's] room of Buseoksa. [Ji]tong composed the *Chudong gi*, and since he had received personal instruction from Uisang, therefore many of his phrases reach an exquisite [level]. [Pyo]hun used to be abbot of Bulguksa, and frequently went back and forth to the heavenly palace.[271]

When Uisang resided at Hwangboksa, he circumambulated the stūpa with his disciples. With every step they touched the void, and because they did not ascend stairs, its stūpa did not have a ladder. His disciples' feet touched the air as they circumambulated about three feet above the stairs. Uisang then turned back to them and said "if ordinary people see this, they are bound to find it strange. We cannot use this to instruct secular people."

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represented in dialogue sessions with other monks. The works that cite him are *Sip gu jang Wontong gi* (HBJ 4.39b1–81b7), *Seok Hwaeom jigwi jang Wontong cho* (HBJ 4.81c1–159b24), and *Beopgyedo gi chongsurok* (T 1887B.45.)

268 Uijeok (b. 681) appears in the *Beopgyedo Wontong gi* (HBJ 4.1a1–39a8), where, however, he is described as a Yusik (Mind-only, Yogācāra) monk, so though he may have studied with Uisang, he later seems to have moved away from Hwaeom. He later studied in China, where he was highly regarded. Together with Kuiji (632–682), Woncheuk (613–696), and others, he is counted as one of the six great Yogācāra commentators. Only three of his works remain: they are commentarial records dealing respectively with the *Lotus sūtra*, the Bodhisattva precepts in the *Brahmajāla sūtra*, and the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*.

269 The *Song gaoseng zhuan* lists only four disciples: Jintong, Pyohun, Beomche and Dosin. T 2061. 50.b20. Choe Chiwon, in his biography of Fazang, also lists four, but different ones: Jinjeong, Sangwon, Yangwon, and Pyohun (HBJ 3.775c13). Beomche and Dosin appear only in Zanning's list; in Choe Chiwon's list Sangwon 相圓 and Yangwon 亮元 are written with different characters. Just as with the ten temples, the number ten is here used for its symbolic connotation of perfect roundedness that was so important for the Hwaeom school. Of the other disciples in this list we have no other information.

270 Hagasan, now called Hakgasan, a mountain near Andong. The temple is otherwise unknown, but on the northern side of Mt Hakga there is a temple called Seoktapsa, and to its east a mountain known as Jogolsan 照骨山 "Shining on bones mountain." Thus Goramsa 骨岩寺 "Bone cliff temple" may well be an old name of Seoktapsa.

271 Pyohun is said to have visited heaven to obtain a son for King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–65). "King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam, and the bhadanta Pyohun," *Samguk yusa* 2, HBJ 6.292b3–13.

The rest is as in the original biography composed by duke Choe [Chiwon].

The eulogy says:
Suffering hardships he crossed the sea, braving smoke and dust
The door of Zhixiang temple opened, and he received a royal welcome
Plucking the colorful flower ornaments to adorn his old country
Zhongnan and Taebaek mountains alike were covered in spring

湘乃令十刹傳教, 太伯山浮石寺 原州毗摩羅 伽耶之海印 毗瑟之玉泉 金井之梵魚 南嶽華嚴寺等是也. 又著法界圖書印幷畧疏, 括盡一乘樞要, 千載龜鏡, 競所珍佩. 餘無撰述, 嘗鼎味一臠足矣. 圖成總章元年戊辰, 是年儼亦歸寂, 如孔氏之"絶筆於獲麟"矣. 世傳湘乃金山寶蓋之幻有也. 徒弟 悟眞 智通 表訓 眞定 眞藏 道融 良圓 相源 能仁 義寂 等十大德爲領首, 皆亞聖也, 各有傳. 眞 嘗處下柯山鶻嵓寺, 每夜伸臂, 點浮石室燈. 通 著錐洞記, 蓋承親訓, 故辭多詣妙. 訓 曾住佛國寺, 常往来天宮. 湘住皇福寺時, 與徒衆繞塔, 每步虛而上, 不以階升, 故其塔不設梯磴. 其徒離階三尺, 履空而旋, 湘乃顧謂曰, "世人見此, 必以爲怪, 不可以訓世." 餘如崔侯所撰本傳.
讚曰 披榛跨海冒烟塵, 至相門開接瑞珍. 采采雜花栽故國, 終南太伯一般春.

5-9.

Snake Boy Does not Speak 蛇福不言

Introduction:

Sabok, whose name literally means "snake boy," was a contemporary of Wonhyo, and this story shows an interesting example of their interaction. Sabok's mother was a widow when she gave birth to him; during her funeral Sabok showed keener understanding of Buddhism than Wonhyo. Sabok then took the body of his mother, whom Wonhyo compared to a "tiger of wisdom," to the "lotus flower store," connected to this world via a plant stem. Also noteworthy is that people built a temple dedicated to him and held regular services there; according to Iryeon, many outrageous stories circulated about him, but he seems to regard the story recorded here as authentic. Sabok, together with Ado, Wonhyo, Uisang, and others, was venerated as one of the ten sages of Silla enshrined in Heungnyunsa.

Yi Gyubo mentions Sabok in his record of a journey to the south ("*Namhaeng weoril gi*," *Dongguk Yi Sangguk jip* 23); looking for Wonhyo's hermitage in Buan, he found another hermitage nearby, where, he was told, "Wonhyo once served tea to Sabok." It is an example of how many derivative anecdotes about Sabok were attached to Wonhyo's biography.

Annotated Translation:

In a village north of Manseon[sa] in the capital area, there was a widow. Without a spouse, she got pregnant and gave birth. [The boy] did not speak till he was twelve, and also did not get up. Therefore he was called Sadong 蛇童, "snake boy" (*below it is also written as Sabok* 蛇卜, [*while the second character*

is] *also sometimes written as* pa 巴 *or* bok 伏. *These all mean boy*).[272] One day his mother died. At that time Wonhyo was abbot of Goseonsa.[273] When Wonhyo saw the boy he greeted him with decorum, but the boy did not reciprocate his greeting. He just asked "You and I once loaded scriptures onto a cow, but now it has died. How about holding the burial together?"

Wonhyo said "Agreed" and accompanied him to his house. He let Wonhyo hold an *upoṣadha*[274] and bestow the precepts, and before the corpse he intoned:

"Do not get born – for death is painful; Do not die – for birth is painful"

The boy said, "Your words are cumbersome." Outdoing him, he said, "Both death and life are painful, Alas." The two gentlemen rode back to the eastern foot of Hwallisan.[275] Wonhyo said: "Burying the tiger of wisdom in the forest of wisdom – isn't that appropriate?"

The boy then composed the following *gāthā*:
In days of yore the Buddha Śakyamuni
Entered nirvāṇa between the *śāla* trees
Today we also have someone like that

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[272] In the title of this paragraph the name is written as Sabok 蛇福; in the text before this gloss as Sadong 蛇童.

[273] Neither this temple nor this story is recorded in the main biography of Wonhyo in the *Samguk yusa* or the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. The temple was located close to Gyeongju, in the Amgok-dong ward, but the site has now been submerged under a reservoir. Before the site was flooded, a stūpa was moved from this site to the Gyeongju National Museum, and excavations revealed parts of a stela dedicated to Wonhyo, the *Seodang hwasang bi* 誓幢和尚碑, dating to the ninth century. For an edition of the text fragments see Yi Jigwan, *Yeokju gyogam yeokdae goseung bimun* 1 (Seoul: Gasan mungo, 1994), 44–47.

[274] *Posa* 布薩: abbreviated transliteration of *upoṣadha* or *poṣadha*, a meeting held on the new moon and full moon days of every month, and sometimes on other days of the month as well (for lay people), to renew one's commitment to the precepts through confession and recitation. Here it could refer to the fasting and purification with which the *uposatha* is associated, or simply to the conferral of precepts, which in itself is an act of empowerment often performed by bodhisattvas.

[275] Location unknown. Perhaps Myeonghwalsan, northeast of Gyeongju.

Who wishes to enter the vast world of the lotus flower store[276]

Having spoken, he pulled out a reed stalk. Beneath it there was a world-sphere, a bright and clear void. With its seven-jeweled balustrades and lavishly decorated buildings, it hardly resembled the human world. The boy carried the corpse on his back and together they entered [this world]. The earth then suddenly closed [over them]. Wonhyo returned.

Later, people built a temple [for him] southeast of Geumgangsan,[277] and it was granted the name of Doryangsa.[278] Every year on the fourteenth day of the third month a Divination assembly[279] was held as a regular event on the calendar. As for the boy's response to this world, this is all that he displayed. Locally, many absurd stories have been added to it, but these are to be laughed at.

The eulogy says:
The dragon asleep in the limpid pond is hardly idle
Ready to travel, he lies in coils, submerged.
How painful are life and death! yet originally [there was] no suffering
Vast is the world floating in the [lotus] flower.

京師萬善北里, 有寡女, 不夫而孕. 旣産, 年至十二歲, 不語亦不起, 因號蛇童.<下或作蛇卜, 又巴, 又伏等, 皆言童也.>

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[276] *Yeonhwajanggye* 蓮華藏界: Padmagarbha-lokadhāṭu. According to a chapter bearing the title of this world system in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, on top of Mt. Sumeru there is a fragrant sea in which grows a lotus flower that contains this world system.

[277] This is not the modern Geumgangsan in Gangwon province (The Democratic People's Republic of Korea or DPRK), but rather Buksan, also called So-Geumgangsan, near Gyeongju. In the legend of Ichadon's martyrdom, after his head was cut off it flew to this mountain. The name of this mountain is also inspired by the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, where it is mentioned as the abode of the bodhisattva Dharmodgata.

[278] Not attested in any other document, location unknown. *Doryang* 道場 (*bodhimaṇda*) is a place where sacred rituals are performed.

[279] Jeomchalhoe 占察會: divination ritual based on the *Zhancha shane ye bao jing* (T 839.17). This ritual plays an important part in the biography of Jinpyo, which follows right after this story.

一日其母死. 時元曉住高仙寺. 曉見之迎禮, 福不答拜而曰, "君我昔日馱經牸牛, 今已亡矣. 偕葬何如?" 曉曰 "諾." 遂與到家, 令曉布薩授戒. 臨尸祝曰, "莫生兮其死也苦, 莫死兮其生也苦." 福曰, "詞煩." 更之曰, "死生苦兮."

二公轝歸活里山東麓. 曉曰, "葬智惠虎於智惠林中, 不亦宜乎?" 福乃作偈曰, "往昔釋迦牟尼佛, 裟羅樹間入涅槃. 于今亦有如彼者, 欲入蓮花藏界寬." 言訖拔茅莖, 下有世界, 晃朗清虛, 七寶欄楯, 樓閣莊嚴, 殆非人間世. 福負尸共入, 其地奄然而合. 曉乃還.

後人爲創寺於金剛山東南, 額曰道場寺. 每年三月十四日, 行占察會爲恒規. 福之應世, 唯示此爾. 俚諺多以荒唐之說託焉, 可笑.

讚曰 淵黙龍眠豈等閑, 臨行一曲沒多般. 苦兮生死元非苦, 華藏浮休世界寬.

5-10.
Jinpyo Transmits the [Divination] Strips 眞表傳簡

Introduction:

This biography is important for its fascinating glimpses of extreme penitence practiced during the Unified Silla period. Jinpyo, who hailed from the southwestern prefecture of Wansan (modern Jeonju), became a monk under Sungje of Geumsansa, and when he was twenty-three he set out for Seongyesan to perform penitence in order to receive the precepts. After an intense bout of penitence, he received the precepts from the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. He then traveled to Yeongsansa and again practiced assiduously, and this time Maitreya responded to his efforts, and gave him the *Zhancha jing* as well as strips to divine one's retribution; he also taught him to spread the dharma and save sentient beings. Jinpyo bestowed precepts in the Geumsansa and Gangneung areas, and also bestowed the bodhisattva precepts in the palace. Yeongsim and other disciples continued the practice of the divination strips at Songnisan (Beopjusa) and other places.

Following the biography, there is an extended discussion of the legitimacy of the *Zhancha jing* and its associated practices, and Iryeon goes to great lengths to prove that the proscription it suffered in China was false, showing that the practice was probably still relevant in his time as well.

Immediately following this biography, the *Samguk yusa* also includes a second biography of Jinpyo, entitled "*The stone inscription of Baryeonsa on Mt. Pungak in Gwandong*" (*Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi* 關東楓岳鉢淵藪石記). This inscription was made by the Goryeo monk Yeongjam in 1199, and was apparently included here by Iryeon's disciple Mugeuk. Comparison with editions of the inscription, which may still be located at the original temple site in the North Korean part of Gangwon province, shows that Mugeuk has only slightly edited this text. This second biography has not been translated here, but since it shows some differences regarding key facts, it will be



Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabukdo

referred to in the notes. There is also a biography of Jinpyo in fascicle 14 of Zanning's *Song gaoseng zhuan*, which contains detailed information about Jinpyo's motivation for becoming a monk and about the confessional rite using the two divination strips.

Annotated Translation:

Seok Jinpyo was from Wansan prefecture (*now Jeonju province*),[280] Mangyeong county (*also* [*called*] *Duraesan county or* [*Du*]*nasan county. Now Mangyeong. Its old name is Duraesan county.*[281] *In Zanning's biography of Seok* [*Jinpyo*], *his hometown is said to be Geumsan county, because* [*Zanning*] *has*

280 Now Jeonju city, North Jeolla province.

281 These are the Baekje-era names; the name was changed to Mangyeong during Unified Silla; is now a district (*myeon*) of Gimje-gun.

confused the temple name with the county name).[282] His father was the *naemal* Jin, and his mother Gilbonyang; his family name was Jeong.[283] When he was twelve, he went to Geumsansa[284] and submitted to lecture master Sungje[285] to receive the tonsure and request transmission of the teaching in his tradition.[286] His master once told him, "Earlier I went to Tang China, and received the tradition of tripitaka Shandao (613–681).[287] Later I entered Mt. Wutai, and induced an appearance of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who bestowed the five precepts."

Jinpyo then ventured to ask, "How long should I practice diligently before I can receive the precepts?"

Sungje said, "With utmost energy, it takes no longer than one year."

When he had heard the master's words, he set his mind on visiting famous mountain peaks, and let his staff rest at Bulsaui hermitage on Seongyesan.[288] He planned to discipline the three karmic activities [of

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282 Read Zanning 贊寧 for Guanning 貫寧. See T 2061.50.793c28–794c14 for Zanning's biography of Jinpyo.

283 Thus his father's full name would have been Jeong Jin. *Naemal* is the 11th rank in Silla's 17-rank system. Though a Silla title, it was likely given to people from the former Baekje territory, such as Jinpyo's father, as a way of pacifying them.

284 Temple near Iksan in North Jeolla province. It was a center of the *Yogācāra* school and of the Maitreya cult.

285 Otherwise unknown. In the *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi* 關東楓岳鉢淵藪石記, which follows this biography in *Samguk yusa*, his name is given as Sunje 順濟. This biography of Jinpyo is copied from a stela inscription dated 1199; for an edition of that inscription, which shows slight differences with the text as recorded by Mugeuk in the *Samguk yusa*, see Yi Jigwan, *Yeokju gyogam yeokdae goseung bimun* 5 (Seoul: Gasan mungo, 1997), 32–46.

286 According to the *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi*, Jinpyo received the *śramanera* precepts from his master Sungje, as well as two works, the *Gongyang chaje milbeop* 供養次第秘法 (Secret on ritual sequence) and the *Zhancha jing*; thereby it contradicts the present biography, which says that the latter work was granted by Maitreya himself; see below.

287 A monk usually associated with the Pure Land school, of which he is considered the third patriarch. He is especially known for popularizing the practice of reciting Amitābha's name.

288 Seongyesan: seems to correspond to Byeonsan, in Buan-gun, North Jeolla province. According to

speech, thought and action] so as to obliterate his body and obtain the precepts. To begin with he set a period of seven nights for his expiation.[289] His five extremities [head, two arms and two legs] pounded the stones to the point that his knees and wrists were smashed, and the blood splattered the cliffs like rain. When there was no divine response, he resolved to abandon himself completely for another period of seven days. At the end of the second period of seven days, he finally saw how the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha appeared and gave him the pure precepts. This was the fifth hour [i.e. between 7 and 9 AM] of the fifteenth of the third month in the twenty-eighth year of Kaiyuan, 740. At that time he was twenty-three.[290]

Yet in his mind there was still the Master of Benevolence [Maitreya],[291]

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the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (*gwon* 34), there was a temple called Bulsaui bangjang 不思議方丈 where Jinpyo once resided, which could only be reached by a 100-foot wooden ladder, and which looked out over a deep ravine.

289 The term used for this expiation is *mangsin chamhoe* 亡身懺悔, a kind of penitence which can either consist of confessing, praying, or other practices to atone for sinful behavior. The *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi* gives a somewhat different account of this practice: "At the age of twenty-seven, in the first year of Shangyuan, 760 … he went to Boan county, where he entered Bulsaui hut on Byeonsan. … The master diligently sought the precepts way in front of the statue of Maitreya. After three years, he still had not received any sign. Enraged, he threw his body off a cliff. Suddenly there was a blue-robed boy who received him in his arms and placed him on a boulder. The master then increased his vow, and made a covenant for three times seven days. Day and night he practiced hard, hitting [his head] against the stones in expiation. By the third day his hands and arms [felt as if] they would break and fall off. By the night of the seventh day, Kṣitigarbha bodhisattva shaking his golden staff with his hand came to support him, and his hands and legs were as before. The bodhisattva then touched the bowl with his *kasaya*. The master felt his divine response, and doubled his efforts to make progress."

290 From this we can deduce that Jinpyo was born in 714. However, according to the *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi*, he started his penitence in 760, when he was 27, which would put his date of birth at 734.

291 Ja-ssi 慈氏 (literally "Mr. benevolence"): Chinese transliteration of Maitreya's title, Ajita "unconquerable." According to another tradition, in a past life, when Maitreya first made the vow to save sentient beings, he stopped eating meat, and thus earned this epithet. As the Buddha of the future, he is believed to reside in Tuṣita Heaven, until the time is ripe to descend to earth. Besides this role as a future saviour, he is also important to the Yogācāra school; hence schools of this

so he did not dare give up in mid-course. Thus he transferred to Yeongsansa (*one* [*source*] *calls it Byeonsan*[*sa*], *another* Neunggasan[sa]).[292] Again he practiced diligently, just as before, and as a result he induced Maitreya[293] to appear and confer on him the two fascicles of the *Zhancha jing*.[294] (*this scripture had been translated in the Chen-Sui period in a foreign country, it was not something that appeared now for the first time. Maitreya merely gave him a copy*). At the same time he also conferred 189 strips that give evidence of [karmic] fruits,[295] and explained: "Among these, the eighth strip symbolizes the excellent precepts newly acquired; the ninth strip symbolizes the complete precepts that are additionally acquired.[296] These two strips are the bones of my fingers. The remaining [strips] are all made of sandalwood.[297]

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tradition, including Geumsansa which is central to this story, usually have Maitreya in their main Buddha hall. Henceforth this term will be translated simply as Maitreya.

292 All names refer to places associated with the Buddha's sermons: Vulture Peak (Yeongsan), where the Lotus sutra was preached; Lankavatara (Neungga) is associated with the *Lankavatara sūtra*; Byeonsan, literally border mountain, may refer to the outer circle of mountain ranges surrounding mount Sumeru. Byeonsan is also known to be an actual mountain in Buan-gun, North Jeolla.

293 Here written as Miryeok 彌力 rather than Mireuk 彌勒.

294 Full title *Zhancha shane yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經 (*Sūtra to divine the retribution of good and evil actions*), now regarded as an apocryphal sūtra originating in sixth-century southern China. See Whalen Lai, "The *Chan-ch'a ching*: Religion and Magic in Medieval China," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), p.176.

295 *Ganja* 簡子: usually refers to a bamboo or wood strip, split from a bamboo stalk or other wood and used as a writing medium. In the *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi* and Zanning's biography, no mention is made of the 189 strips, only of the two finger bones. The 189 strips (actually tops; see below) are described in the *Zhancha jing*.

296 I.e. the novice precepts and the full precepts (*upasampada*). The explanation of the two "finger bones" given by Maitreya is somewhat different in the *Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi*: "These two strips are the fingerbones of my hand. They symbolize initial and original awakening. Number nine is a dharma seal, number eight is a newly perfumed seed of Buddhahood. With this you should know you will receive a fruit when you reject this body, and receive the body of a king of a great country. Later you will be reborn in Tuṣita."

297 *Simdan* 沈檀: most likely a transcription of Sanskrit *chandana*, sandalwood. However, since this tree is not native to East Asia, alternatives should not be ruled out. Sometimes *dan* 檀 is also used for

They symbolize the afflictions. If you transmit this method to the world, you will make a raft to save people."

> 釋眞表 完山州<今全州牧>, 萬頃縣人<或作豆乃山縣, 或作都那山縣, 今萬頃, 古名豆乃山縣也. 貫寧傳, 釋表之鄕里云金山縣人, 以寺名及縣名混之也.>. 父曰眞乃末, 母吉寶娘, 姓井氏. 年至十二歲, 投金山寺崇濟法師講下, 落彩請業. 其師嘗謂曰, "吾曾入唐, 受業於善道三藏, 然後入五臺, 感文殊菩薩現受五戒." 表啓曰, "勤修幾何得戒耶." 濟曰 "精至則不過一年." 表聞師之言, 遍遊名岳, 止錫仙溪山不思議庵, 該鍊三業, 以亡身懺悔得戒. 初以七宵爲期, 五輪撲石, 膝腕俱碎, 雨血嵓崖. 若無聖應, 決志捐捨, 更期七日. 二七日終, 見地藏菩薩, 現受淨戒. 卽開元二十八年庚辰三月十五日辰時也. 時齡二十餘三矣. 然志存慈氏, 故不敢中止, 乃移靈山寺<一名邊山又楞伽山>, 又懃勇如初. 果感彌勒現授占察經兩卷<此經乃陳隋間外國所譯, 非今始出也, 慈氏以經授之耳.>, 幷證果簡子一百八十九介. 謂曰 "於中第八簡子, 喩新得妙戒, 第九簡子, 喩增得具戒. 斯二簡子, 是我手指骨, 餘皆沈檀木造, 喩諸煩惱. 汝以此傳法於世, 作濟人津筏."

Jinpyo, having received [these divine tallies of future] Buddhahood, then took charge of Geumsan[sa]. Every year he organized a platform to disseminate the dharma widely,[298] and the seats on the platform were exquisite and majestic; something like this had never before occurred in the end-of-dharma period. As he had transformed the customs of all the local people, next he travelled to Aseulla province.[299] Between the islands the fish and terrapins formed a bridge. He was welcomed into the water and lectured on the dharma and bestowed the precepts. This was the eleventh year of

a kind of birch tree, while alternatives such as juniper and wingceltis have also been proposes.

298 There is still an ordination platform (*gyedan*) at Geumsansa, a platform with a bell-shaped stūpa, designated treasure no. 26. Although it is thought to date to the early Goryeo period, when the temple was an official ordination temple, it may well be close to the design of Jinpyo's time: it is richly decorated with carvings, and its function as an ordination platform also corresponds with Jinpyo's concern for transmitting the correct precepts.

299 This is the Silla name for modern Gangneung. It was renamed Myeongju in 757.

Tianbao, 752, on the day of the full moon of the second month[300] (*another edition says the sixth year of* Yuanhe [*811*] *but this is a mistake: the* Yuanhe *period fell during the reign of King Heondeok* [*809-825*], *seventy years after King Seongdeok's reign* [*702-737*]).[301]

When King Gyeongdeok (742–764) heard about this, he welcomed [Jinpyo] inside the palace, and received the bodhisattva precepts from him. He bestowed 77,000 *seok* in tax rents to him. The queen and her relatives lined up in the courtyard, and they all received the precepts. He was granted 500 bolts of silk, and fifty taels of gold. He accepted everything, and distributed it among the various mountain [temples] to make the Buddhist cause blossom widely. The stone [monument] containing his bones is now in Baryeonsa, which is a place where he could perform the precepts for the denizens of the sea.[302]

Those leaders who obtained [his] dharma are Yeongsim, Bojong, Sinbang, Chejin, Jinhae, Jinseon, Seokchung etc. They are all mountain school patriarchs.[303] [Yeong]sim is the one Jin[pyo] transmitted the strips to. When he was abbot of Songnisan,[304] in order to settle [differences between] his disciples, he devised the platform method. This is somewhat different from the six wheels of *jeomchal* divination,[305] but he practiced the original rules as they had been transmitted among the mountain [temples of his master].

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300 Mangil 望日. The fifteenth of the second month is traditionally associated with Buddha's nirvana.

301 Ed. note. In the text, only the last phrase "seventy years ..." is marked as a gloss, but the sense requires that Iryeon's note includes all three phrases from "another edition ..." onwards.

302 Baryeonsa is located in Goseong-gun, Gangwon province, near the Diamond Mountains in what is now North Korea. The 1199 stone inscription (*Gwandong Pungak Baryeonsu seokgi*) was actually established to mark his grave and protect the remaining bones, many of which had apparently been taken by relic-seekers.

303 *Sanmunjo* 山門祖: a term normally associated with the Seon (Ch. Chan) school. Nothing further is known about these disciples.

304 I.e. Beopjusa on Songnisan.

305 *Yungnyun* 六輪: refers to either six of the tops used in divination or to the fact that they had "six sides;" see below.

表旣受聖莂, 来住金山, 每歲開壇, 恢張法施, 壇席精嚴, 末季未之有也. 風化旣周, 遊涉到阿瑟羅州. 島嶼間魚鼈成橋, 迎入水中, 講法受戒, 卽天寶十一載壬辰二月望日也. 或本云元和六年, 誤矣. 元和在憲德王代<去聖德幾七十年矣.>. 景德王聞之, 迎入宮闥, 受菩薩戒, 嚫租七萬七千石. 椒庭列岳, 皆受戒品, 施絹五百端, 黃金五十兩. 皆容受之, 分施諸山, 廣興佛事. 其骨石今在鉢淵寺, 卽爲海族演戒之地. 得法之袖領, 曰永深, 寶宗, 信芳, 體珍, 珍海, 眞善, 釋忠等, 皆爲山門祖. 深則眞傳簡子, 住俗離山, 爲克家子, 作壇之法, 與占察六輪稍異, 修如山中所傳本規.

According to the *Tang Biographies of Monks*,[306] "In the thirteenth year of Kaihuang (593), in Guangzhou [Canton] there was a monk who practiced the way of expiation. With leather he fashioned two strips and wrote down the two characters for 'good' and 'evil.' He made people cast them, and those who obtained the character 'good' were lucky. He also practiced the 'self-prostration' method of expiation in order to extinguish sins. Men and women circumambulated together[307] and improperly received this secret

306 *Dang seungjeon* 唐僧傳: "*Tang Biographies of Monks*;" refers to Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (ca. 667), see T 2060.50.435c28–436a9 for this passage. It appears after the biography of Dharmagupta (d. 619), a translator who arrived in China in 590. This chapter (fasc. 2) of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* seems more concerned with establishing the history of translation than with the translators, hence this insertion. Daoxuan seems to have borrowed the discussion of this sūtra from the 594 catalogue of sūtras by Fajing, the *Zhongjing mulu* (T, 2146.55). Three years later, however, the sūtra seems to have regained acceptance, because Fei Changfang in his catalogue added a line to the effect that an Indian Brāhmana vouchsafed that its practices were known in India. See *Lidai sanbao ji* (597, T 2034.49.106c9–22); it is not clear why Daoxuan quotes from the earlier catalogue, perhaps he agreed with its assessment. It does mean, however, that Iryeon was not familiar with the *Lidai sanbao ji* passage, otherwise he would not have felt the need to mount such a strong defense of the *Zhancha jing*. For a translation of this passage in the *Lidai sanbao ji*, see Whalen Lai, "The Chan-ch'a ching: Religion and Magic in Medieval China," p.176.

307 *Hapchap* 合匝: the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2061.50.436a1) has 合雜, to come together and intermingle; the intermingling of sexes at Buddhist events is a standard Confucian allegation. See also *Lidai fabao ji* (T 2034.49.106c14), which has the same characters. Iryeon's expression apparently refers to circumambulation, which is odd, since he has removed references to stūpa expiation (塔懺) from the text (see note 310 below).

practice. Someone in Qingzhou received word of this and went along.[308] The magistrate [of Guangzhou] investigated [the cult] and called it bewitching and improper. The other person[309] said, 'this method of 'charging' one's expiation[310] is derived from the *Zhancha jing*. As for the method of expiation through prostration, this is derived from various sūtras. Throwing the five limbs to the ground is like the crumbling of a mountain.' Then [the Guangzhou authorities] reported to the throne what had been heard. Then the emperor ordered the palace attendant secretary Li Yuanzhuan[311]

308 Qingzhou is in the province of Shandong; since this is very far removed from Guangzhou, it is unlikely to have been influenced by events in Guangzhou. Whalen Lai explains this by arguing that the *Zhancha jing* originated in the north ("The *Chan-ch'a ching*," pp. 177–178).

309 The passage is confusing because Daoxuan, and Iryeon after him, has left out much essential information. From the *Lidai sanbao ji* we know that someone had reported to the Guangzhou magistrate that the cult was bewitching, and the "other" person probably refers to the person who made this report.

310 *Tapcham* 搭懺: this expression probably refers to the fact that the strips take on or, as it were, "upload" one's sins and therefore point to how to expiate them. As *tap* can also mean "to hit" perhaps it refers to the practice of hitting the tops to make them spin, as in the "casting" referred to below. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and *Lidai sanbao ji* have 塔懺, meaning stūpa expiation or "expiation before a stūpa." It is not certain what is meant by this, as the *Zhancha jing* does not mention stūpas, and this is perhaps why Iryeon changed the wording. However, it is clear that the actual practice of the cult differed from what is prescribed in the scripture. It prescribes three sets of divination strips, which are actually tops, square planks of wood in which the middle part is cube-shaped and the ends are tapered, so that they can be spun like tops. The first set employs ten tops, the second three, and the third six. They are designed for people of different capacity, the last being for the most advanced practitioners. The last set gives 189 possible combinations, each corresponding to a different fate according to one's previous karma. These divination practices are given a theoretical and practice-oriented context: thus the divination should be preceded by proper penance, and if the outcome is negative, more penance should be practiced; hence the term *cham* 懺 for the rite, meaning expiation [of sins], penance. See Whalen Lai, "The *Chan-ch'a ching*," pp. 179–186. The Guangzhou cult apparently used a simplified form of only two strips, while the description above suggests Jinpyo used yet another form. See also Richard D. McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 48–49.

311 Li Yuanzhuan 李元撰: otherwise unknown; in the Chinese sources his name is given as Li Yuancao 李元操. Whalen Lai translates his title as Vice President of Religious Records.

to go to Daxingsi[312] to interview all the monks of great virtue there. The great śramanas Fajing,[313] Yancong[314] and others replied, 'The *Zhancha jing* obviously has two fascicles. Its main title says that Bodhidīpa[315] translated it in a foreign country. It seems like something that has been translated recently. As for who copied and transmitted it, we have inspected and compared many records, but there is no correct name, translator, time or place. As for the 'charged' expiation, this is different from what one finds in any scripture. One cannot rely on it for this practice.' Because of this an edict proscribed it."

Now let us attempt to discuss this. As for affairs such as the layman from Qingzhou or the "charged" expiation, this is like a great Confucian scholar using the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents* to dig up graves;[316] it can be called "drawing a tiger and ending up with something that looks like a dog."[317] This is exactly what the Buddha had anticipated. If you say that "the *Zhancha jing* has no translator, place or time, so it is spurious" this is like "carrying the hemp and throwing away the gold."[318] Why do we attach so much importance to details about this sūtra? Now the Buddhist doctrines[319]

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312 According to *Lidai sanbao ji*, they went to Baochangsi. Both temples were located in the Sui capital of Chang'an (Xi'an).

313 Fajing (dates not known) compiled the *Zhongjing mulu* (594, T 2146.55), a catalogue of scriptures intended to establish which ones were canonical. It rejects the *Zhancha jing* as a forgery. See Kyoko Tokuno, "The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, pp. 40–44.

314 Yancong (here 彦琮 rather than 彦悰, 557–610), wrote a second *Zhongjing mulu* (602, T 2147.55) to correct omissions in the work of Fajing and his colleagues. It is even less tolerant towards spurious sūtras than its predecessor.

315 Putideng 菩提燈: otherwise unknown.

316 From the *Zhuangzi*; chapter 26 "Contingencies;" the passage lampoons Confucians who put dogmatism over common sense.

317 This saying appears in the biography of Ma Yuan in the *Hou Han shu.*

318 From a story in the *Zhong Ahan jing* (fasc. 16), meant to illustrate stupid actions.

319 *Sildan* 悉壇, usually 悉檀 Sanskrit: *siddhānta*: lit. accomplishments; usually refers to the

are deep and mysterious, and in sifting to separate weeds from jade, in spurring on the indolent, nothing is like this sūtra. Therefore it is also called the Mahāyāna expiation, and it is also said that it removes the six roots [of defilement] and gathers the median. The two Buddhist catalogues of the Kaiyuan (713–741) and Zhenyuan (785–804) eras[320] both included it among the genuine canon. Even if it falls outside the "dharma nature school,"[321] in terms of its Mahāyāna Yogācāra vehicle[322] it is outstanding. How can we possibly say all there is to say about the two ways of expiation, casting and prostration!

It is as in the *Sūtra on Śāriputra's questions*,[323] where the Buddha says to

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four categories of teaching modes the Buddha resorted to – "(1) mundane or ordinary modes of expression; (2) individual treatment, adapting his teaching to the capacity of his hearers; (3) diagnostic treatment of their moral diseases; and (4) the perfect and highest truth." Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, reprint Taipei 1969, p.175b.

320 The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (730, T 2154.55) was compiled by Zhisheng (fl. Ca. 730) in twenty fascicles. It is undoubtedly the most influential catalogue, as it formed the basis of virtually all later printed editions of the canon. As for including the *Zhancha jing*, it does not give any substantial reasons: it simply quotes the *Lidai fabao ji* on the *Zhancha jing*, and sidesteps the notion of whether it is authentic or not, including it simply because it had been recognized by a previous catalogue (T 2154.55.551a20–23). This was the *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* compiled by Mingquan (d.u.) in 696; that one in turn simply includes it because of an imperial order issued by Empress Wu. See T 2153.55.379.a22–25. On the relative laxity of *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, see Tokuno, "Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures," 53. The *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (794, T 2156.55) compiled by Yuanzhao (d.u.), further added extra-canonical works such as commentaries, liturgic texts and inscriptions.

321 Seongjong 性宗: short for Beopseongjong 法性宗, "dharma-nature school." Based on the notion that all dharmas derive from true thusness (眞如法性); usually applied to the Huayan school but not exclusively.

322 *Sanggyo daeseung* 相教大乘: refers to the Beopsang 法相 or "dharma aspects" school, a Chinese name for the Yogācāra. Perhaps because of the role played by Maitreya, and the fact that the *Zhancha jing* tradition in Korea centered on the Geumsansa temple, which belonged to this school, Iryeon places the scripture in this tradition.

323 舍利佛[弗]問經: The *Śāriputraparipṛcchā sūtra*; see T 1465.24.902b4–16 for this passage.

Puṇyatāra, son of an elder,[324] "If you can for seven days and seven nights repent your previous sins, I will cleanse you completely [of them]." Puṇyatāra accepted this instruction, and day and night he diligently reflected. On the fifth night it started raining various things in his room, such as towels, scarves, sieves, knives, awls, axes – all fell before his eyes. He was very pleased, and asked the Buddha [about this]. The Buddha said, "These are signs of leaving behind the dust [of the phenomenal]. They are all tools that either cut off or shake up."

Based on this, how are the affairs of obtaining a sign through casting a top as in the *Zhancha jing* any different from this! Thus we know that when Master [Jin]pyo practiced expiation and obtained the strips, listened to the dharma and saw a Buddha, these cannot be called falsehoods! Moreover, if this scripture were spurious, how would Maitreya himself give it to master [Jin]pyo? [Yan]cong and his lot can be called people who pilfer gold and discard people.[325] May the reader [consider this] carefully.

The eulogy says:
Appearing in the decadent age, he awoke the indolent and ignorant
At Yeongak and Seongye a divine response came through
Not stopping at his efforts to transmit the expiation through casting,
He made a bridge to transform the fish and dragons of the East Sea

按唐僧傳云,"開皇十三年, 廣州有僧行懺法, 以皮作帖子二枚, 書善惡兩字, 令人擲之, 得善者吉. 又行自撲懺法, 以爲滅罪. 而男女合匝, 妄承密行. 青州接響同行, 官司撿察, 謂是妖妄, 彼云,'此搭懺法依占察經, 撲懺法依諸經中, 五體投地如大山崩.' 時以奏聞, 乃勑內史侍郎李元撰, 就大興寺, 問諸大德. 有大沙門法經彥琮等對曰,'占察經見有兩卷, 首題菩提燈在外國譯文, 似近代所出, 亦有寫而

324 Puṇyatāra 邠若多羅, 分若多羅 in the sūtra; he was the son of a Brahman who was given this test when he wanted to enter the order. The reconstruction of his name is tentative; a monk with a similar name (弗若多羅, 不若多羅) is said to have travelled to China in the fourth century A.D. For the reconstruction of this name I rely on the transcription of the fourth-century monk as found in DDB.

325 A saying found in the *Liezi*.

傳者. 撿勘群錄, 竝無正名譯人時處, 搭懺與衆經復異, 不可依行.' 因勅禁之."
今試論之, 青州居士等搭懺等事, 如大儒以詩書發塚, 可謂畵虎不成, 類狗者矣. 佛所預防, 正爲此爾. 若曰, 占察經無譯人時處, 爲可疑也. 是亦擔麻棄金也. 何則 詳彼經文, 乃悉壇深密, 洗滌穢瑕, 激昂懶夫者, 莫如玆典. 故亦名大乘懺, 又云 出六根聚中. 開元貞元二釋敎錄中, 編入正藏, 雖外乎性宗, 其相敎大乘, 殆亦優矣. 豈與搭撲二懺, 同日而語哉?
如舍利佛問經, "佛告長者子邠若多羅曰, '汝可七日七夜悔汝先罪, 皆使清淨?' 多羅奉敎, 日夜懇惻. 至第五夕, 於其室中, 雨種種物, 若巾若帊若拂箒若刀錐斧等, 墮其目前. 多羅歡善, 問於佛. 佛言, '是離塵之相, 割拂之物也.'"
據此, 則與占察經擲輪得相之事, 奚以異哉? 乃知表公翹懺得簡, 聞法見佛, 可謂不誣. 况此經若僞妄, 則慈氏何以親授表師? 又此經如可禁, 舍利問經亦可禁乎? 琮輩可謂攫金不見人, 讀者詳焉.
讚曰 現身澆季激慵聾, 靈岳仙溪感應通. 莫謂翹懃傳搭懺, 作橋東海化魚龍.

5-11.
Seungjeon and the Skulls 勝詮髑髏

Introduction:

Although this section is nominally about Seungjeon, it serves more as a vehicle to describe the exchanges in the field of Hwaeom Buddhism between Tang China and Silla following the return of Uisang to his home country. Seungjeon, whose biographical details appear to have been lost by Iryeon's time, studied under Fazang (643–712), the third Huayan patriarch, and on his return to Silla carried a letter from Fazang together with Fazang's writings to deliver to Uisang. This letter has already been quoted in the section on Uisang, but here it is discussed again, in particular the part which details the works Seungjeon brought back with him to Silla. This is followed by the introduction of a new translation of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* by Beomsu, and finally the closing part relates an interesting story about Seungjeon's preaching of the Hwaeom doctrine to a set of stone skulls at Galhangsa. The meaning of this particular story is not clear.

Annotated Translation:

We have no details about where the monk Seok Seungjeon came from. At one time he boarded a ship bound for China, and went to attend the lectures of state preceptor Xianshou.[326] Receiving the arcane words, he pondered their minutiae until he penetrated them with perspicacity; he plumbed their depths and probed their hidden [meanings] until he excellently reached every arcane corner. [Finally,] he wished to respond to his causality, and he

[326] I.e., Fazang (643–712), who in the sources is frequently called by this title; hence the Chinese Huayan schools is also sometimes referred to as the "Xianshou school."

had to return to his native country.[327]

Earlier, Xianshou and Uisang had been studying together, receiving the benevolent instruction of the monk [Zhi]yan.[328] [Xian]shou then took the teachings of his master, explained their meaning and organized them according to topics. Thus when dharma master [Seung]jeon returned home, [Xianshou] sent him [these works] to show to Ui[sang] together with a letter (*etc., etc.*)[329]

The appendix [to Fazang's letter] says: "The *Tanxuan ji* in twenty *juan,* two *juan* of which were not yet completed;[330] the *Jiaofen ji* in three *juan*;[331] the *Xuanyi zhang* and other sundry writings about meaning (*zayi*) in one *juan*;[332] *Huayan Fanyu* in one *juan*;[333] *Qixin shu* in two *juan*;[334] *Shi'er men shu*

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327 This passage conveys no information; from *Haedong goseung jeon*?

328 Zhiyan (602–668), regarded as the second Huayan patriarch.

329 Iryeon here resumes the quotation from Uicheon's *Wonjong mullyu*, HBJ 4.635c–636a. Fazang's letter has already been quoted in the biography of Uisang above, but the list of works appended to it is quoted here. It shows again how Iryeon re-organizes the original material to pad out biographies of lesser-known monks.

330 On this work see above, under Uisang's biography.

331 This is probably the *Huayan yicheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* (T 1833.45), the "*Comprehensive categorization of the meaning of the teachings in the Huayan ekayāna*," although in its current form it has four fascicles. According to Enchō's list of Huayan works, the *Huayan jiaofen ji* is also known as the *Wujiao zhang*; see *Kegonshū shosho byō immyōroku* (914), T 2177.55.1133c1.

332 "*Essay on the abstruse meaning*;" a work which has apparently been lost. Either the *Huayan xuanyi zhang*, as mentioned in Yuanchao's *Huayanzong zhangshu bing yinming lu*, T 2177.55.1133c2; or the *Huayan zazhang men*, mentioned in Uicheon's *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* (T 2184.55.1167a12).

333 "*Sanskrit words from the Huayan jing*;" either the *Huayan fan Fanyu* (based on the old translation of the scripture) or the *Huayan Fanyu ji yinyi* (based on the new translation). See *Huayanzong zhangshu bing yinming lu*, T 2177.55.1133b25–26. Neither is extant.

334 "*Commentary on the Awakening of [Mahāyāna] Faith*;" most likely the *Dacheng qixin lun yi ji* (T 1846.44).

in one *juan*;[335] and *Fajie wuchabie lun shu* in one *juan*;[336] – all had been copied by dharma master Seungjeon [before] he returned home. At that time[337] the Silla monk Hyochung[338] sent nine *fen*[339] of gold, saying, 'This is what my master sent' and although I did not receive a letter, I bowed without end. Now I also attach one *kuṇḍikā* and one basin from the Western countries as small tokens of my sincerity. I hope that you may receive them. Respectfully submitted, [Fazang]."

As soon as the master returned, he sent the letter to Uisang. [Ui]sang cast his eyes on the included texts [and sighed] "it is like hearing the instructions from [Zhi]yan himself." He investigated them for several weeks before passing them on to his disciples. He lectured widely on these texts, as is told in the biography of [Ui]sang.[340]

According to this, the fact that the teaching of perfect interfusion was spread to the blue hills [of Korea], was because of the master's merit. Later there was the monk Beomsu[341] who travelled afar to the other country to obtain the newly translated later divisions of the *Huayan jing*[342] as well as the commentaries by [Cheng]guan (738–839)[343] and after returning lectured on

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335 Most likely the *Shier men lun zong zhiyi ji*, "*Notes on establishing the doctrinal meanings in the treatise on the twelve gates*," see T 1826.42, which is now transmitted in two *juan*.

336 "*Commentary on the indiscriminateness of the dharma world*." See *Huayanzong zhangshu bing yinming lu*, T 2177.55.1133b7; no longer extant?

337 According to the *Wonjong mullyu*, "the twenty-third of this month."

338 "Filial and loyal;" perhaps not the actual name of a monk.

339 Fen 分: one hundredth of a *tael* or ounce; thus a very small amount, probably used for gilding a statue.

340 Since this cannot be found in the biography of Uisang in this chapter, it probably refers to the now lost biography composed by Choe Chiwon, the *Buseok[sa] jonja jeon*.

341 Otherwise unknown.

342 There were three translations of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. The first, in sixty fascicles, was done by Buddhabhadra between 418 and 421. The second, in eighty fascicles, was done by Śiksānanda between 695 and 704. The third, in forty fascicles, was done by Prajñā between 795 and 798.

343 Regarded as the fourth Huayan patriarch. He defended Fazang's interpretations against criticisms

them. This was in 799 during the Zhenyuan era. This was also proselytizing by obtaining the dharma and disseminating it.

Then [Seung]jeon built a temple on the border of Gaeryeong county, within the jurisdiction of Sangju.[344] Using stone skulls to represent the local officials, he lectured on the *Avataṃsaka*. The Silla monk Gagwi[345] was very clever and realized that in the doctrine the transmission of the lamp should be continued. Therefore he composed the "*Essay on the Source of the Mind*,"[346] which roughly says: "Dharma master Seungjeon lead a group of stone disciples in debates and lectures." This is now Garhangsa.[347] More than eighty skulls have been transmitted to this day by the temple administrators, and there have been quite a number of miraculous events.[348] All the other events are recorded in the stela inscription, which conforms with the veritable record of Daegak Guksa.[349]

釋勝詮, 未詳其所自也. 常附舶指中國, 詣賢首國師講下, 領受玄言, 研微積慮. 惠鑒超穎, 探賾索隱, 妙盡隅奧. 思欲赴感有緣, 當還國里. 始賢首與義湘同學, 俱

by Huiyuan (ca. 673–743), one of Fazang's disciples. He wrote an extensive commentary and sub-commentary on Śiksānanda's translation, which remains unrivalled in terms of scope and detail in the Chinese Buddhist commentarial tradition. It is probably this commentary that Beomsu brought back.

344 Gaeryeong-myeon is now part of Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang province.

345 Otherwise unknown.

346 *Simwon jang*. Not transmitted.

347 The text has Galgyeongsa 葛頃寺, which is likely a misspelling of Garhangsa 葛項寺; this temple was located at the foot of Geumosan, Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang. A stūpa from this temple, now at the National Museum of Korea, bears the date 758.

348 I am not certain how to interpret this passage. All translations interpret it literally, that Seungjeon lectured to stone skeletons. However, the stone skull is perhaps an allusion to another story, but I do not know which one.

349 This is usually thought to refer to Uicheon's *Wonjong mullyu*; however, this work does not mention Seungjeon, and most likely there was no stela inscription for Seungjeon, so this final note does not refer to the story about the skulls but rather about the story of how Seungjeon brought back the works of Fazang, which is mentioned in the *Wonjong mullyu*; the stela would therefore be Uisang's (now lost) stela at Buseoksa.

稟儼和尚慈訓. 首就於師說, 演述義科, 因詮法師還鄉寄示, 湘仍寄書<云云>. 別幅云“探玄記二十卷, 兩卷未成, 教分記三卷, 玄義章等雜義一卷, 華嚴梵語一卷, 起信疏兩卷, 十二門疏一卷, 法界無差別論疏一卷, 竝因勝詮法師抄寫還鄉. 頃新羅僧孝忠遺金九分云,‘是上人所寄’, 雖不得書, 頂荷無盡. 今附西國軍持澡灌一口, 用表微誠, 幸願檢領. 謹宣.” 師旣還. 寄信于義湘. 湘乃目閱藏文, 如耳聆儼訓. 探討數旬, 而授門弟子, 廣演斯文. 語在湘傳.

按此圓融之教誨, 遍洽于靑丘者, 寔師之功也. 厥後有僧梵修, 遠適彼國, 求得新譯後分華嚴經, 觀師義疏, 言還流演. 時當貞元己卯, 斯亦求法洪揚之流乎.

詮乃於尙州領內開寧郡境, 開創精廬, 以石髑髏爲官屬, 開講華嚴. 新羅沙門可歸, 頗聰明識道理, 有傳燈之續, 乃撰心源章. 其略云,“勝詮法師領石徒衆, 論議講演, 今葛項寺也. 其髑髏八十餘枚, 至今爲綱司所傳, 頗有靈異.” 其他事迹具載碑文, 如大覺國師實錄中.

5-12.

Simji Continues the Work of the Patriarchs 心地繼祖

Introduction:

The *Samguk yusa* is full of recurring motifs and interlocking themes that surface throughout the work. Here we return to the divination strips first introduced in the biography of Jinpyo. After passing on the strips and the responsibility for the divination ritual to his disciple Yeongsim, here we learn how Simji, the son of King Heondeok, obtains two strips together with the method of performing the ritual; although it is not specified which ones, presumably they are the eighth and ninth strips, the finger bones of Maitreya. He takes them back to his temple at Palgongsan and then divines to select a place to store the strips: on that spot, he erects a new temple, Donghwasa. It is then said that King Yejong of Goryeo took the strips into the palace, where number 9 got lost, so it had to be recreated using ivory. Iryeon then gives a more detailed discussion of some of the 189 strips and their meaning, and also discusses how Zanning mistakenly put their number at 108. Finally, he relates the story of how they were passed on to King Taejo, founder of Goryeo, by the monk Seok Chung. Presumably they were not completely transferred to Taejo, but symbolically presented to validate the new authority. Thus this section shows the genealogy of a divination practice aimed at cleansing one's karma before receiving the precepts. It should also be noted that although no explicit connection is made, in the first biography of this chapter, that of Wongwang, it is also said that he instituted an endowment for this divination practice; although nothing is known of this practice in Goryeo, the fact that Iryeon places so much importance on tracing its history suggests it was still very much practiced.



Donghwasa, Daegu

Annotated Translation:

Seok Simji[350] was a son of the forty-first monarch of Jinhan [i.e., Silla], Heondeok (r. 809–826), of the Gim clan. From birth he was filial and respectful to his brothers, and by nature he was bright and clever. At the age when his mind was set on study,[351] he took the tonsure and followed a master. He devoted himself to the way, and resided on the central peak (now Gongsan).[352] It so happened that he heard that [Yeong]sim of Songnisan,[353]

350 Simji 心地: undoubtedly this is the same monk as the Simji 心智 who appears in a stūpa inscription dated 863 recovered from a stūpa at Donghwasa, the temple founded, according to the present story, by Simji. The inscription reveals that the stūpa was dedicated to King Minae (r. 838–839).

351 Jihak ji nyeon 志學之年: from the Analects (II.4): "At fifteen I set my heart on learning …" From this we know that Simji was fifteen when he entered the order.

352 The central peak was one of the five peaks of Silla, holy mountains. Gongsan is now Palgongsan, a mountain north of Daegu.

353 Beopjusa is located on Songnisan; thus, Beopjusa is meant here.

who had transmitted the Buddha-bone strips of vinaya master [Jin]pyo,[354] was organizing a dharma assembly to bear witness to the fruits [of this divination, i.e. future Buddhahood]. [Simji] was determined to find this [assembly], but when he got there it was already in its later stages, and he was not allowed to attend. Then he found himself a spot in the courtyard and beat the ground, following the congregation in ritual penance for seven days. Rain and snow came down in great quantity from the sky, but for ten feet around where he stood no snow fell. When the congregation saw this miracle he was allowed into the hall. [Sim]ji declined humbly, pleading illness and retreated to a room. He immersed himself in worship towards the hall, [to the point that] his elbows and forehead were covered in blood. It was just like [Jin]pyo at Seongyesan. Kṣitigarbha bodhisattva came every day to comfort him.

When the ritual was over, he returned to his mountain. But on the way there he noticed how two strips had become stuck inside the folds of his clothes. He took them back to report to [Yeong]sim. [Yeong]sim said, "The strips are in a box, how can this be?" When he went to inspect [the box], it was sealed as before. But when he opened it he saw they were gone. [Yeong] sim was deeply impressed by this. He put them back in again and stored [the box] away. Again [Simji] went on his way as before, but he had to return once more to report [that the same thing had happened again]. [Yeongsim] said, "The Buddha intends them for you, so you should receive them and go." Then he handed him the strips.

[Sim]ji put them on his head and returned to his mountain. The mountain spirit led two immortals to welcome him at the top of the mountain, and made [Sim]ji sit on top of a boulder. They prostrated at the foot of the boulder, and respectfully received the correct precepts. [Sim]ji said, "Now I should select a site where I can store these divine strips. This is not what someone of my sort can determine. I would like to invite you three gentlemen to join me and from a high point throw the strips to divine it."

354 See above, "Jinpyo transmits the divination strips."

Then with the spirit and the others he walked to the top of the mountain, and they threw them towards the west. The strips floated in the wind. At that time the spirit made a song:

The obstructing boulder retreats in the distance and is worn flat
The falling leaves fly and disperse and produce light
Having obtained the Buddha-bone strips,
We should invite them to a pure place by throwing them sincerely

As soon as he had sung this song, they found the strips at a forest spring, and at that very spot they built a hall to house them. Today there is a small well to the north of the Strips Hall of Donghwasa,[355] – this is it.

King Yejong (1105–1122) of the present dynasty had the holy strips brought to the palace to express his reverence, but suddenly the number nine got lost. It was replaced with ivory, and delivered back to its original temple. Now it has gradually changed into the same color [of the original], making it difficult to distinguish new from old. Its material is neither ivory nor jade.

釋心地, 辰韓第四十一主, 憲德大王金氏之子也. 生而孝悌, 天性沖睿. 志學之年, 落采從師, 拳懃于道. 寓止中岳<今公山>, 適聞俗離山深公, 傳表律師佛骨簡子, 設果證法會, 決意披尋, 旣至後期, 不許參例. 乃席地扣庭, 隨衆禮懺, 經七日, 天大雨雪, 所立地方十尺許, 雪飄不下. 衆見其神異, 許引入堂地. 撝謙稱恙, 退處房中, 向堂潛禮, 肘顙俱血, 類表公之仙溪山也. 地藏菩薩日來問慰.
洎席罷還山, 途中見二簡子, 貼在衣褶間, 持廻告於深. 深曰, “簡在函中, 那得至此?” 檢之封題依舊, 開視亡矣. 深深異之, 重襲而藏之. 又行如初, 再廻告之. 深曰, “佛意在子, 子其奉行.” 乃授簡子.
地頂戴歸山, 岳神率二仙子, 迎至山椒, 引地坐於嵓上, 歸伏嵓下, 謹受正戒. 地

355 According to the *Donghwasa sajeokgi*, the temple was founded in 772 and expanded by Simji in 832. As seen above, in 863 a stūpa in memory of King Minae was founded here; during the Goryeo period, the temple belonged to the Yogācāra school, and was endowed with an official ordination platform; thus it can be seen that the precept tradition begun at Geumsansa was continued here. As for the “strips-hall,” cheomdang 籤堂, there is, as far as I am aware no further evidence as to what happened to it.

曰,“今將擇地, 奉安聖簡, 非吾輩所能指定, 請與三君, 憑高擲簡以卜之.” 乃與神等陟峰巓, 向西擲之, 簡乃風颺而飛. 時神作歌曰,“礙嵓遠退砥平兮, 落葉飛散生明兮. 覓得佛骨簡子兮, 邀於淨處投誠兮.” 旣唱而得簡於林泉中, 卽其地構堂安之, 今桐華寺籤堂北有小井, 是也.
本朝睿王, 嘗取迎聖簡, 致內瞻敬, 忽失九者一簡, 以牙代之, 送還本寺. 今則漸變同一色, 難卞新古, 其質乃非牙非玉.

The *Zhancha jing* records in its first fascicle the names of the 189 strips. The first is "seeking the supreme vehicle and obtaining non-retrogression;"[356] the second is "the fruit that one seeks is manifested and witnessed;" the third and fourth are "seeking the middle / lower vehicle and obtaining non-retrogression;"[357] the fifth is "seeking divine powers and obtaining a result;" the sixth is "practicing the four Brahmā [practices][358] and obtaining a result;" the seventh is "practicing secular dhyāna and obtaining a result;" the eighth is "who wishes to receive will obtain the excellent precepts;"[359] the ninth "who has once received [the basic precepts] will obtain the complete precepts." (*on the evidence of this text, we know that when Maitreya spoke about the* "*the one who newly receives the precepts,*" *this meant obtaining the precepts for the first time in this life;* [*and when he spoke of*] "*the one who formerly received the precepts,*" *this meant that someone who had received them once in the past, would obtain them again in this life. It does not mean* "*new*" *and* "*old*" *as the result of practice or original endowment*). The tenth one is "seeking the lower vehicle[360]

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356 See T 839.17.905b2–8 for these ten.

357 The middle vehicle (*jungseung* 中乘) refers to the Pratyeka Buddhas, who seek enlightenment through their own efforts through practice of the twelve *nidānas*; hence also known as *yeongakseung* 緣覺乘 or "vehicle of enlightenment through dependent origination." The lower vehicle (*haseung* 下乘) refers to the śrāvaka-yāna, or hīnayāna, in which enlightenment is obtained through listening to a Buddha.

358 I.e. kindness and compassion, joy and munificence.

359 *Myogye* 妙戒: i.e. the bodhisattva precepts.

360 Although Iryeon writes "lower vehicle," from the *Zhancha jing* we know that this should be "supreme vehicle."

and not abiding in faith." From the next one "seeking the middle vehicle and not abiding in faith" to the 172nd, all speak of good or bad things, obtaining or losing either in this world or in the past.[361]

The 173rd is "discarding the body and entering hell" (*the above are all fruits to be reaped in the future*); the 174th is "dying and becoming cattle;" and so it continues to pretas, asuras, men, kings of men, gods,[362] kings of gods, hearing the dharma, going forth, eminent monks, born in Tuṣita, born in the Pure Land, seeking and seeing the Buddha, abiding in the lesser vehicle, abiding in the middle vehicle, abiding in the supreme vehicle, and obtaining liberation. This is all of them up until 189. *(above it was said "from abiding in the lesser vehicle to abiding in the supreme vehicle one obtains non-retrogression," here it is said "in the supreme vehicle one obtains liberation;" this is the distinction that is made*). These are all marks of the differing retributions, good and bad, of the three worlds. With what you see through this divination, if it is matched with the affairs of your mind, then a response can be stimulated. If not, it means that you have not applied your mind to its utmost. This is called delusion.

As for the two strips "eight" and "nine," they are just two from the set of 189. However, the *Song* [*gaoseng*] *zhuan* says there were 108 lots.[363] What does this mean? I am afraid that he [i.e., Zanning] regarded them as the names of the 108 afflictions, and hence called them like this. It cannot be found in the sūtra. Also, according to the dynastic chronology in two fascicles compiled by the literatus Gim Gwanui[364] of this dynasty, "at the end

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361 Here too there is some discrepancy with the *Zhancha jing*: according to Iryeon, those up to 172 are about the present and past lives, and from 173 one enters hell, but in the sūtra hell starts from 172 and the future retribution.

362 These are the six paths of possible reincarnation; here rebirth as "kings of men" is added.

363 See T 2061.50.794b2–3.

364 Gim Gwanui is famous for composing the *Pyeonnyeon tongnok*, a mythological chronology of the ancestors of King Taejo, the founder of Goryeo. This work dates to the 12th century and part of it is included as a prolegomenon to the *Goryeosa*. *Wangdae jongnok* 王代宗錄 may be another name for this work, or another, now lost work.

of Silla, the Silla monk Seok Chung[365] presented King Taejo with the *kaṣāya* of vinaya master [Jin]pyo and 189 precept strips." Its not clear whether or not these are the same as the strips kept at Donghwasa.

The eulogy says:
Growing up behind the gilded gates, at a young age he flees the cage
His diligence and intelligence seem to have been gathered from heaven
Snow piled high in the courtyard, he stole the divine strips
And came to place them on the highest peak of Donghwa

按占察經上卷, 敍一百八十九簡之名. 一者求上乘得不退. 二者所求果現當證. 第三第四求中下乘得不退. 五者求神通得成就. 六者修四梵得成就. 七者修世禪得成就. 八者所欲受得妙戒. 九者所曾受得戒具.<以此文訂, 知慈氏所言, 新得戒者, 謂今生始得戒也, 舊得戒者, 謂過去曾受, 今生又增受也, 非謂修生本有之新舊也.> 十者求下乘未住信. 次求中乘未住信. 如是乃至一百七十二, 皆過現世中, 或善或惡, 得失事也. 第一百七十三者, 捨身已入地獄.<已上皆未來之果也.> 一百七十四者, 死已作畜生. 如是乃至餓鬼, 修羅, 人, 人王, 天, 天王, 聞法, 出家, 値聖僧, 生兜率, 生淨土, 尋見佛, 住下乘, 住中乘, 住上乘得解脫, 第一百八十九等是也.<上言住下乘至上乘得不退, 今言上乘得解脫等, 以此爲別爾.> 皆三世善惡果報差別之相. 以此占看, 得與心所行事相當, 則爲感應, 否則爲不至心, 名爲虛謬. 則此八九二簡, 但從百八十九中而來者也, 而宋傳但云百八籤子, 何也. 恐認彼百八煩惱之名而稱之, 不揆尋經文爾.
又按本朝文士金寬毅所撰, 王代宗錄二卷云, "羅末新羅大德釋冲, 獻太祖以表律師袈裟一領, 戒簡百八十九枚." 今與桐華寺所傳簡子, 未詳同異.
讚曰 生長金閨早脫籠, 儉懃聰惠自天鍾. 滿庭積雪偸神簡, 來放桐華最上峰.

365 Seok Chung 釋冲: perhaps the same monk as Seok Chong 釋聰, who was executed for standing up against the tyrant Gungye (d. 918). See *Samguk sagi* 50, biography of Gungye.

5-13.

The Yogācāra of Daehyeon and the Hwaeom of Beophae 賢瑜伽 海華嚴

Introduction:

The Hwaeom and Yogācāra schools were the dominant doctrinal schools in Unified Silla and also in the Goryeo period, and this story seems to mock the rivalry between them. Daehyeon, the protagonist for the Yogācāra school, was in fact its major exponent in Silla; having studied with a disciple of Woncheuk (613–696), he was a prolific commentator on Yogācāra texts and one of the most accomplished interpreters of the finer points of the school's abstruse doctrines, and because of this he influenced scholars both in Korea and China. Here though, his supernatural power is emphasized: during a drought, he lectured on the *Sūtra of Golden Light* in the palace, and water burst forth from the palace well. The next year, King Gyeongdeok invited the Hwaeom monk Beophae to Hwangnyongsa, and related Daehyeon's feats; Beophae dismissed this as trivial, and claimed his methods were much more powerful. He promised to make the sea tilt, and when the pond overflowed, and reports came from the East Sea that the sea had come up to the steps of Garhangsa, the king was impressed and worshipped Beophae.

Annotated Translation:

The Yogācāra patriarch, the bhadanta Daehyeon,[366] resided in Yongjangsa[367]

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366 Daehyeon 大賢: also written Taehyeon 太賢. A few of his commentaries have been preserved. Although we have no details about his life, we know that he was a disciple of Dojeung 道證 (n.d.), who in turn was a disciple of the great Yogācāra master Woncheuk (613–696). There is also a short note on Daehyeon written by the monk Daofeng of Qianfusi, the *Daxian fashi yiji xu* 大賢法師義記序, but though it hardly contains any further details, its lavish praise for Daehyeon as one of the great



Yongjangsa on Namsan, Gyeongju

on Namsan. The temple had a sixteen-foot stone statue of Maitreya. [Dae]hyeon would frequently circumambulate it, and the statue also turned its face to follow him. [Dae]hyeon spoke with wisdom and clarity, and had a keen mind. He was decisive and clear [in arguments]. He completely mastered the doctrines of the [Beop]sang school, whose principles are very elusive and difficult to confirm or refute. The famous Chinese scholar Bai Juyi (772–846) once tried to penetrate them but failed to do so, and therefore declared "Mere ideation [Buddhism][368] is abstruse and hard to break, even the application

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Yogācāra master is a measure of the esteem in which he was held.

367 A temple that was once located on the western slopes of Mt. Namsan near Gyeongju. Excavations were carried out during the colonial period; among the remains is a seated Buddha statue (Treasure no. 187) and a rock-carved Buddha statue (Treasure no. 913). It is also at this temple that Gim Siseup wrote his *Geumo sinhwa*.

368 Yogācāra Buddhism had many different appellations in East Asia: *yuga* 瑜伽 may be one of the most common, and is most commonly used to describe its school in Korea, but there is also *yusik* 唯識 or consciousness only (*vijñaptimātra*), because of its central tenet that everything is produced by the mind. Another common name is Faxiang 法相, a name used mainly by its detractors. Also one often comes across the term Ci'en 慈恩, after the temple in Chang'an where Xuanzang stayed.

of Indian logic[369] cannot unlock [its secrets]."[370] For this reason, scholars have found it difficult to master and learn for a long time! [Dae]hyeon alone pointed out and corrected what was false, in an instant had access to the abstruse, and roamed freely through it as a knife cuts through butter. Those who came after him in the Eastern Country all venerated his instruction. Chinese scholars also time and again paid attention to him.

During the reign of King Gyeongdeok (742–765), in the twelfth year of Tianbao, 753, there was a great drought in summer. The master was summoned to the inner palace to lecture on the *Sūtra of Golden Light*[371] to pray for sweet precipitation. One day after the maigre offering the bowls were displayed for a very long time, but the offering of pure water was delayed. The inspecting officer demanded an explanation about this, and the officiant said: "The well in the palace had dried up, so I had to go far away to draw water, that is why [the offering] was late." When [Dae]hyeon heard this he said, "Why didn't you tell me this earlier?" During the day lecture, he took hold of the brazier with both hands and remained silent – after a short while water soared out of the well to a height of 70 feet, as high as the temple flagstaff. The whole palace was in awe. Therefore the well was called the Golden Light well.

[Dae]hyeon used to call himself the monk from [the country of] blue hills.

The eulogy says:
Circling a Buddha on Namsan, the statue revolved in tandem
Among the blue hills the Buddha sun hangs again;
Releasing through his teaching a jet of water from the well
Who knew that it was just a plume of smoke from the golden brazier?

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369 *Inmyeong* 因明: *hetuvidyā*. Ancient Indian logic, which was later systematized by the Nyāya school and Buddhism. The greatest Buddhist exponent was the fifth century logician Dignāga. After Xuanzang translated his works, they became part of the East Asian Yogācāra school.

370 I am not aware of any other source where Bai Juyi says this – though he is known to have been interested in Buddhism and to have conversed with many monks.

371 *Jin guangming jing* (K: *Geum gwangmyeong gyeong*; Skt: *Suvarnaprabhāsottana sūtra*), T 663, 665.

瑜伽祖大德大賢, 住南山茸長寺. 寺有慈氏石丈六, 賢尚旋繞, 像亦隨賢轉面. 賢惠辯精敏, 決擇了然. 大抵相宗銓量, 旨理幽深, 難爲剖析. 中國名士白居易, 嘗窮之未能, 乃曰,“唯識幽難破, 因明擘不開”. 是以學者難承稟者, 尚矣. 賢獨刊定邪謬, 暫開幽奧, 恢恢恢恢游刃. 東國後進, 咸遵其訓, 中華學士, 往往得此爲眼目.

景德王天寶十二年癸巳, 夏大旱, 詔入內殿, 講金光經, 以祈甘霔. 一日齋次, 展鉢良久, 而淨水獻遲. 監吏詰之, 供者曰,“宮井枯涸, 汲遠故遲爾.” 賢聞之曰,“何不早云?” 及晝講時, 捧爐黙然, 斯須井水湧出, 高七丈許, 與刹幢齊, 闔宮驚駭. 因名其井曰金光井. 賢嘗自號青丘沙門.

讚曰, 遶佛南山像逐旋, 青丘佛日再中懸. 解教宮井清波湧, 誰識金爐一炷烟.

In the summer of the following year, 754, the king invited the bhadanta Beophae[372] to Hwangnyongsa to lecture on the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. The king rode in his carriage to offer incense, and asked in a relaxed and informal way: “Last summer dharma master Daehyeon lectured on the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, and a seventy-foot high jet of water spouted from the well. How does your dharma method compare to this?”

[Beop]hae said: “This is a particularly trifling matter, it hardly even merits praise. I will straightaway make the sea tilt, so that it engulfs the Eastern Peak[373] and flows to the capital, and even this is not difficult.”

The king did not believe him, but jokingly said “sure.”

By the time of the noon lecture, he drew the brazier to him and became silent. After a while, suddenly the sound of crying came from the palace. A court officer came to report that the eastern pond had overflowed, and had inundated more than fifty bays of palace halls. The king was despondent and lost his composure, but [Beop]hae, laughing, told him “If you want to tilt the eastern sea, the water veins first have to swell.” Unconsciously, the king bowed profusely. The following day Garhangsa reported, “Yesterday around

372 “Dharma sea.” In the light of the following story, his name seems all too appropriate. His name only appears in this story.

373 Modern Tohamsan. One of the five peaks of Silla. See *Samguk sagi* 32.

noon, the sea rose and overflowed, reaching to the steps in front of the Buddha hall. Between 3 and 5 in the afternoon the sea receded." The king then believed and respected him even more.

The eulogy says:
The waves of the dharma sea, the breadth of the dharma world
Making the four seas ebb and flow, this is not difficult
Don't say that the ten billion Sumerus are big,
The tip of our master's finger holds them all.[374]

明年甲午夏, 王又請大德法海於皇龍寺, 講華嚴經. 駕幸行香, 從容謂曰, "前夏大賢法師講金光經, 井水湧七丈, 此公法道如何?" 海曰, "特爲細事, 何足稱乎? 直使傾滄海, 襄東岳, 流京師, 亦非所難." 王未之信, 謂戱言爾. 至午講, 引爐沉寂, 須臾內禁忽有哭泣聲, 宮吏走報曰, "東池已溢, 漂流內殿五十餘間." 王罔然自失, 海笑謂之曰, "東海欲傾, 水脈先漲爾." 王不覺興拜. 翌日感恩寺奏, 昨日午時海水漲溢, 至佛殿階前, 晡時而還. 王益信敬之.
讚曰, 法海波瀾法界寛, 四海盈縮未爲難. 莫言百億須彌大, 都在吾師一指端.
<*右海云*>

374 This eulogy is followed by the interlinear note: *石海云* or "*as told by Seokhae*." Most scholars take this to be a misprint for *右海云* or "[*what is written to*]*the right* [*i.e., the above*] *was told by* [*Beop*]*hae*." However, this interpretation is unsatisfactory in that the eulogy is not put into Beophae's mouth.

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In Memoriam
The Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan (1932–2012)

The heart and soul of this monumental publication project from its conception to its completion was the late Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan, Daejongsa, the 32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Throughout his illustrious career as a scholar-monk, his cherished wish was to aid the study of Korean Buddhism overseas and to enable its legacy, which reaches back some seventeen hundred years, to become a part of the common cultural heritage of humankind. After years of prayer and planning, Ven. Kasan Jikwan was able to bring this vision to life by procuring a major grant from the Korean government. He launched the publication project shortly after taking office as president of the Jogye Order. After presiding over the publication of the complete vernacular Korean edition, Ven. Kasan Jikwan entered nirvāṇa as the English version of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* was in final manuscript stage. With the publication of the English version, we bring this project to completion and commemorate the teacher whose great passion for propagation conceived it, and whose loving and selfless devotion gave it form.

Ven. Kasan Jikwan was founder of the Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture, President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and President of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. A graduate of Haeinsa Sangha College, he received his doctorate in philosophy from Dongguk University in 1976. He led Haeinsa as the monastery's head lecturer and abbot, and Dongguk University as Professor and the 11th President. After assuming the title of *Daejongsa*, the highest monastic rank within the Jogye Order, he became the 32nd President of the Jogye Order.

The leading scholar-monk of his generation, Ven. Kasan Jikwan published over a hundred articles and books, ranging from commentaries on Buddhist classics to comparative analyses of northern and southern *Vinayas*. A pioneer in the field of metal and stone inscriptions, he published *A Critical Edition of Translated and Annotated Epitaphs of Eminent Monk*s and also composed over fifty commemorative stele inscriptions and epitaphs. He compiled the Kasan Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, thirteen volumes of which have so far been published. He was the recipient of the Silver Crown Medal of Honor, the Manhae Prize for Scholarship, and the Gold Crown Medal of Honor for Outstanding Achievement in Culture, which was awarded posthumously.

On January 2, 2012, Jikwan Sunim severed all ties to this world and entered quiescence

at Gyeongguk Temple in Jeongneung-dong, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul. He left behind these words as he departed from this world: “With this ephemeral body of flesh, I made a lotus blossom bloom in this Sahā world. With this phantom, hollow body, I reveal the dharma body in the calm quiescence of nirvāṇa.” Jikwan Sunim’s life spanned eighty years, sixty-six of which he spent in the Buddhist monastic order.

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